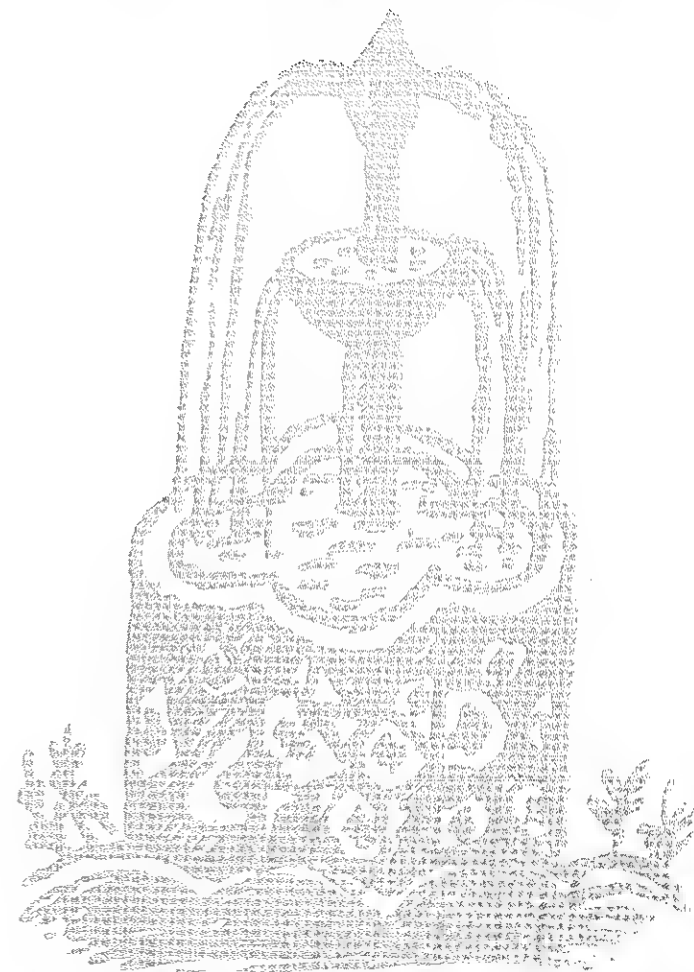


# BYZANTION

REVUE INTERNATIONALE DES ÉTUDES BYZANTINES

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1° Ne pas dépasser 30 pages imprimées par article, notes et références comprises ; les pages supplémentaires seront facturées aux auteurs. Toutefois, à titre exceptionnel, le comité de rédaction peut accepter pour des raisons scientifiques des infractions à la règle.

2° Faire parvenir à la Rédaction une copie imprimée de leurs articles et un exemplaire sur disquette avec mention du système et du programme utilisés, ainsi que les caractères de la police grecque utilisée.

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3° Indiquer, lors de la rédaction des notes, les

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4° Utiliser seulement les abréviations autorisées ci-dessous.

## ABRÉVIATIONS AUTORISÉES

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ACO	E. SCHWARTZ, <i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i>
AHR	<i>The American Historical Review</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>

BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
B-NJ	<i>Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
BSGRT	<i>Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana</i>
Bsl	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
Byz.	<i>Byzantion</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CA	<i>Cahiers Archéologiques</i>
CCSG	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CJ	<i>Codex Justinianus</i>
CPG	M. GEERARD, <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> , 5 vol., Turnhout, 1983, 1974, 1979, 1980 et 1987 ; M. GEERARD - J. NORET, <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Supplementum (Corpus Christianorum)</i> , Turnhout, 1998 ; J. NORET, <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Volumen IIIA : A Cyrillo Alexandrino ad Iohannem Damascenum. Addenda volumini III (Corpus Christianorum)</i> , Turnhout, 2003 <sup>2</sup>
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CTh	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie</i>
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DOS	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Studies</i>
ΔΧΑΕ	<i>Δελτίον Χριστιανικής 'Αρχαιολογικής 'Εταιρείας</i>
EEBS	<i>'Επετηρίς 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</i>
EO	<i>Echos d'Orient</i>
FHG	C. MULLER, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i>
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i>
GNO	<i>Gregorii Nysseni Opera</i>
GOThR	<i>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
JG	I. et P. ZEPOS, <i>Jus Graecoromanum</i> , I-VIII, Athènes, 1931
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JÖs	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinistischen Gesellschaft</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
LChI	<i>Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie</i>
Mansi	J. D. MANSI, <i>Sacrorum concilliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i>

MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
MM	F. MIKLOSICH et J. MÜLLER, <i>Acta et diplomata mediæ aevi</i> , Vindobonae, 1860-1890
NE	<i>Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων</i>
OCA	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , Oxford, 1991
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
PLP	<i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, 1)</i> , fascic. I-12, Addenda und Abkürzungsverzeichnis und Gesamtregister, Wien, 1976-1994, 1995 et 1996 ; CD-Version (avec addenda), Wien, 2001
PLRE	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , Cambridge, I-III, 1971, 1980 et 1992
PmbZ	<i>Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit</i>
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RBK	<i>Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst</i>
RE	<i>Real-Encyclopädie (Pauly-Wissowa)</i>
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
RGK	<i>Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten</i>
RH	<i>Revue Historique</i>
RHE	<i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique</i>
ROC	<i>Revue d'Orient Chrétien</i>
RSBN	<i>Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici</i>
SC	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i>
ST	<i>Studi e Testi</i>
Subs.hag.	<i>Subsidia hagiographica</i>
Syntaxma	G. RALLIS et M. POTLIS, <i>Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων</i> , I-VI, Athènes, 1852-1859
TIB	<i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini</i>
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen</i>
VV	<i>Vizantijskij Vremennik</i>
WS	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
Zbor.	<i>Zbornik radova Vizantoloskog instituta</i>

La Rédaction ne retourne pas les articles refusés.

GLI EPITIMIA DI TEODORO STUDITA.  
DUE FOGLI RITROVATI DEL DOSSIER DI CASOLE (\*)

L'opera riformatrice di Teodoro Studita (759-826) segnò profondamente la storia del monachesimo bizantino <sup>(1)</sup>, principalmente attraverso la diffusione degli scritti del celebre egumeno <sup>(2)</sup>, influenzando la vita cenobitica anche in ambito italo-greco <sup>(3)</sup>. È noto come l'area otran-

(\*) Ringrazio Guglielmo Cavallo e Stefano Parenti per aver letto il dattiloscritto.

(1) J. LEROY, *La réforme studite*, in *Il monachesimo orientale. Atti del Convegno di Studi Orientali di Roma (9-12 aprile 1958)* (OCA, 153), Roma, 1958, pp. 181-214 (= *Études sur le monachisme byzantin. Textes rassemblés et présentés par O. DELOUIS [Spiritualité Orientale, 85]*; Bégrolles en Mauges, Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 2007, nr. 7, pp. 155-192). Più in generale cf. J. MCGUCKIN, *Monasticism and Monasteries*, in E. JEFFREYS - J. HALDON - R. CORMACK (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford, 2008, pp. 611-620.

(2) Mi limito a rinviare alla monografia di T. PRATSCH, *Theodoros Studites (759-826) - zwischen Dogma und Pragma. Der Abt des Studiosklosters in Konstantinopel im Spannungsfeld von Patriarch, Kaiser und eigenem Anspruch* (Berliner Byzantinistische Studien, 4), Frankfurt am Main - Berlin - Bern - New York - Paris - Wien, 1998 e a quella di R. CHOLIJ, *Theodore the Stoudite. The Ordering of Holiness* (Oxford Theological Monographs), Oxford - New York, 2002; ulteriore bibliografia si potrà reperire in T. T. MARTYNYUK, *San Teodoro Studita quale fonte dei canoni del Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium*, in *Iura Orientalia*, 5 (2009), pp. 75-88 : nn. alle pp. 76-81.

(3) T. MINISCI, *Riflessi studitani nel monachesimo italo-greco*, in *Il monachesimo orientale*, pp. 215-233; S. LUCA, *Scritture e libri della "scuola niliana"*, in G. CAVALLO - G. DE GREGORIO - M. MANIACI (ed.), *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del seminario di Erice (18-25 settembre 1988)* (Biblioteca del «Centro per il Collegamento degli Studi Medievali e Umanistici nell'Università di Perugia», 5), Spoleto, 1991, pp. 319-387 : pp. 371-372; S. PARENTI, *Un capitolo della Hypotyposis di s. Teodoro di Stoudios in due triodia di Grottaferrata*, in *Ecclesia Orans*, 13 (1996), pp. 87-94 (= S. PARENTI - E. VELKOVSKA, *Mille anni di "rito greco" alle porte di Roma. Raccolta di saggi sulla tradizione liturgica del Monastero italo-bizantino di Grottaferrata* [ *Ἀνάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρνης*, 4], Grottaferrata, 2004, nr. II, pp. 21-29); IDEM, *Il monastero di Grottaferrata nel Medioevo (1004-1462). Segni e percorsi di una identità* (OCA, 274), Roma, 2005, pp. 171-172, 279, 410-411.



tina non costituisca un'eccezione, grazie alle analogie rilevate fra la *hypotyposis* studita ed il *typikon* del monastero di S. Nicola di Casole (4).

Tuttavia il tentativo di rinvenire reperti dell'opera di Teodoro prodotti o almeno utilizzati nel Salento si rivela assai meno fruttuoso di quanto ci si possa aspettare. Il risultato di tale ricerca si riduce quasi esclusivamente al *Vat. gr.* 1275, contenente le *Catechesi* (5) e al *Vat. gr.* 1276, che nei ff. 5r-11r riporta alcuni componimenti giambici (6). Qualcos'altro emerge proprio dal *typikon* otrantino, precisamente dal suo più antico testimone, il manoscritto C III 17 della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, nel quale è stata rilevata la presenza di «alcuni capitoli delle costituzioni studitane» (7). Tale fugace indicazione è meritevole di un approfondimento, di cui sinora non è stata oggetto. Prima però di passare all'identificazione del testo in questione, sarà utile ricordare alcuni dati sul manoscritto.

Il codice C III 17 di Torino (8), gravemente danneggiato a causa dell'incendio che colpì la biblioteca nel 1904 (9), fu ultimato nel 1173 dal-

(4) MINISCI, *Riflessi studitani*, pp. 221-222, 225-226.

(5) Cf. D. ARNESANO, *La minuscola «barocca». Scritture e libri in Terra d'Otranto nei secoli XIII e XIV (Fonti Medievali e Moderne, 12)*, Galatina, 2008, p. 80 nr. 25. Sulle *Grandi Catechesi* si veda ora J. LEROY, *Études sur les Grandes Catéchèses de S. Théodore Studite (ST, 456)*, éd. par O. DELOUIS, avec la participation de S. J. VOICU, Città del Vaticano, 2008.

(6) P. SPECK, *Theodoros Studites. Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände. Einleitung, kritischer Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar (Supplementa Byzantina, 1)*, Berlin, 1968, pp. 21-22 (sigla V<sub>2</sub>); A. ACCONCIA LONGO - A. JACOB, *Une anthologie salentine du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: le Vaticanus gr. 1276*, in *RSBN*, 17-19 (1980-1982), pp. 149-228: pp. 188-189; ARNESANO, *La minuscola «barocca»*, pp. 80-81 nr. 26.

(7) G. COZZA-LUZI, *Lettere casulane*, Reggio Calabria, 1900 (= M. MUCI, *Guida al carteggio di L. G. De Simone (con le Lettere casulane di G. Cozza-Luzi) [Quaderni della Biblioteca «N. Bernardini», 7]*, Lecce, 2006), p. 8. Non vi è traccia di testi studitani nelle più antiche copie del *typikon*, il *Vat. Barb. gr.* 350, ultimato nel 1205, ed il *Roman. Vallic. D* 61, del sec. XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup>in. (su cui cf. ARNESANO, *La minuscola «barocca»*, rispettivamente pp. 75-76 nr. 7, p. 117 nr. 161), mentre nella copia del manoscritto torinese che fu realizzata a Roma dopo il 1887 dal Cozza-Luzi o forse dal Battaglini e che oggi è conservata presso la Biblioteca Provinciale di Lecce con la segnatura "Manoscritto 201", si legge lo stesso accenno ai nostri testi: «In fine sunt constitutiones quaedam, sancti Theodori Studitae» (f. 8r).

(8) Cf. *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis Athenaei per linguas digesti, et binas in partes distributi, in quarum prima Hebraei, et Graeci, in altera Latini, Italici et Gallici. Recensuerunt, et animadversionibus illustrarunt J. PASINUS, A. RIVAUTELLA et F. BERTA, Taurini, 1749, I, pp. 308-309 nr. 216 (b.III.27); N. U.*

L'egumeno Nicola (10), nel monastero di Casole (11), di cui tramanda il *typikon* ed il *synaxarion* (12). Come scrisse Charles Diehl, «le manuscrit de Turin, on le voit, ne forme point un tout complet: c'est un recueil de documents relatifs au monastère, fort différents par la date et par l'intérêt» (13). In effetti esso non è solo un testimone del *typikon*, ma anche

GULMINI, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino, II, I manoscritti greci*, Torino, 1989, I, pp. 33-34 nr. 17, II, fig. 76; P. ROUGERIS, *Ricerca bibliografica sui tipica italo-greci*, in *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, 27 (1973), pp. 11-42: pp. 14-15, 41 (C); più di recente cf. V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, *Tra Occidente e Oriente. Otranto in epoca bizantina*, in H. HOUBEN (ed.), *Otranto nel Medioevo tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente (Saggi e Testi, 33)*, Galatina, 2007, pp. 13-60: pp. 51, 52 fig. 14.

(9) N. BORGIA, *Un codice greco recuperato*, in *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia*, 19 (1939), pp. 97-102; *Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino. Manoscritti danneggiati nell'incendio del 1904. Mostra di recuperi e restauri* (Torino, febbraio-marzo 1986) (*Quaderni della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, 9), Torino, 1986, pp. 34-35 nr. 22, figg. 18-19. Più in generale cf. M. L. SEBASTIANI, *Libri tra le fiamme: il recupero del fondo manoscritto della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino danneggiato nell'incendio del 1904*, in S. LUCA (ed.), *Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Villa Mondragone - Monte Porzio Catone - Università degli Studi di Roma «Tor Vergata» - Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata, 21-24 aprile 2004)*, Roma, 2008, pp. 363-374. Oggi l'originaria successione dei fogli risulta alterata: in queste pagine indicherò la nuova foliotazione (posta al centro del margine inferiore del recto) e, ove necessario e possibile, la corrispondenza con quella più antica (contrassegnata dal simbolo \*); tra parentesi quadre indicherò i fogli attualmente non numerati.

(10) Sottoscrizione al f. 167v (= 172v\*); M. VOGEL - V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance (Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen. Beiheft, 33)*, Leipzig, 1909 (= Hildesheim, 1966), p. 360.

(11) Notizie sull'abbazia in G. LUNARDI - H. HOUBEN - G. SPINELLI (ed.), *Monasticon Italiae, III, Puglia e Basilicata*, Cesena, 1986, p. 90 (con bibliografia). Cf. anche H. HOUBEN, *Comunità cittadina e vescovi in età normanno-sveva*, in *Otranto nel Medioevo*, pp. 61-97; D. ARNESANO, *San Nicola di Casole e la cultura greca in Terra d'Otranto nel Quattrocento*, in H. HOUBEN (ed.), *La conquista turca di Otranto (1480) tra storia e mito. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio (Otranto - Muro Leccese, 28-31 marzo 2007) (Saggi e Testi, 41)*, I, Galatina, 2008, pp. 107-140: pp. 107-122.

(12) Ff. 1r-92v, 93r-167v (= 6r\*-98v\*, 99r\*-172v\*). Ed. A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej chranjaščichsja v bibliotekach Pravoslavnago Vostoka, I, Типикъ*, Kiev, 1895 (= Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 795-836. Cf. A. LUZZI, *Il calendario eortologico per il ciclo delle feste fisse nel Tipico di S. Nicola di Casole*, in *RSBN*, 39 (2002) (*Giornata di studio in ricordo di Enrica Follieri [Roma 31 maggio 2002]*), pp. 229-261.

(13) Ch. DIEHL, *Le monastère de S. Nicolas di Casole près d'Otrante, d'après un manuscrit inédit*, in *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, 6 (1886), pp. 173-188: p. 177.

una sorta di *thesaurus* monastico, arricchito nel tempo con scritti di indole teologica e poetica, annotazioni di natura cronachistica e biblioteconomica. Si leggono alcuni componimenti poetici<sup>(14)</sup>, opera di Nettario di Casole<sup>(15)</sup>, lo scritto *Περὶ τῆς μνήμης τῶν ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων*<sup>(16)</sup>, una *hypotyposis* sulla dieta dei monaci<sup>(17)</sup>, una lettera patriarcale di risposta alle domande sulla proskomidia, sulla liturgia dei *Presantificati* e sulla frazione del pane poste da Paolo, vescovo di Gallipoli<sup>(18)</sup>, note obituarie sugli egumeni e note annalistiche sul monastero<sup>(19)</sup>, persino un elenco di libri concessi in prestito<sup>(20)</sup>.

Considerando il codice torinese non come il mero contenitore di una sola opera, ma come un *dossier* aperto, arricchito progressivamente, si comprenderà la presenza al suo interno di un testo come le «costituzioni studitane». In verità, però, dei testi riconducibili alla penna di

(14) Ff. [1]rv, [182]v (= rispettivamente f. di restauro e f. 2v\*). Edizione, traduzione e commento delle poesie in questione in M. GIGANTE, *Poeti bizantini di Terra d'Otranto nel secolo XIII*, Napoli, 1979<sup>2</sup> (= Galatina, 1985), pp. 73-77 nrr. I-IX, pp. 85-86, 91-93. Il f. [182]v (= 2v\*) è autografo: ACCONCIA LONGO - JACOB, *Une anthologie salentine*, p. 170. Che l'attuale f. [182] corrisponda al f. 2\* è sostenuto da GULMINI, *I manoscritti miniati*, p. 34 e confermato da un apografo del torinese, conservato a Lecce, Biblioteca Provinciale, ms. 201, in cui, al f. 1r (r. 27) - v (r. 30), fu ricopiato il testo del *recto* con esplicito riferimento appunto al f. 2\*. Si noti inoltre che, prima dell'incendio, il f. 1 [= 6\*] era preceduto da 6 fogli, poiché c'era un foglio preliminare: cf. H. OMONT, *Le Typicon de S. Nicolas de Casole près d'Otrante*, in *REG*, 3 (1890), pp. 381-391: «Le texte du Typicon ne commence qu'au fol. 6, le feuillet préliminaire et les cinq premiers feuillets sont occupés par différents textes et notes» (p. 382).

(15) Sull'egumeno otrantino cf. J. M. HOECK - R. J. LOENERTZ, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto Abt von Casole. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ost-westlichen Beziehungen unter Innocenz III und Friedrich II* (*Studia Patristica et Byzantina*, 11), Ettal, 1965.

(16) Ff. 168r-170v (= 173r\*-175v\*).

(17) Ff. 171r-175v (= 176r\*-180v\*). Trad. ingl. in J. THOMAS - A. CONSTANTINIDES HERO (ed.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundations Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, IV (DOS, 35), Washington, D.C., 2000, pp. 1319-1330 nr. 43.

(18) Ff. 176r-178r (= 181r\*-183r\*). Ed. G. COZZA-LUZI, *De excerptis liturgicis e Typico monasterii Casulani* (*Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, 10, 2), Roma, 1905, pp. 167-171; cf. A. JACOB, *La lettre patriarcale du Typicon de Casole et l'évêque Paul de Gallipoli*, in *RBSN*, 24 (1987), pp. 143-163.

(19) Ff. 179r, 181v (= s.i.f., 3v\*). Cf. OMONT, *Le Typicon de S. Nicolas*, pp. 384-387; COZZA-LUZI, *Lettere casulane*, pp. 24-26, 34-36, 45-47, 51-57.

(20) Ff. 181r, [182]r (= 3r\*, [2r\*]). Cf. OMONT, *Le Typicon de S. Nicolas*, pp. 389-391; COZZA-LUZI, *Lettere casulane*, pp. 58-64.

Teodoro si trova traccia nel solo f. 180, peraltro gravemente danneggiato dal fuoco lungo tutto il bordo esterno (tavv. 5-6)<sup>(21)</sup>. Sul *recto* del foglio ho identificato nove brani da una delle *Ἐκλογαί* (*Epistulae*)<sup>(22)</sup>, quella destinata «Νικολάω μαθητῆϊ»<sup>(23)</sup>, numerati in margine<sup>(24)</sup>. Anche il *verso* contiene degli *excerpta*, precisamente quattro<sup>(25)</sup>; il primo presenta un testo molto simile a quello di un brano della stessa *epistula*<sup>(26)</sup>; il secondo ed il terzo riportano due passi della *Hypotyposis* (*Constitutiones*)<sup>(27)</sup>; per il quarto *excerptum* non ho trovato riscontro alcuno<sup>(28)</sup>.

Le notizie sulla presenza di scritti studitani nel *typikon* di Casole non finiscono però qui. Leggendo infatti con attenzione una delle descrizioni più antiche del codice torinese, quella di Giuseppe Pasini (1749), ci si imbatte in una frase tanto concisa quanto preziosa, relativa ai ff. 4\*-5\*<sup>(29)</sup>: «sequuntur regulae, ni fallor, ejusdem Monasterii capitibus quinquaginta sex comprehensae, quarum priorum viginti desiderantur»<sup>(30)</sup>. I ff. 4\*-5\* contenevano dunque dei testi normativi, scanditi in 56 capitoli, i primi 20 dei quali mancanti. Pasini fornisce delle cifre precise: aveva evidentemente sott'occhio una numerazione esplicita, peraltro facilmente ricostruibile (da 21 a 56)<sup>(31)</sup>. Non si tratta tuttavia, come egli ipotizzò («ni fallor»), di regole di origine casulana («ejusdem Monas-

(21) = f. 5\*.

(22) Ed. PG, 99, coll. 939-944; G. FATOUROS, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae* (CFHB, 31), Berlin, 1992, pp. 31-34 nr. 10 (regesto *ibid.*, p. 152\*).

(23) *PmbZ*, III, nr. 5574.

(24) Capp. 44-52. Per il testo di questi capitoli e di quelli citati in seguito si veda la trascrizione alla fine del presente lavoro.

(25) Capp. 53-56. La numerazione è andata perduta a causa dei danni subiti dal foglio, ma il numero di brani è ricostruibile grazie al *dicolon* e alla *paraphos* che chiudono ognuno di essi (tav. 6, rr. 12, 18, 23, 27).

(26) Cap. 53.

(27) Capp. 54-55. Ed. PG 99, coll. 1703-1720; cf. J. LEROY, *La vie quotidienne du moine studite*, in *Irénikon*, 27 (1954), pp. 21-50 (= *Études sur le monachisme*, pp. 47-79 nr. 3); pp. 24-26 e *passim*.

(28) Cap. 56.

(29) Preciso che il Pasini scrive «fol. 4», ma il contenuto descritto di seguito deve essere esteso al foglio successivo, poiché l'erudito settecentesco di norma non indica gli estremi della porzione di codice descritta (cioè il primo e l'ultimo foglio), ma solo il primo. Dopo il f. 4\* (e 5\*), infatti, egli passa direttamente al f. 6\* (oggi f. 1), in corrispondenza del quale trascrive l'*incipit* del vero e proprio *typikon*.

(30) *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis*, p. 309.

(31) Cf. anche DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej*, p. 796.

terii»), ma, come corresse il Cozza-Luzi, di origine studitana<sup>(32)</sup>. Ed infatti i capitoli 44-56, vanno identificati con i brani individuati sopra, contenuti nel f. 180 (f. 5\* secondo la vecchia foliotazione : così lo indicherò d'ora in poi).

Dei capitoli 21-43 (f. 4\*), invece, nel codice attuale non c'è traccia<sup>(33)</sup>. Alcuni fogli del codice torinese, dispersi dopo il 1904, sono stati di recente identificati<sup>(34)</sup>, ma il f. 4\* non è, purtroppo, fra questi<sup>(35)</sup>. Si sa che l'incendio non provocò solo perdite irrimediabili, ma anche confusione durante le fasi di reperimento, restauro e riordino dei materiali. Per cercare il foglio smarrito nell'attuale collezione libraria torinese si è rivelata di fondamentale importanza un'altra descrizione del codice C III 17, redatta nel 1890 da Henri Omont, successiva quindi a quella di Pasini ma comunque precedente l'incendio. L'autore rivela un dato importante proprio in riferimento ai ff. 4\*-5\*<sup>(36)</sup>: «un dernier document pour l'histoire de la bibliothèque du monastère de Saint-Nicolas di Casole nous est fourni par un fragment de règle dont il ne reste plus dans le manuscrit de Turin (fol. 4 et 5) que les chapitres 20 à 56», cui aggiunge : «cinq articles de cette règle sont relatifs aux devoirs du Bibliothécaire et des Copistes de manuscrits», di cui trascrive il testo. Ecco :

Περὶ τοῦ βιβλιοφύλακος.

λγ'. Ἐὰν τις λάβῃ βιβλίον καὶ μὴ φιλοκάλως κατέχη, ἢ ἀνεωγμένων ἐάσει, ἢ ἀψηται ἄλλης βίβλου ἄνευ ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ κρατοῦντος, ἢ ἐπιζητοίῃ ἑτέραν δέλτον γογγύζων ἐπὶ τῇ δοθείσῃ, μετανοίας κδ' καὶ πλεῖον.

(32) COZZA-LUZI, *Lettere casulane*, pp. 8, 9 n. 5 (dove l'autore, riportando la descrizione di Pasini, per un lapsus traduce «quinquaginta sex» con «36»).

(33) Il f. 4\* non corrisponde all'attuale f. 179 (come sostiene GULMINI, *I manoscritti miniati*, p. 34), che invece riporta sul recto delle note obituarie e Στίχοι εἰς Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις τῆς ἑορτῆς εἰσόδων τῆς Θεοτόκου (cf. *Lecce, Biblioteca Provinciale*, ms. 201, f. 4v, rr. 8-ultimo) e sul verso altre interessanti annotazioni riguardanti il monastero (cf. *ibidem*, f. 8r, rr. 3-20).

(34) A. GIACCARIA, *Nuove identificazioni di manoscritti greci e latini della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, in *Aevum*, 81 (2007), pp. 429-483 : p. 438.

(35) Cf. GIACCARIA, *Nuove identificazioni*, p. 438 : «ff. 5 (1 f. iniziale, gli altri numerati prima dell'incendio come 40, 180, 182 e 183) da unire al codice restaurato in passato». Si noti che i ff. 180\*, 182\* e 183\* furono sostituiti dagli attuali ff. 175, 177 e 178, contenenti la citata lettera di risposta al vescovo Paolo (cf. *supra*) ; essi, quindi, sono utili piuttosto ad una rilettura del testo patriarcale.

(36) OMONT, *Le Typicon de S. Nicolas*, p. 391.

Περὶ τῶν καλιγράφων.

λδ'. Ἐὰν μὴ φιλοκάλως κρατεῖ τὸ τετράδιον, καὶ τίθησι τὸ ἀντιβόλην, καὶ σκέπει ἐν καιρῷ ἑκατέρα, καὶ παρατηρεῖ τὰ ἐναντίστοιχα, καὶ τοὺς τόνους, καὶ τὰς στιγμάς, μετανοίας λ' καὶ ρ'.

λε'. Εἰ ἐκ θυμοῦ συντρίψει κάλαμον, μετανοίας λ'.

λς'. Εἰ ἐπαίρει ἕτερον ἑτέρου τὸ τετράδιον ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ γράφοντος, ν'.

λζ'. Καὶ εἰ μὴ στιχοίῃ τοῖς τετυπωμένοις παρὰ τοῦ πρωτοκαλιγράφου, ἀφοριζέσθω ἤγουν κατακλειέσθω ἡμέραις β' (37).

Come Pasini, Omont non riconobbe l'origine studitana del testo, che per questo è stato in seguito ritenuto di origine casulana. Si tratta invece dell'opera di Teodoro Studita intitolata *Ἐπιτίμια* (*Poenae monasteriales*)<sup>(38)</sup>, precisamente gli *Ἐπιτίμια κοινά* (*Poenae communes*)<sup>(39)</sup>. Quelli trascritti da Omont, numerati nel manoscritto salentino da 33 a 37, sono gli *epitimia* previsti per il bibliotecario e per il copista<sup>(40)</sup>. Ebbene il f. 4\* - che documentava la presenza nel dossier di Casole di un terzo testo stu-

(37) Trad. it. in MINISCI, *Riflessi studitani*, p. 227 ed in O. MAZZOTTA, *Monaci e libri greci nel Salento medievale* (*Scriptorium*, 2), Novoli, 1989, p. 41.

(38) Testo in PG 99, coll. 1733-1748 ed in *Sancti Theodori Studitae scripta varia quae in Sirmondi editione desunt* (*Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, 5, 2), Romae, 1849, pp. 78-90. Cf. E. MARIN, *Les moines de Constantinople depuis la fondation de la ville jusqu'à la mort de Photius (330-898)*, Paris, 1897 (= 2003), pp. 136-156 (*Les pénitences monastiques*) ; O. DELOUIS, *L'igumeno come padre spirituale nella tradizione studita*, in S. CHIALÀ - L. CREMASCHI - A. MAINARDI (ed.), *La paternità spirituale nella tradizione ortodossa. Atti del XVI convegno ecumenico internazionale di spiritualità ortodossa* (Bose, 18-21 settembre 2008), Bose, 2009, pp. 147-172 : pp. 161-162. Più in generale, sul sacramento della penitenza nella Chiesa bizantina e nelle altre Chiese orientali cf. N. BUX, *Reconciliation in the Eastern Churches*, in A. J. CHUPUNGCO (ed.), *Handbook for Liturgical Studies, IV, Sacraments and Sacramentals*, Collegeville, 2000, pp. 105-120 (con bibliografia alla p. 120).

(39) Essi vanno distinti dagli *Ἐπιτίμια καθημερινά* (*Poenae quotidianae*) : testo in PG 99, coll. 1747-1758 ed in *Sancti Theodori Studitae scripta varia*, pp. 138-145.

(40) Ed. PG 99, col. 1740 (capp. 47, 54, 57, 58 e 59). Su questi *epitimia* cf. J. FEATHERSTONE - M. HOLLAND, *A note on penances prescribed for negligent scribes and librarians in the monastery of Studios*, in *Scriptorium*, 36 (1982), pp. 258-260 ; B. L. FONKIČ, *Aux origines de la minuscule stoudite (les fragments moscovite et parisien de l'œuvre de Paul d'Égine)*, in G. PRATO (ed.), *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia greca* (Cremona, 4-10 ottobre 1998) (*Papyrologica Florentina*, 31), Firenze, 2000, pp. 169-186 : p. 173 ; P. ORSINI, *Quale coscienza ebbero i bizantini della loro cultura grafica ?*, in *Medioevo greco*, 5 (2005), pp. 215-248 : p. 226.

ditano, gli *Epitimia* appunto, diverso sia dalle *Epistulae* sia dalla *Hypotyposis* – è a mio avviso identificabile con l'attuale f. 172 del *Taur. B IV 34* (tavv. 3-4) <sup>(41)</sup>. È questo un noto codice di contenuto innografico, tradizionalmente assegnato al sec. XI, con il quale il f. 4\* (così d'ora in poi indicherò il foglio ritrovato), ad esso accorpato nelle fasi di riordino e contrassegnato con il numero 172, nulla ha in realtà a che vedere <sup>(42)</sup>.

A distanza di oltre un secolo da Omont è possibile esaminare nuovamente il foglio del codice otrantino e chiarirne il contenuto. Esso contiene sul *recto* i capitoli 21-32 (preceduti, per la precisione, da tre righe, gli ultimi di un perduto cap. 20), sul *verso* i capitoli 33-43. Quelli appartenenti agli *Epitimia* di Teodoro non sono solo i capitoli 33-37 – che attirarono l'attenzione di Omont e dal quale furono fortunatamente trascritti – ma i capitoli numerati da 20 (di cui si conserva la fine) a 29 e da 32 a 41. Per i capp. 30 e 31, contenenti due dei quattro *epitimia* riservati al monaco cuoco (capp. 27-32), non ho trovato alcun riscontro nell'edizione della *Patrologia*; il secondo ha però un parallelo fra gli *Epitimia* traditi insieme al *typikon* del monastero di S. Maria del *Patir* <sup>(43)</sup>, precisamente tra le colpe per le quali avrebbe meritato una punizione il monaco vivandiere <sup>(44)</sup>. I capitoli 42 e 43 corrispondono invece ad altri due passi della già citata *Epistula*.

Questo ritrovamento ha consentito di ripristinare la successione dei fogli nel codice C III 17 quale appariva agli occhi di Giuseppe Pasini nel 1749. Come accennato, egli lamentava l'assenza dei primi venti capitoli, contenuti in un foglio in origine precedente: il f. 4\* <sup>(45)</sup>. Tale foglio non è

(41) Cf. D. ARNESANO, *Manoscritti greci di Terra d'Otranto. Recenti scoperte e attribuzioni (2005-2008)*, in D. GALADZA - N. GLIBETIĆ - G. RADLE (ed.), *Τοξότης. Studies for Stefano Parenti* ('Ανάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης, 9), Grottaferrata, 2010, pp. 63-101: p. 85 nr. 34, p. 86 Tav. 10. Nell'identificazione di questo foglio sono stato agevolato dall'utilissima base dati *Pinakes. Textes et manuscrits grecs*, curata dall'*Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes del Centre national de la recherche scientifique* di Parigi, consultabile presso <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr>.

(42) J. GROSIDIER DE MATONS, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance*, Paris, 1977, pp. XIII, 73 (sigla T). Questo manoscritto, a sua volta, aveva perso, in seguito all'incendio, alcuni fogli, da poco identificati: GIACCARIA, *Nuove identificazioni*, pp. 435-436.

(43) Entrambi i testi si conservano nel manoscritto *Jenens*. G.B.q.6a, al quale accennerò alla fine del presente lavoro.

(44) *Jenens*. G.B.q.6a, f. 175v, r. 22 («εἰ ἀδιαφόρως σκέει τὰ ξύλα...»).

(45) Che si tratti di un solo foglio è ipotizzabile grazie ad un calcolo basato sulla quantità di testo contenuta nei due *frustula* torinesi.

perduto e costituisce il secondo ritrovamento di cui si dà notizia in queste pagine. Qualche anno fa ho proposto di attribuire ad area otrantina, su base paleografica, il f. 5 del manoscritto 133 della *Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona*, un codice composito <sup>(46)</sup>, in cui il foglio è confluito pur essendo originariamente indipendente da tutti gli altri (tavv. 1-2) <sup>(47)</sup>. Esso contiene gli *Epitimia* di Teodoro Studita, numerati in margine da 1 a 9 (*recto*) e da 10 a 20 (*verso*) <sup>(48)</sup>. Il capitolo 20 si interrompe con la parola «τῆ», che, da edizione, precede «ὕποστροφῆ», la prima parola che infatti si legge sul *recto* del f. 4\*.

Come per i capitoli 30 e 31 (f. 4\*), anche dei capitoli 3, 8, 16 e 19 (foglio veronese) non c'è traccia nell'edizione della *Patrologia Graeca*. Per il primo non ho trovato riscontri. Per il secondo ho rilevato una forte analogia con uno degli *epitimia* traditi dal *typikon* del *Patir* <sup>(49)</sup>:

*Typikon* del *Patir*: Ὁ μὴ συντρέχων προθύμως κατὰ πάντα καιρὸν ἐργασίας τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἀφοριζέσθω ἡμέραν μίαν.  
Veron. η'. Ὁ μὴ συντρέχων μετὰ προθυμίας κατὰ πάντα καιρὸν ἐργασίας τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀδελφοῖς, κατακλειέσθω ἡμέραν μίαν.

Per i capitoli 16 e 19 ho invece notato una corrispondenza rispettivamente negli *epitimia* 59 e 52 attribuiti a Basilio <sup>(50)</sup>. Ecco il confronto con la relativa edizione <sup>(51)</sup>:

(46) Rinvio alla descrizione di E. MIONI, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, II (*Indici e Cataloghi*, 20), Roma, 1964, pp. 508-509; cf. anche S. MARCHI, *I Manoscritti della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona. Catalogo descrittivo redatto da don Antonio Spagnolo*, Verona, 1996, pp. 218-219.

(47) D. ARNESANO, *Il repertorio dei codici greci salentini di Oronzo Mazzotta. Aggiornamenti e integrazioni*, in M. SPEDICATO (ed.), *Tracce di storia. Studi in onore di mons. Oronzo Mazzotta* (*Quaderni de «L'Idomeneo»*, 1), Galatina, 2005, pp. 25-80: p. 25 n. 6, p. 62. In quella sede assegnavo alla medesima regione anche il f. 8, contenente il *pinax* di un libro di contenuto giuridico: L. BURGMANN et alii, *Repertorium der Handschriften des byzantinischen Rechts*, I, *Die Handschriften des weltlichen Rechts* (Nr. 1-327) (*Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte*, 20), Frankfurt am Main, 1995, p. 348 nr. 305.

(48) Cf. LEROY, *La réforme studite*, p. 210 e n. 230 («Veronensis Bibl. Capitul. CXXXII» [sic]).

(49) *Jenens*. G.B.q.6a, f. 174v (rr. 14-16).

(50) Ciò non sorprende, poiché in vari luoghi Teodoro si rifà a Basilio, esplicitamente o meno. Ad esempio in *Cat. III*, 44 è stata riconosciuta l'allusione ad un altro *epitimon* di Basilio (γ'): J. LEROY, *L'influence de Saint Basile sur la réforme studite d'après les Catéchèses*, in *Irenikon*, 52 (1979), pp. 491-506 (= *Études sur le monachisme*, pp. 403-418 nr. 15): p. 498.

(51) PG 31, col. 1313.

PG vθ'. Εἴ τις εὐρεθῆ, ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἀρχιμανδρίτου, γράφων τινὲ ἢ δεχόμενος γράμματα, ἔστω ἀφορισμένος.

Veron. ις'. Εἴ τις εὐρεθῆ λάθρα τοῦ προεστῶτος γράφων τινὲ, ἢ δεχόμενος γράμματα, ἀφοριζέσθω, ἤγουν κατακλειέσθω ἡμέρας γ'.

PG vβ'. Εἴ τις ἀκαίρως ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ ἐψητήριον ἢ εἰς τὸ κελλάριον ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐντετυπωμένων καὶ τῶν φροντιζόντων τῆς εὐταξίας, γενέσθω ἀπευλογίας.

Veron. ιθ'. Εἴ τις ἀκαίρως ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ ἐψητήριον, ἢ εἰς τὸ κελλάριον ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐντετυπωμένων καὶ τῶν φροντιζόντων τῆς εὐταξίας, ἀφοριζέσθω, ἤγουν κατακλειέσθω ἡμέραν μίαν.

Il foglio veronese, oltre ad integrare esattamente il testimone torinese (ff. 4\*-5\*), ci consente, grazie al suo migliore stato di conservazione, di immaginarne la *facies* prima dell'incendio. Membranaceo, esso misura mm 265 x 168<sup>(52)</sup>; come nei *frustula* torinesi, il testo è disposto a piena pagina, in 27 righe; i capitoli, numerati nel margine sinistro, presentano ognuno un'iniziale semplice in *ekthesis* e sono chiusi da *dicolon* e *paragraphos*. C'è una sobria decorazione, costituita dalle iniziali e da elementi fitomorfi posti ai lati del titolo (r. 1 del *recto*)<sup>(53)</sup>.

All'epoca di Pasini il foglio veronese era da tempo separato dal dossier di Casole. Questo nel 1508 era tra le mani di tale Zaccaria<sup>(54)</sup>, quello alla fine dello stesso secolo era tra le mani di un alto prelato, come si legge nell'*ex libris* apposto nel margine superiore del *recto* (tav. 1): «ἐκ τῶν Γαβριήλου τοῦ μητροπολίτου Φιλαδελφείας τοῦ ἐκ Μονεμβασίας τοῦ Σεβήρου». Gabriele Seviros<sup>(55)</sup> fu esponente di spicco della teologia

(52) Le dimensioni dei due fogli torinesi sono state alterate dall'azione del fuoco.

(53) Su questo espediente decorativo, ricorrente nei manufatti salentini, si veda A. JACOB, *Tra Basilicata e Salento. Precisazioni necessarie sui Menei del monastero di Carbone*, in *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 68 (2001), pp. 21-52: p. 48.

(54) Come si evince da una nota, oggi perduta, apposta nel margine superiore del f. 1r (= 6r\*), così trascritta da OMONI, *Le Typicon de S. Nicolas*, p. 382: «Τὸ παρὸν Τηρικὸν ἔνε ἐμοῦ Ζαχαρίου Μέγα Ἰωάννου, ἀγόρασα αὐτὸ εἰς ἀφή», così da COZZA-LUZI, *Lettere casulane*, p. 8: «Τὸ παρὸν τυρικὸν ἐν ἐμοῦ Ζαχαρίου μαγ(ίστρου) Ἰωάννου ἠγόρασα αὐτὸ εἰς ἀφή».

(55) La bibliografia sul personaggio è piuttosto consistente. Mi limito a citare P. CANART, *Alvise Lollino et ses amis grecs*, in *Studi Veneziani*, 12 (1970), pp. 553-587: pp. 555-556, 559-561; M. I. MANUSSACAS, *La comunità greca di Venezia e gli arcivescovi di Filadelfia*, in *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del conve-*

ortodossa nell'epoca della Turcocrazia<sup>(56)</sup>: la presenza del foglio salentino nella sua biblioteca<sup>(57)</sup> va probabilmente ricondotta all'interesse nutrito dal presule per il sacramento della penitenza, di cui si trova testimonianza nell'opera intitolata *Συνταγματίον περὶ τῶν ἀγίων καὶ ἱερῶν μυστηρίων*<sup>(58)</sup>.

La scrittura del foglio veronese è tutta della stessa mano, responsabile sicuramente anche del *recto* del f. 4\* (tavv. 1-3). È una minuscola caratterizzata da *ductus* posato, tracciato arrotondato e leggero schiacciamento; è riconducibile a quell'insieme di grafie influenzate dalle tarde manifestazioni dello stile definito «rectangulaire aplati ou écrasé»<sup>(59)</sup>. Ed anzi proprio la scrittura del copista Nicola nel *typikon* torinese, considerata una delle ultime testimonianze di tale stile, appare come uno dei migliori termini di confronto paleografico; non dovrebbe quindi essere lontana dal vero un'ipotesi di datazione del testimone otrantino degli *Epitimia* alla seconda metà del secolo XII<sup>(60)</sup>. A partire dai primi

gno storico interecclesiale (Bari, 30 aprile - 4 maggio 1969) (*Italia Sacra. Studi e Documenti di Storia Ecclesiastica*, 20), I, Padova, 1973, pp. 45-87: pp. 69-85; G. FEDALTO, *Severo Gabriele*, in E. G. FARRUGIA (ed.), *Dizionario enciclopedico dell'Oriente cristiano*, Roma, 2000, p. 692. Si vedano inoltre i saggi pubblicati nel volume *Gavritil Seviros, arcivescovo di Filadelfia a Venezia, e la sua epoca. Atti della Giornata di studio dedicata alla memoria di Manussos Manussacas (Venezia, 26 settembre 2003)* (Convegno, 9), a c. di D. G. APOSTOLOPOULOS, Venezia, 2004.

(56) Cf. G. PODSKALSKY, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453-1821). Die Orthodoxy im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens*, München, 1988, pp. 118-124.

(57) Sulla consistenza della biblioteca del Seviros cf. S. PINTO MADIGAN, *Gabriel Severos's private Library*, in *Studi Veneziani*, 20 (1990), pp. 253-271; ai manoscritti ivi inventariati (pp. 259-262) va aggiunto il foglio veronese.

(58) Cf. A. AMATO, *Il sacramento della penitenza nel «Συνταγματίον περὶ τῶν ἀγίων καὶ ἱερῶν μυστηρίων» di Gabriele Severo, metropolita di Filadelfia (1541-1616)*, in IDEM, *Il sacramento della penitenza nella teologia greco-ortodossa. Studi storico-dogmatici (sec. XVI-XX)* (*Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων*, 38), Θεσσαλονίκη, 1982, pp. 56-137; un accenno al *Syntagmaton* in 'I. 'OP. ΚΑΛΟΓΗΡΟΥ, *Ἡ ἐγκαθίδρυσις Ἑλληνοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου εἰς Βενετίαν κατὰ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 15τ' αἰῶνος*, in *La Chiesa greca in Italia*, pp. 89-131: pp. 104-105.

(59) A. JACOB, *Les écritures de Terre d'Otrante*, in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine (Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 559)*, Paris, 1977, pp. 269-281: p. 270.

(60) Sul torinese cf. P. CANART - S. LUCÀ (ed.), *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale (Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, 31 marzo - 31 maggio 2000)*, Roma, 2000, p. 104 nr. 41 (A. JACOB), con uno specimen. La scrittura del veronese è somi-



righe del verso del f. 4\* la grafia presenta un andamento corsiveggiante (tav. 4), ancor più accentuato nel f. 5\* (tavv. 5-6). Mancano del tutto, però, rispetto al foglio veronese e al recto del f. 4\*, differenze nel trattereggio: ciò che muta è solo la rapidità d'esecuzione, il che impedisce di dedurre un cambio di mano e rende probabile una semplice *variatio* nel *ductus*, operata – secondo una potenzialità prevista nell'educazione grafica dei copisti bizantini – dal medesimo amanuense (61).

È tempo di tornare al contenuto dei tre fogli otrantini e di esaminarlo più da vicino. È anzitutto difficile, allo stato attuale delle conoscenze, stabilire se nel codice originario gli *Epitimia* fossero preceduti o seguiti da altri testi e, se sì, quali. Quanto al testo superstite, esso si apre, ai primi righe del recto del foglio veronese, con il titolo degli *Epitimia*, nel quale l'opera è attribuita a Teodoro di Studio. Segue una raccolta di testi normativi scanditi in 56 capitoli. Il titolo si riferisce in realtà ai primi 41 capitoli, quelli contenenti i veri e propri *Epitimia*. I capitoli 42-53 riportano brani da una delle *Epistulae*, i capitoli 54-55 due stralci della *Hypotyposis* (62).

Il cap. 42, pur seguendo gli *Epitimia* senza soluzione di continuità, è preceduto da una sorta di sottotitolo, «Εἰς τοὺς ἡγουμένους» (63). Tale intestazione – che sostituisce quella «Νικολάω μαθητῆ», attestata nella tradizione manoscritta dell'*Epistula* (64) – risulta priva di riscontri, eppure non è peregrina, poiché estende la validità dei precetti di Teodoro dal suo scolaro Nicola a chiunque sia oberato della responsabilità di egu-

gliante anche a quella in cui è vergato il Laur. 5.22, raccolta di canoni recentemente assegnata al Salento da A. JACOB, *Autour de Nicolas-Nectaire de Casole*, in J.-M. MARTIN - B. MARTIN-HISARD - A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI (ed.), *Vaticana et Mediaevalia. Études en l'honneur de Louis Duval-Arnould* (Millennio Medievale, 71; *Strumenti e Studi*, 16), Firenze, 2008, pp. 231-251: p. 233 e n. 13.

(61) Sull'argomento si veda G. DE GREGORIO, *Καλλιγραφεῖν / ταχυγραφεῖν. Qualche riflessione sull'educazione grafica degli scribi bizantini*, in E. CONDELLO - G. DE GREGORIO (ed.), *Scribi e colofoni. Le sottoscrizioni dei copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa. Atti del seminario di Erice. X Colloquio del Comité international de paléographie latine (23-28 ottobre 1993)* (Biblioteca del Centro di Collegamento degli Studi Medievali e Umanistici dell'Umbria, 14), Spoleto, 1995, pp. 423-448; M. L. AGATI, *Digrafismo a Bisanzio. Note e riflessioni sul X secolo*, in *Scriptorium*, 55 (2001), pp. 34-56.

(62) Il cap. 56, come ho accennato sopra, è privo di riscontro.

(63) Esso però non è in evidenza come il titolo generale: fu scritto, dalla stessa mano, nello spazio rimasto bianco accanto all'ultimo rigo del cap. 41.

(64) Cf. FATOUROS, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, p. 31 r. 1.

meno. Non mi addentrerò nella questione della genesi e dei rimaneggiamenti di questo e di altri testi studitani (65); faccio piuttosto notare che i capp. 42-53 integrano egregiamente gli *Epitimia*, completando una collezione normativa valida per l'intera comunità, dai più umili confratelli alla sua guida in capo. Neanche i due stralci della *Hypotyposis* nei capitoli 54 e 55 furono scelti a caso: il primo è di fatto anch'esso un *epitimion* (66), in base al quale il monaco reo di aver mandato in frantumi un recipiente sarebbe stato pubblicamente punito nel refettorio (67), proprio per mano dell'egumeno (68); il secondo è un corollario alle pene della reclusione e della *xerophagia*, ricorrenti negli *epitimia*, il quale da un lato prevede l'esistenza nel monastero di apposite celle in cui espia- re la colpa, dall'altro aborrisce il ricorso alla fustigazione (69).

(65) Essa esulerebbe dai limiti del presente lavoro, degna invece di più esperti studiosi della loro tradizione manoscritta. Si pensi ad esempio che l'*Epistula* 10 è a sua volta strettamente legata alla famosa διαθήκη (ed. PG 99, coll. 1813-1824; O. DELOUIS, *Le Testament de Théodore Stoudite: édition critique et traduction*, in *REB*, 67 (2009), pp. 77-109: pp. 92-109; trad. ingl. in *Byzantine Monastic Foundations Documents*, I, pp. 67-83 nr. 3): «Judging from the large number of provisions it shares with an earlier letter of Theodore's to his disciple Nicholas [la decima lettera appunto], Theodore's Testament must be considered a final copy of a work long in gestation» (*ibidem*, p. 70; il corsivo fra parentesi è mio). In particolare, per i brani dei fogli torinesi (capp. 42-53) cf. *ibidem*, p. 81, nn. 1-4, 6, p. 82, nn. 7, 12, 18-21, pp. 82-83, n. 24 (il testo otrantino non è comunque identificabile con quello del *Testamento*). Sulla composizione della διαθήκη cf. anche quanto osservato da O. DELOUIS, *Le Testament de Théodore Stoudite est-il de Théodore?*, in *REB*, 66 (2008), pp. 173-190.

(66) Cap. 54.

(67) Sul refettorio come luogo di punizione nel monastero cf. A.-M. TALBOT, *Mealtime in monasteries: the culture of the Byzantine refectory*, in L. BRUBAKER - K. LINARDOU (ed.), *Eat, Drink and Be Merry (Luke 12:19). Food and Wine in Byzantium. Papers of the 37th annual Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, in Honour of Professor A. A. M. Bryer (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. Publications, 13)*, Aldershot, 2007, pp. 109-126: pp. 121-122.

(68) Si noti che proprio questo brano della *Hypotyposis* studita (PG 99, col. 1717, cap. 35) fu ripreso – come rilevò Enrica Follieri – nel *Βίος* di S. Nilo da Rossano, a proposito di un *epitimion* inflitto al discepolo Stefano: G. GIOVANELLI, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νείλου τοῦ Νέου*, Grottaferrata, 1972, cap. 28, p. 75; E. FOLLIERI, *La Vita di s. Fantino il Giovane (Subs.hag., 77)*, Bruxelles, 1993, p. 116, n. 216.

(69) Cap. 55. Le pene previste da Teodoro erano la scomunica («ἀφορίζεσθω»), il *parastimos* («παρεστηκέτω ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ»), la reclusione («κατακλειέσθω»), la *xerophagia* («ξηροφαγεῖτω») e le genuflessioni («μετάνοιαι»): cf. LEROY, *La réforme studite*, pp. 210-211.

Veniamo ai veri e propri *Epitimia*. Dal confronto con il testo della *Patrologia* emergono delle differenze. Anzitutto nel numero: a fronte dei 110 *epitimia* editi, il nostro manoscritto ne annovera solo 41, poco più di un terzo. Fra questi, 6 non compaiono affatto nella *vulgata*: come accennato, due sono privi di riscontro <sup>(70)</sup>, due hanno un parallelo nel *typikon* del Patir <sup>(71)</sup> e due sono *epitimia* di Basilio <sup>(72)</sup>. Gli altri 35 furono scelti per una metà (esattamente 17) dagli *epitimia* per così dire 'generalì', cioè destinati indistintamente a ciascun confratello <sup>(73)</sup>, per l'altra metà (18) da alcuni degli *epitimia* che chiamerei 'speciali', previsti cioè per i monaci con determinate mansioni: il vivandiere <sup>(74)</sup>, il cuoco <sup>(75)</sup>, il bibliotecario <sup>(76)</sup>, il copista <sup>(77)</sup>, il diacono <sup>(78)</sup> e il maestro <sup>(79)</sup>. Quella otrantina è dunque una versione dello scritto studitano fortemente ridimensionata.

Metà dei 41 *epitimia* traditi dal testimone otrantino (esattamente 21) presenta poi rispetto al testo della *Patrologia* delle differenze nel grado di severità e nella formulazione impiegata <sup>(80)</sup>. In 7 casi si tratta di un'alternativa: ad «ἀφορίζέσθω» della *vulgata* si affianca nel testimone otrantino l'opzione «κατακλειέσθω», introdotta dalla congiunzione «ἤγουν» <sup>(81)</sup>. Così anche «ξηροφαγεῖτο» è variato in «ξηροφαγεῖτο ἢ ἀφορίζέσθω» <sup>(82)</sup>. In un caso si osserva un'attenuazione della pena comminata: «ἀφορίζέσθω, ἤγουν κατακλειέσθω ἡμέραν μίαν» invece di «ἀφορίζέσθω ἡμέρας δύο» <sup>(83)</sup>; in due casi invece un inasprimento: «ἀφορίζέσθω, ἤγουν κατακλειέσθω ἐβδομάδα μίαν» invece di «ἀφορίζέσθω ἡμέραν μίαν» <sup>(84)</sup> e «μετανοίας ν'» invece di «μετάνοια κ'» <sup>(85)</sup>.

(70) Capp. 3 e 30.

(71) Capp. 8 e 31.

(72) Capp. 16 e 19.

(73) Capp. 1-2, 4, 5-7, 9-15, 17-18, 20 e 21.

(74) Capp. 22-26.

(75) Capp. 27-29, 32.

(76) Cap. 33.

(77) Capp. 34-37.

(78) Capp. 38-40.

(79) Cap. 41.

(80) L'altra metà (20) non presenta alcuna differenza: capp. 2, 4-5, 11-12, 14-15, 17, 21-22, 25-28, 32, 34-36, 39 e 41.

(81) Capp. 6-7, 10, 13, 37 e 38.

(82) Cap. 40.

(83) Cap. 9.

(84) Cap. 18.

(85) Cap. 29.

Una differenza sostanziale distingue invece il primo *epitimon*: laddove gli altri testimoni prescrivono «ἐν τῇ εὐλογίᾳ μενέτω κεκυφῶς μέχρι παραλεύσεως τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἐξαιτούμενος συγχώρησιν· καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως λαμβανέτω τὴν εὐλογίαν», l'otrantino recita «ἰστάσθω μέσον παραστηκέτω ἢ ξηροφαγεῖτω ἢ καὶ ἄσιτος μενέτω ἕως τῆς ὀρισμένης ὥρας τῆ ἕξις ἡμέρα» <sup>(86)</sup>. Lo stesso vale per l'ep. 33: «μὴ ἄψηται ὅλως τῆ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη» è sostituito da «μετανοίας κδ' καὶ πλεῖον» <sup>(87)</sup>.

I fogli del dossier casulano riportano dunque gli *Epitimia* di Teodoro Studita in una forma non solo ridotta ma anche adattata, probabilmente ad un uso locale <sup>(88)</sup>. Ciononostante essa appare fornita degli *epitimia* essenziali: quelli di portata generale, quelli attinenti al lavoro manuale <sup>(89)</sup> e quelli afferenti o in qualche modo funzionali alla sfera di una pur modesta produzione culturale <sup>(90)</sup>.

(86) ἄσιτος μενέτω ἕως τῆς ὀρισμένης ὥρας τῆ ἕξις ἡμέρα: questa formula è comunemente attestata nel resto della tradizione, esattamente nell'ep. 12 (PG 99, col. 1736A).

(87) Cap. 33. Altre differenze di notano nei capp. 30 e 34.

(88) Poiché la maggior parte degli *epitimia* omissi sono 'speciali', si può pensare – ma è solo un'ipotesi – che nel monastero di Casole queste pene non fossero contemplate in quanto non necessarie e che non fossero necessarie evidentemente perché non vi era la stessa varietà di *διακονία* attestata nel monastero di Studio. Se tale ipotesi coglie nel vero, è lecito supporre, e contrario, che nel cenobio otrantino fossero certamente previste le mansioni sopra elencate (il vivandiere, il cuoco, il bibliotecario, il copista, il diacono e il maestro; su queste e le altre *διακονία* monastiche cf. LEROY, *La vie quotidienne* cit., pp. 35-36 e nn. 77-78, p. 37 e n. 84; ID., *La réforme studite* cit., p. 198). In particolare, la presenza di *epitimia* per il bibliotecario e per il copista potrebbe essere collegata alla circostanza che il monastero di Casole custodiva e gestiva una collezione libraria, i cui volumi, come accennato all'inizio di questo lavoro, venivano concessi in prestito a richiedenti esterni (questione ben diversa è se tali libri fossero letti o meno dagli stessi confratelli; sulle letture monastiche nel mondo bizantino si veda il saggio di P. SCHREINER, «Il libro è la mia cella». *Le letture monastiche*, in G. CAVALLO [ed.], *Lo Spazio Letterario del Medioevo*, 3, *Le culture circostanti*, I, *La cultura bizantina*, Roma, 2004, pp. 605-631).

(89) Sul valore del lavoro materiale nel monachesimo studitano cf. LEROY, *La vie quotidienne*, pp. 35-40.

(90) L'attività intellettuale e la cultura scritta nei monasteri bizantini non devono – beninteso – essere sopravvalutate; si leggano in proposito le considerazioni di G. CAVALLO, *Πόλις γραμμῶτων. Livelli di istruzione e uso di libri negli ambienti monastici a Bisanzio*, in TM, 14 (2002) (*Mélanges Gilbert Dagron*), pp. 95-113; IDEM, *Leggere a Bisanzio*, Milano, 2007, pp. 129-166.

Per concludere, la scoperta di due *frustula* originariamente appartenenti al dossier di Casole ed il loro collegamento con il f. 180 del *Taur. C III 17* ha permesso la ricostruzione di una raccolta di scritti normativi destinati ad una comunità monastica. Essa si fonda chiaramente su fonti studitane e fu utilizzata nel monastero di S. Nicola di Casole; resta però da chiedersi se la scelta dei capitoli da trascrivere fu operata nello stesso cenobio salentino (magari contestualmente all'elaborazione del suo *typikon*) oppure altrove e in epoche precedenti. Il lavoro ecdotico sulle opere dello studita e sui *typika* è purtroppo lunghi da essere completato, rendendo azzardate, per ora, conclusioni in merito all'origine di tale raccolta e alla sua collocazione stemmatica rispetto agli altri testimoni. Fra questi non si può non ricordare il dossier di un altro importante *milieu* monastico italo-greco, quello calabrese di S. Maria Nea Odigitria, detto del *Patir*. Si tratta del manoscritto di Jena, *Universitätsbibliothek*, G.B.q.6a<sup>(91)</sup>, che tramanda, oltre al *typikon* attribuito al fondatore Bartolomeo di Simeri († 1130), proprio gli *Epitimia* di Teodoro Studita, in una versione parzialmente diversa da quella edita dal Migne<sup>(92)</sup>. Per

(91) Cf. S. LUCÀ, *I Normanni e la 'rinascita' del sec. XII*, in *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 60 (1993), pp. 1-91: p. 11 e n. 42 (sec. XIII m.), tav. 1; A. VON STOCKHAUSEN, *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften im Besitz der Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena*, in *BZ*, 94 (2001), pp. 684-701: pp. 692-697 (1152-1182), tavv. XVI-XVII figg. 4-5. Del manoscritto esiste una copia realizzata nel 1903 da Sofronio Gassisi, oggi conservata nel codice *Crypt. Γ. α. XXIX* (Gr. 213): S. LUCÀ, *Su origine e datazione del Crypt. B. β. VI (ff. 1-9). Appunti sulla collezione manoscritta greca di Grottaferrata*, in L. PERRIA (ed.), *Tra Oriente e Occidente. Scritture e libri greci fra le regioni orientali di Bisanzio e l'Italia (Testi e Studi Bizantino-Neellenici, 14)*, Roma, 2003, pp. 145-224: p. 211, n. 296.

(92) Per un confronto tra la vulgata e la versione patiriense degli *Epitimia* (in trad. italiana) cf. E. MORINI, *Il monachesimo italo-greco e l'influenza di Stoudios*, in *L'Ellenismo italota dal VII al XII secolo. Alla memoria di Nikos Panagiotakis (Convegno Internazionale, 8)*, Atene, 2001, pp. 125-151: pp. 145-151. Devo precisare che il testo in questione non è (come per una svista è sostenuto *ibid.*, n. 35) quello contenuto nei ff. 172r-173v, intitolato «Τοῦ αὐτοῦ [scil. Teodoro] μοναχικὰ παραγγέλματα τοῖς ἐν κοινοβίῳ ζῶσιν ἀναγκαϊότατα» (= *Crypt. Γ. α. XXIX*, ff. 122v-124r; esso pure è un testo normativo, attribuito nel titolo a Teodoro Studita; se ne conserva una versione paleoslava, edita, col testo patiriense a fronte, da A. M. PENTROVSKIJ, *Tipikon patriarcha Aleksija Studita v Vizantii i na Rusi*, Moskva, 2001, pp. 66-69), ma quello contenuto nei ff. 173v-176r, intitolato «Κοινὰ τῆς ἀδελφότητος τῶν μοναχῶν ἐπιτίμια περὶ τῶν ἀπολιμπανομένων τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας» (= *Crypt. Γ. α. XXIX*, ff. 124r-126r; cf. PENTROVSKIJ, *Tipikon patriarcha*, p. 69, n. 70).

quanto ho potuto vedere, la versione patiriense è diversa anche da quella otrantina, ma sul confronto fra le due ritornerò dettagliatamente in altra sede. Di sicuro si conosce ora un testimone salentino degli *Epitimia* di Teodoro, un'opera della quale non si aveva alcuna notizia per la Terra d'Otranto: esso incrementa la scarna documentazione studitana nella regione ed anzi è contestualizzabile in un centro monastico preciso, quello di S. Nicola di Casole. L'influenza della riforma monastica in Italia meridionale ha lasciato una nuova, direi significativa, testimonianza, quella degli *Epitimia* del venerabile padre Teodoro, pervenuti anche ai confratelli di Otranto.

#### Trascrizione

Ho preferito non correggere gli errori di ortografia presenti nel manoscritto. Il testo non leggibile a causa dello stato di conservazione oppure perduto per la lacuna del supporto è stato ove possibile integrato, tra parentesi quadre, sulla base di quello edito nella PG. Le lettere di lettura incerta sono indicate da un puntino sottostante.

Veron. 133 f. 5r [tav. 1]	† Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Θεοδοῦρου ἡγουμένου τῶν Στουδίου (ου ex ω), ἐπιτίμια κοινὰ τῆς ὅλης ἀδελφότητος ἐπὶ τῶν παραλειπόντων ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰς τὸν κανόνα: -	Rif. all'ed.
1	α'. Ὁ μὴ εὐρισκόμενος εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον τοῦ Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῶ, ἀνευ ἀσθενείας, ἢ ἐτέρας εὐλόγου κατοχῆς, ἰστάσθω μέσον παραστηκέτω, ἢ ξηροφαγεῖτω, ἢ καὶ ἄσιτος μενέτω ἕως τῆς ὀρισμένης ὥρας τῆ ἑξῆς ἡμέρας: -	Theod. Stud. Epit. (PG) nr. 1
2	β'. Ὁ μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τῆς ἐγέρσεως τῆς τραπέζης, μὴ ἀπιῶν καθὼς διατέτακται, βαλλέτω μετανοίας κ'.	19
3	γ'. Ὁ ὁμιλῶν ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσι, καὶ καταργῶν τὸν πλησίον ἀπὸ τῆς θείας δοξολογίας, μετὰ μίαν ὑπόμνησιν εἰ οὐ σιωπήσει, μετανοίας κ': -	-
4	δ'. Ὁ μὴ εὐρισκόμενος ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ καταχήσεσι τῆς ἐβδομάδος, ἀνευ αἰτίας εὐλόγου, ξηροφαγεῖτω: -	14
5	ε'. Ὁ συντυγχάνων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποδείπνων, μετανοίας ν': -	20
6	ς'. Ὁ παρὰ τὴν ὀρισμένην ἄνεσιν ἀναπατῶν, καὶ περιερχόμενος ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ, ἀφοριζέσθω, ἢ γουν κατακλειέσθω ἡμέραν μίαν: -	17



	7	ζ'. 'Ο ἀφ' ἑτέρου ἐργαστηρίου, εἰς ἕτερον μετερχόμενος, ἄνευ καθηκούσης αἰτίας, ἀφοριζέσθω, ἤγουν κατακλειέσθω ἡμέραν μίαν :-	18
	8	η'. 'Ο μὴ συντρέχων μετὰ προθυμίας κατὰ πάντα καιρὸν ἐργασίας τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀδελφοῖς, κατακλειέσθω ἡμέραν μίαν :-	Cf. <i>tyrikon</i> Jena, f. 174v nr. 14-16
	9	θ'. Πᾶς ὁ ἐργοχειριάτης, μὴ ἐν ἡσυχία ἐργαζόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀνακινῶν ξένας ὀμιλίας, ἀφοριζέσθω, ἤγουν κατακλειέσθω ἡμέραν μίαν :-	Theod. Stud. <i>Epit.</i> (PG) nr. 21
Veron. 133 f. 5v [tav. 2]	10	ι'. 'Ο εὐρισκόμενος ἐν παντὶ κλέμματι, ἀφοριζέσθω, ἤγουν κατακλειέσθω ἑβδομάδα μίαν :-	22
		ια'. 'Ο κραυγάζων παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς, βαλλέτω μετανοίας λ' :-	23
	11	ιβ'. 'Εὰν εὐρεθῆ τινὸς τί κατὰ πάντα τόπον πάρεξ τῶν δεδομένων μετὰ εὐλογίας, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μὲν ἀφαιρείσθω, κάκεινος δὲ ξηροφαγείτω :-	24
	12	ιγ'. 'Εὰν τις ἔχη ἀνεξάγγελτόν τι, ἢ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ὀρισμένων ἐξαγγείλη τινὶ, ἀφοριζέσθω, ἤγουν κατακλειέσθω ἡμέραν μίαν :-	25
	13	ιδ'. 'Εὰν τις διερχομένων τῶν δύο ἑβδομάδων, μὴ ἐξαγγείλη εἰς τὸν ἡγούμενον δυνάμενος, ἀφοριζέσθω ἡμέραν α'.	26
	14	ιε'. Εἴ τις τινὸς ἀνέχεται καταλαλοῦντος, καὶ ἢ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐπιδιωρθώσῃται τὸν καταλαλοῦντα, ἢ οὐκ ἀνεχόμενον ἀνενέγκῃ τῷ προεστῶτι, [rasura : ± 3 lettere] μετανοίας ρ' :-	27
	15	ἑκατὸν ποιησάτωσαν οἱ ἀμφοτέροι :- [cancellato]	
	16	ις'. Εἴ τις εὐρεθῆ λάθρα τοῦ προεστῶτος γράφων τινὶ, ἢ δεχόμενος γράμματα, ἀφοριζέσθω, ἤγουν κατακλειέσθω ἡμέρας γ' :- [rasura : un rigo]	Basil. <i>Epit.</i> (PG) nr. 59
	17	ιζ'. 'Ο καλούμενος ὑπὸ τινος ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ μὴ εὐθὺς ἀποκρινόμενος τῆς κλήσεως, οὐ μακρὰν οὔσης, μετανοίας λ' :-	Theod. Stud. <i>Epit.</i> (PG) nr. 28
	18	ιη'. Πᾶς ὁ φατριάζων κατὰ τοῦ προεστῶτος, καὶ συνταράσσων τὴν ἀδελφότητα, ἀφοριζέσθω, ἤγουν κατακλειέσθω ἑβδομάδα μίαν :-	30
	19	ιθ'. Εἴ τις ἀκαίρως ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ ἐνητήριον, ἢ εἰς τὸ κελλάριον ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐντετυπωμένων καὶ τῶν φρονιζόντων τῆς εὐταξίας, ἀφοριζέσθω, ἤγουν κατακλειέσθω ἡμέραν μίαν :-	Basil. <i>Epit.</i> (PG) nr. 52

		κ'. Εἴ τις ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐξεληθὼν εἰς ἀγάπην, ἐν τῇ ὑποστροφῇ διηγήσοιτο τὰ συμβιάντα καθ' οἷον δῆποτε] τρόπον μάλιστα ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐρωτῶ]μένων ὑπὸ τοῦ προεστῶτος κατακλειέσθω ἡμ[έραν . . .]	Theod. Stud. <i>Epit.</i> (PG) nr. 31
Taur. B IV 34 f. 172r (= Taur. C III 17 f. 4r*) [tav. 3]	20	κα'. 'Ο συνενγκῶς ἀδελφοῦ τὴν ἐκ [τοῦ μ]οναστηρίου [ἔξο]δον, ἢ συνομιλήσας, ἢ συνεν . . . σας καὶ μὴ προαν[αγγεί]λας, ἀφοριζέσθω ἑβδομάδα μίαν :-	35
		[Περὶ τοῦ κελλα[ρίτου]	
	22	κβ'. Χύμα οἴνου ἐὰν γένηται, μετάνοιας κατὰ τὸ μέτρο[v] τοῦ χύματος, ε' καὶ τὴν ἄνω ὠσαύτως καὶ χύμα ὄξους, ἢ ἐλαίου, ἢ ὀσπρίου, ἢ ἄλλου τινος :-	36
	23	κγ'. Σῆψις εἶδους τινὸς, καὶ παντίου βιβρωσκομέν[ου] ἐὰν τύχοι] μετανοίας [ι' :-	37
	24	[κδ'] 'Εὰν τι σκεῦος ἀσκέπαστον εὐρεθῆ ἐπὶ πολὺ, αἱ αὐτὰ μετάνοιαι δέκα :-	38
	25	κε'. 'Εὰν πλείω παρατίθῃ τῇ τραπέζῃ ἢ ὑπολείψ[. . .] τῶν διατετυπωμένων μετανοίας ρ' :-	39
	26	κς'. Συντριβὴ ἐὰν γένηται οἰουδήποτε σκεύους μέχρι βαυκαλίου μετάνοιαι ρ' [καὶ σ'] καὶ τ', ἢ καὶ παραστάσιμον μετὰ τοῦ [αὐτοῦ] σκεύους :-	40
		[Περὶ τοῦ ὀψοποιοῦ]	
	27	κζ'. 'Εὰν μὴ γέμῃ ὁ λέβης, μετανοίας λ', ὠσαύτως καὶ ὁ κούκου[μος] :-	41
	28	κη'. 'Εὰν περίσσευμα ἀφανισθῆ μετανοίας ρ' · εἰ δὲ ῥηφῆ ἀκριθῆν, παραστάσιμον μετὰ ξηροφ[αγίας] :-	42
	29	κθ'. 'Εὰν μὴ προσβάλλῃ ἐν καιρῷ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τ[ὸ] ἄλλας] ἵνα συνεψηθῶ σι, μετανοίας ν' :-	43
	30	λ'. 'Εὰν μὴ ἐξίσου παρατιθῆ τὰς μαγρηείας, [. . .]	-
	31	λα'. Εἰ ἀδιαφόρω(ς) σκέει τὰ ξύλα, μετανοίας λ' :-	Cf. <i>tyrikon</i> Jena, f. 175v r. 22
	32	λβ'. 'Εὰν συντρίψῃ τις τῶν μοναχῶν χύτραν ἢ π[υρο]στάτης,] ἢ κακκάβην, ἢ ἐσχάραν, ἢ ἄλλο τι μαγειρικὸν σκεῦος] ἐκ καταφρονήσεως, μετανοίας ρ' καὶ σ' καὶ τρια[ς] [. . .]	Theod. Stud. <i>Epit.</i> (PG) nr. 46

Taur. B  
IV 34  
f. 172v  
(= Taur.  
C III 17  
f. 4v\*)  
[tav. 4]

[Περὶ τοῦ βιβλιοφύλακος]

33 [λγ'. Ἐὰν τις λάβῃ βιβλίον καὶ μὴ φιλοκάλως κατέχη, ἢ ἀνεωγ[μέναν] εἶσῃ, ἢ ἀψηται ἄλλης βίβλου ἄνευ ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ [κρα]τουόντος, ἢ ἐπιζητοίῃ ἕτερον δέλτον γογγύζων [ἐπὶ] τῇ δοθείσῃ, μετανοίας κδ' καὶ πλεῖον :-

## [Περὶ τῶν καλιγράφων]

34 [λδ'. Ἐὰν μὴ φιλοκάλως κρατεῖ τὸ τετράδιον, καὶ τίθησι τὸ ἀντιβόλην, καὶ σκέπει ἐν καιρῷ ἑκάτερα καὶ παρατηρεῖ τὰ τε ἀντίστοιχα, καὶ τοὺς τόνους, καὶ τὰς στιγμάς, μετανοίας λ' καὶ ρ' :-

35 [λε'.] Εἰ ἐκ θυμοῦ συντρίψει κάλαμον μετάνοιαι λ' :-

36 [λς'.] Εἰ ἐπαίρει ἕτερον ἕτερου τὸ τετράδιον ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ γράφοντος, ν' :-

37 [λζ'.] Καὶ εἰ μὴ στιχοῖ τῶν τετυπωμένων παρὰ τοῦ πρωτοκαλ[ιγρ]άφου, ἀφοριζέσθω ἤγουν κατακλειέσθω ἡμέραις β' :-

## [Περὶ τοῦ διακόνου]

38 [λη'.] Ἐὰν εἰσφέρει λόγον ἢ ἀπόκρισιν, ἢ εἶδη παρὰ τῶν ἔξω, ἢ παρὰ τῶν συγγενῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἀφοριζέσθω ἤγουν κατακλειέσθω ἡμέραν α' :-

39 [λθ'.] Ἐὰν ἐν ταῖς ἀγορασίαις, ἢ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι διαμάχεται ἢ παροξύνεται ἢ ὄρκον ποιῆται, καὶ μὴ μέχρι δευτέρας καὶ τρίτης φωνῆς ποιεῖται τὴν τε πράσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγορασίαν, μετανοίας ν' καὶ ρ' :-

40 [μ'.] Ἐὰν μὴ μετὰ προσηκούσης εὐλαβείας ποιῆται τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἐξόδους, ὥστε μετὰ εὐχῆς περιπατεῖν, [καὶ στι]χολογεῖν, μὴ περιβλεπόμενος εἰς γυναικίας ὄψεις, ἢ εἰς [ἄλλα] ἀναφελῆ, ἵνα τὸ ὄσον ἐπ' αὐτῶ δοξάζηται ὁ Θεὸς διὰ [τῆς τῶν] ὁράντων ἀφελείας, ξηροφαγεῖται, ἢ ἀφοριζέσθω ἡμέραν α' :-

## [Περὶ τοῦ διδασκάλου τῶν παιδῶν]

41 [μα'. Πάντα αἰ]σχρὸν λόγον ἢ ὄνειδιστικόν, πάρεξ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων, [καὶ παι]δευτικῶς ταῦτα λαλούντων, ὁ ἐκφέρει ἐν τῇ ἀδελ[φότη]τι, μετανοίας ν' :-

Εἰς τοὺς ἡγουμένους :-

Theod. Stud.  
Epist.

42 [μβ'. Οὐ δι]αλλάξεις ὃν παρέλαβες τύπον καὶ κανόνα παρὰ τῆς [..] μινωσεῶς μου ἐν ἅπασιν, ἄνευ κατεπειγούσης ἀνάγκης :-

43 [μγ'. Οὐ κτ]ήσεις τι τοῦ κόσμου τούτου οὐδὲ ἀποθησαυρίσεις ἰδιο[ρίστω]ς εἰς ἑαυτὸν, μέχρι ἐνὸς ἀργυρίου :-

Taur. C  
III 17  
f. 180r  
(= f. 5r\*)  
[tav. 5]

44 μδ'. Οὐ διαμερίσεις [τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν] καρδίαν σου ἐν σχέ[σει] καὶ φροντίδι] παρὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ θεοῦ πεπιστευμ[ένους] σοι καὶ γενομένους σοι πνευματικῶς] υἱὸς καὶ ἀδελφούς, εἰς τοὺς ποτὲ [ιδίους κατὰ σάρκα] ἢ συγγενεῖς, ἢ φίλους ἢ συνεταίρους :-

45 με'. Οὐ κτήσεις δοῦλον, οὔτε εἰς οἰκειάν χρεῖαν οὔτε εἰς ἦν ἐπι]στεύθης μονὴν, οὔτε εἰς ἀγρούς, τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ [γεγονότα] ἄνθρωπον · σὺ δὲ χρεῶν μάλλον παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν δοῦλον [τοῖς] ὁμοτύχοις σου ἀδελφοῖς τῇ [προθέσει, κἂν] τῇ ἔξω ἐπιφανεῖα ὡς δεσπότης λογί[ζη] καὶ διδάσκ[αλ]ο[ς] :-

46 μς'. Οὐκ ἐποχοῦμενος ἔση ἐπὶ ἵπποις καὶ ἡμίονοις, δίχ' ἀνάγκ[ης], ἀλλὰ χριστομιμητῶς πεζοπορήσεις · εἰ δ' οὖν, πῶλός σοι ἔστω τὸ ὑποζύγιον :-

47 μζ'. Παραφυλάξεις πάντως τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀδελφότητι κοινὰ εἶναι καὶ ἀμέριστα, καὶ μηδὲν κατὰ μέρος τοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον εἰς ἐξαυθέντησιν μέχρι καὶ ῥαφιδο[ς] :-

48 μη'. Οὐ δύεις ὅπερ λέγουσι μικρὸν σχῆμα, ἔπειτα ὡς μέγα · ἐ[ν γὰρ] τὸ ἅγιον σχῆμα, ὡσπερ καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα καθὼς οἱ ἅγιο[ι] πατέρες ἐχρήσαντο :-

49 μθ'. Οὐ κτήσεις μαθητὴν εἰς τὸ κελλίον σου μηράκιον προσπαθῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκ προσώπου ἀνυπόπτου καὶ ἐκ διαφ[ό]ρων ἀδελφῶν, τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν σου πιθήσεις :-

50 ν'. Οὐ κτήσεις ἱματισμὸν ἐξηλλαγμένον καὶ πολύτιμον ἄ[νευ] τοῦ] ἱερατικοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς πατρομιμη[τῶς] καὶ ὑπο[δήση] :-

51 να'. Οὐκ ἔση ἀβροδίετος (αι s.l.), οὔτε ἐν τῷ οἰκείᾳ σου δαπάνῃ, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς τῶν ξένων τοῦτο περισσάμενος · ἔστι γὰρ τῆς μερίδος τῶν ἀπολ[αυστικῶν] τοῦ παρόν[τος] βίου :-

Taur. C  
III 17  
f. 180v

52 νβ'. Οὐ θησαυρίσεις (ει ex η) χρυσίον ἐν τῇ μονῇ σου, ἀλλὰ τὸ κατὰ περίσσειαν ἐπὶ παντὸς εἶδους μετα[δοίης]

(Fatouros 10)

rr. 4-6

6-7

7-11

16-21

24-26

26-29

47-49

67-69

70-71

72-74

75-77

(= f. 5v\*)  
[tav. 6]

- τοῖς πενομένοις ἐν ἀν]οίξει τῆς αὐλῆς σου [καθῶς  
καὶ οἱ] ἅγιοι πατέρες.
- [. . .] συμφερόντος τῆ ἀδελφότητι [. . .] . . . ρεχοντος καὶ  
ἐξουσιάζοντος, [. . .] ᾧνα, οὔτε ὑποσταλεῖς μέχρις  
αἵματος [. . .] ἧς τῶν θείων νόμων καὶ ἐντολῶν  
προθῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν σου : -
- [vγ'. Οὐ ποιήσε]ις τι ἢ πράξεις κατ'οικεῖαν γνώμην ἐν  
παντὶ [πρά]γματι τῶν τε ψυχικῶν καὶ τῶν σωμα-  
τικῶν, ἄνευ βουλῆς τῶν προ[εχόν]των ἐν γ[ν]ώσ[ει]  
53 καὶ εὐλαβεία, κατὰ τὴν ὑποκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν ἐνὸς =83-91  
γὰρ τυ . ων ἢ δυο καὶ τριῶν, ἢ καὶ πλειόνων, ὥσπερ  
εντεταλμεθ πατρικῶς κ[. . .] διήξαμεν, ταῦτα πάν-  
τα καὶ ὅσα [ἔτε]ρα ἐξελάβου, παραφυλάξεις καὶ  
φρουρήσεις, ἵνα εὖ σοι [γέ]νηται καὶ ἔση κατευ-  
δούμενος ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἀμήν : -
- [vδ'. Δ]εῖ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἡνίκα κλάσει ἀδελφὸς σκευὸς  
54 τί, εἴτε ὀστράκινον, εἴτε σιδηροῦν, τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ  
ἀρίστου, ἐσθι[όν]των τῶν ἀδελφῶν, παρίσταται Theod. Stud.  
πλησίον τῆς τραπέ[ζης] τοῦ ἡγουμένου, τὴν Hyp. (PG)  
κεφαλὴν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ περικαλύπτων κουκουλλίῳ, cap. 35  
καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συντριβὲν μετὰ χεῖρας, φέρον, εἰς  
ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ οικείου σφάλματος : -
- [vε'. Χρῆ] γινώσκειν ὡς καὶ ἀφορίστρια εἰσὶ παρ' ἡμῖν,  
55 ἐν αἷς [οἱ ἀ]πειθεῖς καὶ δυσήνιοι κατακλείονται,  
ξηροφαγοῦντες καὶ [παι]δεύομενοι τὴν ἀρετὴν . ἢ 25  
γὰρ διὰ μαστήγων παιδευσίς ὡς [τοῖς] κοσμικοῖς  
ἀρμώζουσα, τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν, [ἀπόβ]λητος  
εἰκότως ἐχρίθη : -
- [vς'. . .] ὅτι τὴν ἀργεῖαν τῶν ἁγίων ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ  
56 μέγας Θεόδωρος [. . .] ουδίων (ου s.l.), ἐρμηνεύων,  
εἶναι λέγει τὴν στιχολογίαν τοῦ [. . .] . . μὴ ὅτι τὰς  
ἄρας, ἢ τὰ μεσῶρια αὐτῶν ὡς τινες [. . .]  
ἀζουσιν καὶ δουκοῦσιν : -

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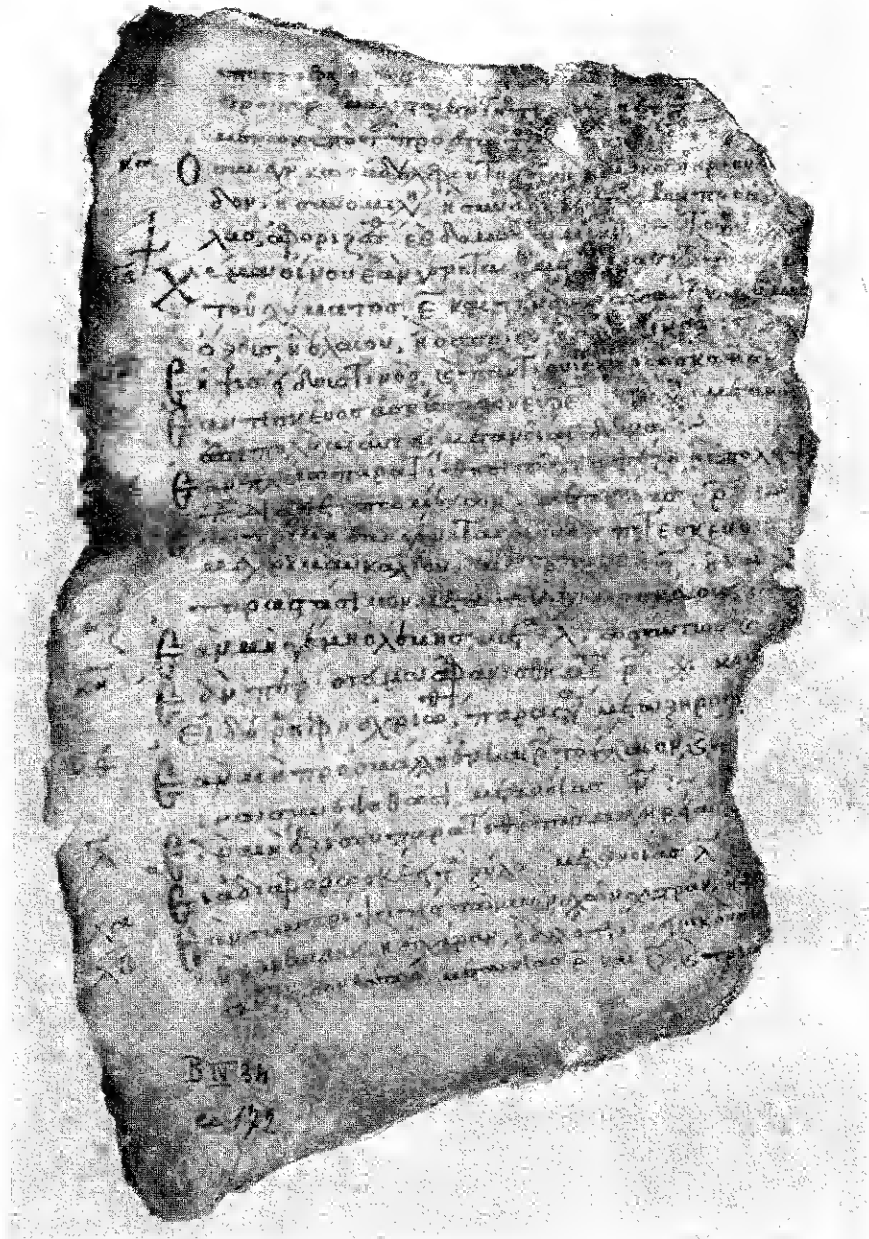
Daniele ARNESANO.  
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## SUMMARY

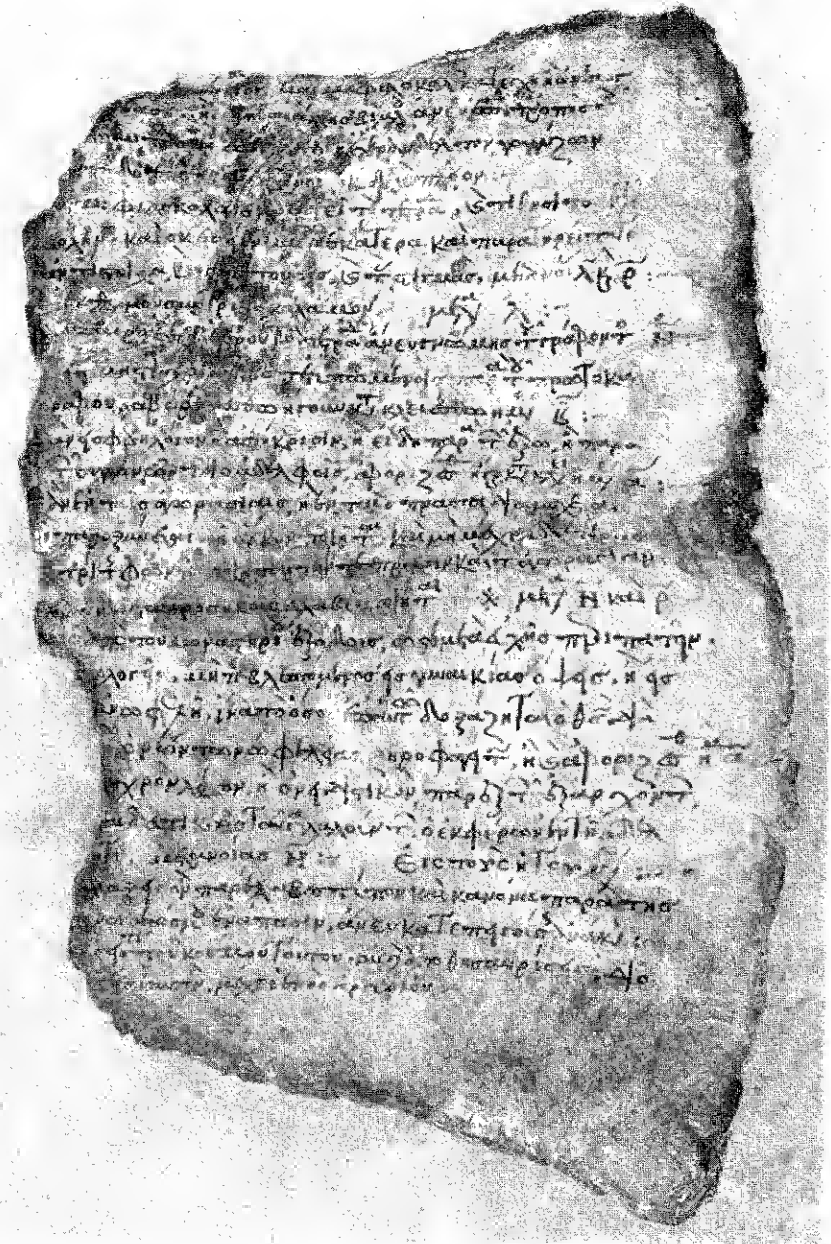
The author pieces together a manuscript of *Epitimia* of Theodore the Stoudite and other chapters prescribing monastic rules to the hegumen and monks. The manuscript, dating back to the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, was originally belonging to the famous dossier of the St. Nicola of Casole Abbey (*Taur.* C III 17). The Salentine manuscript reports a shortened version of *Epitimia* adapted for the Otranto monastery.



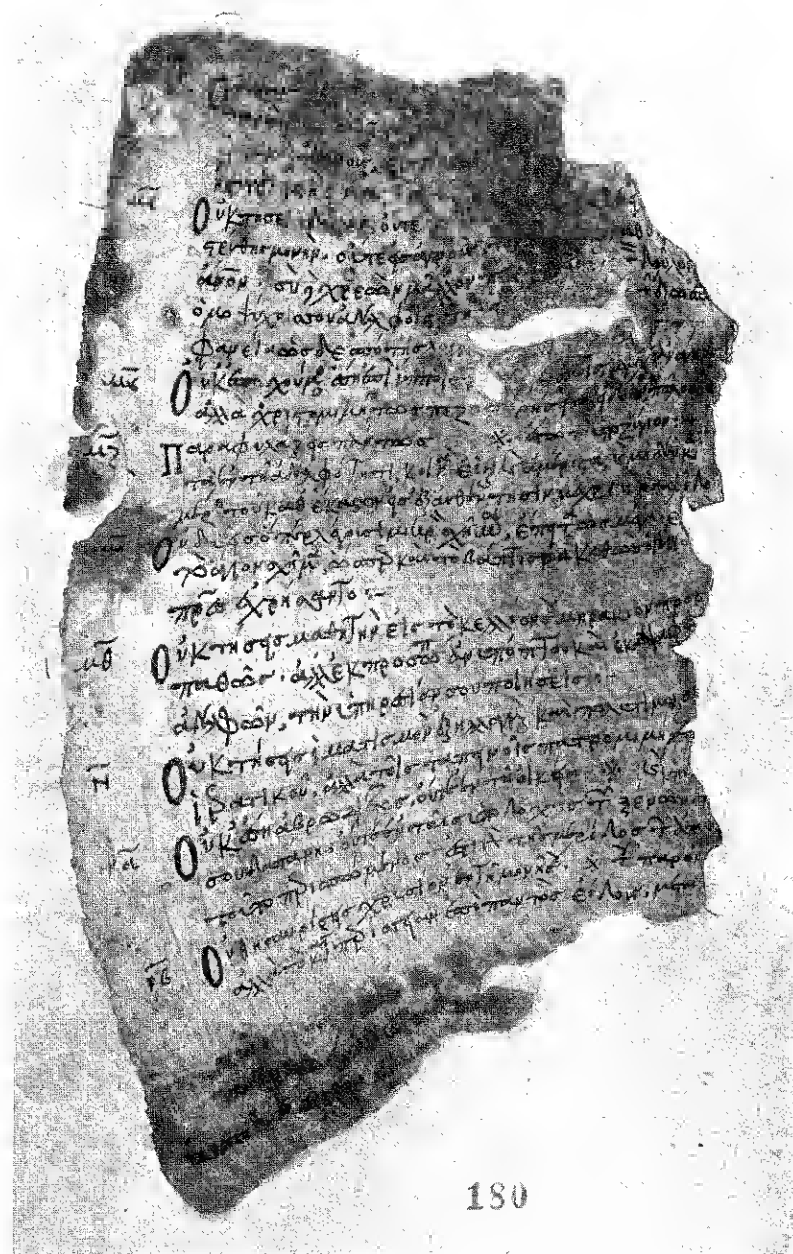




TAV. 3. — Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, B IV 34, f. 172r.



TAV. 4. — Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, B IV 34, f. 172v.



TAV. 5. — Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, C III 17, f. 180r.



TAV. 6. — Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, C III 17, f. 180v.

IN STARVATION'S SHADOW : THE ROLE OF LOGISTICS  
IN THE STRAINED BYZANTINE-EUROPEAN RELATIONS  
DURING THE FIRST CRUSADE

*Emperor Alexius "knew their irresistible manner of attack, their unstable and mobile character and all the peculiar natural and concomitant characteristics which the Frank retains throughout ; and he also knew that they were always agape for money, and seemed to disregard their truces readily for any reason that cropped up."*

Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad* (1)

"All study of logistics must begin with numbers" (2). Thus medievalist Bernard S. Bachrach, a pioneer in the study of medieval logistics, quite

(1) *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena*, trans., E. A. S. DAWES, New York, 1967, henceforth *Alexiad*, p. 248 and Anna KOMNENE, *Alexias*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., trans. and ed., D. R. REINSCH, Cologne, 1996, henceforth *Alexias*, p. 334 : "Er fürchtete ihren Einmarsch, da er die Unwiderstehlichkeit ihrer Attacken kannte, aber auch den Wankelmut ihrer Überzeugungen, ihre leichte Beeinflußbarkeit und alles übrige, was zur Natur der Kelten durchweg als ihr fest innewohnende oder mit ihr verbundene Eigenschaft gehört, und auch, daß sie, immer gierig nach Geld, ganz offensichtlich auch aus beliebigem Anlaß die von ihnen getroffenen Vereinbarungen leicht umwerfen." For the purposes of the article, English quotes cited in the text are from Dawes' translation, which sticks closely to the original Greek. However, Diether R. Reinsch's modern and updated German edition is excellent, and I have included relevant pages from this version in the footnotes, as well. Anna, Emperor Alexius Comnenus' daughter, wrote the *Alexiad* later in life after her husband died in 1137. Anna was fourteen at the start of the First Crusade, and her husband, Nikephoros Bryennios, led Byzantine troops into battle against the crusaders in 1097. In the *Alexiad*, Anna treats her father as a heroic figure, and, though somewhat biased, her book remains an important — and eyewitness — account of the First Crusade written from the perspective of the Byzantines.

(2) B. S. BACHRACH, *Crusader Logistics: From Victory at Nicaea to Resupply at Dorylaion*, in J. H. PRYOR (ed.), *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades: Proceedings of a Workshop held at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Sydney, 30 September to 4 October 2002*, Burlington, VT, 2006, p. 45.

rightly points out that a thorough study of the movement and supply of medieval armies ought to be rooted in statistical and numerical analysis in order to carry weight. Studies of this type can be perceived as dry and limited in scope, focusing primarily on military operations but having little explanatory value off the field of battle. However, as Bachrach implies, there is something more to a logistical analysis than numbers. The disruption of an implemented logistical system can have a significant psychological and physical effect on the individuals involved. Further, it can have a profound influence on how participants perceive or interpret an experience. Keeping this in mind, the purpose of this article is to look at a particular event, in this case the journey of the crusade armies through the Byzantine Empire during the time of the First Crusade, and examine how the supply of food affected relations between the crusaders and the Byzantines.

In 1096, as the First Crusade got under way, Byzantine chronicler Anna Comnena's dubious assessment of the oncoming Western Europeans, quoted at the top of this article, was mirrored in western chroniclers' acrimonious views of their Byzantine hosts. In trying to understand the tensions that marked the relations between the crusaders and the Byzantines during the First Crusade, historians have emphasized the previous decades-long history of discord between Byzantium and the West, and the crusaders' uncalled for brutality and avarism toward their hosts and consequent issues of control over the crusaders. However, a crucial factor — food supplies — has been understated and oversimplified. A close examination of the tension between the erstwhile collaborators at the time of the First Crusade suggests that at this critical juncture in their ongoing social and political relationship, the supply of food seriously undermined relations between the crusaders and the Byzantines, gravely tarnishing political and military negotiations, and setting a precedent that clouded future interaction. Further, logistical issues appear to shed light on divisions among the social classes, namely, how individuals in the same army, but of different backgrounds, might interpret a similar event in distinctive ways.

While the crusade was undertaken on a foundation of mutual need and despite longstanding feelings of misgiving between Byzantines and Westerners, the tension that constantly threatened to torpedo the enterprise was fueled by disappointed expectations on both sides about supply provisioning. It was when provisions ran short and the crusaders resorted to plundering food from the local population that longstand-



ing negative images that each had of the other were intensified, often to the point of near collapse of the coalition.

#### *Background and Historiography*

Pertinent background and historiographical information relating to crusader-Byzantine relations at the time of the First Crusade are solidly entwined. The accepted narrative is well known. Byzantium, the most powerful Christian polity in the world, faced a crisis when the Muslims defeated it in battle in 1071. The Byzantines turned to Western Europe for military aid despite longstanding tensions with the West and in the hope that their common need to curb Muslim hegemony would lead to a satisfactory arrangement of mutual assistance. In the decades immediately preceding the First Crusade, relations between the Byzantine Empire and Western Europeans had soured, partly because Norman families had asserted themselves militarily in regions that had traditionally been under the control of the Byzantines. While these actions naturally undermined the Normans' relations with the imperial family, there was also an ongoing debate among ecclesiasts concerning the importance of the See of Rome versus the Patriarchy of Constantinople. Nevertheless, the exigencies of the Muslim threat led the Byzantines quite willingly to hire Western Europeans as mercenaries, even assigning the outsiders a role in the Emperor's royal guard<sup>(3)</sup>.

(3) For relations between the Byzantines and Normans prior to the launch of the First Crusade, see W. TREADGOLD, *History of the Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford, 1997, pp. 583-637, 667-708. Treadgold offers a detailed account of the state of the Byzantine Empire during this period of unrest, but only discusses the Normans in relation to larger events in the Byzantine Empire. J. HALDON, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World 565-1204*, London, 1999, also examines the conflict between the Normans and the Byzantines. A brief overview of the Norman machinations in southern Italy and Sicily can be found in R. S. LOPEZ, *The Norman Conquest of Sicily* and P. CHARANIS *The Byzantine Empire in the Eleventh Century*, as found in K. M. SETTON and M. W. BALDWIN (eds.), *A History of the Crusades*, I, *The First Hundred Years*, Philadelphia, 1955, pp. 54-67 and 177-219, especially pp. 187-189 and 213-214. See also S. RUNCIMAN, *A History of the Crusades*, I, *The First Crusade and the Foundations of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1951, especially pp. 56-57, 69; and J. HARRIS, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, London, 2003, p. 34. For a more detailed discussion of the ecclesiastical debate of 1054 and its repercussions, see A. BAYER, *Spaltung der Christenheit: Das sogenannte Morgenländische Schisma von 1054*, Cologne, 2002; F. DVORNIK, *Byzantium and the*

Historians of the First Crusade generally acknowledge the longstanding tension between Western Europeans and Byzantines, and, as a natural corollary, focus on the violent conflict during the expedition as explaining the dissension that threatened the European-Byzantine coalition. In almost any general history of the First Crusade, the driving force behind the arguments between the Byzantines and crusaders was a noticeable lack of clear leadership on the part of the crusaders and a tendency for both parties to take vengeance on one another for any purported insult or attack. Historians see disputes over the supply of food as a factor in the violence, but not as a fundamental explanation for it. Rather, the main issue was, seemingly, one of control: the Byzantines had requested foreign aid, and their emperor, Alexius Comnenus, therefore, felt he should have some control over the Westerners' expedition and reap the benefits should it succeed in conquering cities and towns in Asia Minor, which had been an important part of his empire only a few decades before<sup>(4)</sup>.

*Roman Primacy*, New York, 1966; RUNCIMAN, *The Eastern Schism: A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the XI and XII Centuries*, Oxford, 1955; and P. SHERRARD, *The Greek East and the Latin West: A Study in the Christian Tradition*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Limini, 1992. In *Spaltung der Christenheit*, Axel Bayer places the events of 1054 in a broader context, both pointing out their significance and underscoring that, at the time, the split was not interpreted as devastating or permanent. It was the violence of the First Crusade that heightened the tensions of 1054. *Vom Schisma zu den Kreuzzügen: 1054-1204*, eds. P. BRUNS and G. GRESSER, Paderborn, 2005, also contains a number of relevant articles that contextualize the debate including G. AVVAKUMOV's *Der Azymenstreit: Konflikte und Polemiken um eine Frage des Ritus*, BAYER's *Das sogenannte Schisma von 1054*, P. GEMEINHARDT's *Der Filioque-Streit zwischen Ost und West*, G. GRESSER's *Die Kreuzzugs-idee Papst Urbans II. im Spiegel der Synoden von Piacenza und Clermont*, and C. LANGE's *Zum Verhältnis zwischen Byzantinern und Kreuzfahrern zwischen 1095 und 1204*. For a brief overview of the exchange between the Byzantine and Papal representatives, see F. D. LOGAN, *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages*, London, 2002, pp. 116-118. E. A. HANAWALT describes the use of Scandinavians in the emperor's Varangian guard in *Scandinavians in Byzantium and Normandy*, in T. S. MILLER and J. NESBITT (eds.), *Peace and War in Byzantium: Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, Washington, DC, 1995, p. 114. Hanawalt also points out that the Byzantines did not necessarily distinguish between Normans and Scandinavians.

(4) See J. FRANCE, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 110-121; W. M. DALY, *Christian fraternity, the crusades and the security of Constantinople*, in *Medieval Studies*, 22 (1960), pp. 43-91; J. H. and L. L. HILL, *The convention of Alexius Comnenus and Raymond of St Gilles*, in *American*



Historians generally conclude that, related to this issue of control, there was the expectation of Byzantine military support among the crusade leaders. The crusade leaders felt it was Alexius' obligation to send an army when the crusaders themselves required military aid. Hence, the traditional view is that the crusader-Byzantine relationship soured because the Byzantines did not provide an army to help the crusaders take Jerusalem or defend the Latin East after the Holy City was in Christian hands <sup>(5)</sup>.

Historians also point out that the tendency among Byzantines and crusaders to avenge personal attacks or verbal insults helped to undermine relations, although scholars often focus on the violence itself as opposed to the root cause of that violence. There is also an inclination to accept the chroniclers' biases and assume that certain cultural tendencies fed into the cycle of violence. For example, in the most recent iteration of the First Crusade narrative, Thomas Asbridge's *The First Crusade: A New History* (2004), the Byzantines are described as "anxious and belligerent" in the wake of crusader indiscipline. In response to the crusaders' bellicosity, the Byzantines "guarded their resources, offering only a limited stock of victuals at exorbitant rates" <sup>(6)</sup>. Neither side was willing to overlook perceived aggression. Therefore, the temperament of the crusaders and the Byzantines and their willingness to hurt and cheat one another undermined relations.

It was when the crusaders entered Byzantine territory that tempers flared and old animosities came to the fore. In *Contesting the Crusades*, historian Norman Housley implies that most of the historiography dealing with crusader-Byzantine relations is accomplished in examinations

*Historical Review*, 58 (1953), pp. 322-327; and J. H. PRYOR, *The oaths of the leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus: Fealty, Homage, pistis, douleia*, in *Parergon*, 2 (1984), pp. 111-141.

<sup>(5)</sup> The anger that the Westerners felt toward the Byzantines when the emperor failed to send military aid to relieve the crusade army at Antioch has been a part of the traditional narrative of the First Crusade for some time, and even makes its way into overviews of the entire crusade movement. See T. F. MADDEN, *The New Concise History of the Crusades, Updated Edition*, New York, 2005, pp. 28-29; RUNCIMAN, *A History of the Crusades*, pp. 239-241; and J. RILEY-SMITH, *The Crusades: A Short History*, New Haven, 1987, p. 31. FRANCE, *Victory*, pp. 209-220, points out that the crusaders gave the Byzantines little credit, even though imperial ships likely helped supply the crusaders at the siege of Antioch.

<sup>(6)</sup> T. ASBRIDGE, *The First Crusade: A New History*, Oxford, 2004, p. 103.

of particular crusades, "the larger *passagia*," as he puts it <sup>(7)</sup>. In effect, scholars often discuss crusader-Byzantine relations in relation to one of the primary, numbered expeditions. This would make sense, as relations between the two sides tended to sour during major crusades. However, scholars who study the history of the Byzantine Empire have a different take on crusader-Byzantine relations. Over time, Europeans came to expect Byzantine support on crusade, and felt that force might be used if the Byzantine emperor failed to assist in the crusaders' cause. Although this sentiment did not solidify in western minds until the 1190s, it is strikingly similar in nature to the crusaders' anger at not receiving the emperor's military aid during the First Crusade <sup>(8)</sup>.

Regardless, noting the animosity during crusade expeditions, Byzantinists downplay the violence between the two sides following the conclusion of the First Crusade, pointing to the continued willingness to negotiate and make political alliances. Michael Angold and Jonathan Harris state that, at the time of the Fourth Crusade in the early thirteenth century, Westerners were not particularly antagonistic toward the Byzantines. Harris argues that the very politicization of the relationship undermines any notion that the crusaders and the Byzantines did not know one another well or that any misunderstanding between the two sides led to violence, at least in 1204 when crusade armies sacked the Byzantine capital. This sentiment was not limited to politics. "Such differences as there were, over theology, ecclesiastical hierarchy, and liturgical practice, gave rise to plenty of harsh words but were not in themselves the cause of armed conflict," according to Harris <sup>(9)</sup>. Yet both historians admit that former prejudices came to the surface as soon as the crusade armies entered Byzantine territory.

#### *Provisioning the Masses*

The Byzantines and the Western Europeans, however, were at a crossroads as the crusade armies set out in the late eleventh century. There

<sup>(7)</sup> N. HOUSLEY, *Contesting the Crusades*, Malden, MA, 2006, p. 49.

<sup>(8)</sup> See above, p. 42, n. 5; M. ANGOLD, *The road to 1204: the Byzantine background to the Fourth Crusade*, in *Journal of Medieval History*, 25 (1999), pp. 257-278; and HARRIS, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, p. 184.

<sup>(9)</sup> M. ANGOLD, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context*, Harlow, 2003, pp. 58-71; HARRIS, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, p. 184.

had been a religious split that might or might not be reconciled and intermittent warfare. Neither side knew whether these divisions would last. It was in this environment of uncertainty, tempered with some expectation of anticipated mutual benefit, that the Byzantines and crusaders began to interact. An examination of another often overlooked factor in this relationship, namely the limited amount of available food and supplies, provides a fuller, more nuanced understanding of crusader-Byzantine relations during the First Crusade. From the outset, the crusaders and the Byzantines confronted the question of whether or not the empire would be capable of provisioning the crusade armies.

The Byzantines certainly had a straightforward system for supplying large armies in the late eleventh century. When imperial armies planned to march, the provincial authorities in the regions that the army was to travel through were warned in advance. Supplies were then collected and made available at points along the armies' route, usually in areas with large urban populations that could more readily support such an undertaking. Soldiers were expected to pay for their food<sup>(10)</sup>. When cities were not available, army commanders set up markets<sup>(11)</sup>.

Western Europeans had seen the Byzantines field, and, therefore, knew they could feed, large armies. The Empire had been able to organize armies of over 20,000 soldiers during the eleventh century, and Western Europeans had fought either with or against these armies. For example, the aforementioned Norman knight Roussel of Bailleul traveled with the sizeable Byzantine army that was destroyed at Mantzikert. Byzantine historian W. T. Treadgold suggests that the Byzantines assembled around 100,000 troops at that battle<sup>(12)</sup>. In the 1070s, one of the future leaders of the First Crusade, Bohemond of Taranto, fought against the Byzantines in the very lands that he would pass through at the head of a crusade army. One of the armies that the Byzantines fielded against Bohemond likely contained upwards of 20,000 soldiers<sup>(13)</sup>.

(10) J. W. BIRKENMEIER, *The Development of the Komnenian Army: 1081-1180* (*History of Warfare*, 5), Leiden, 2002, p. 176.

(11) *Ibidem*, p. 171. For the purposes of this article, a market is simply a location designated for the purchase or trade of provisions and supplies.

(12) TREADGOLD, *Byzantine State and Society*, p. 203.

(13) BIRKENMEIER, *Komnenian Army*, pp. 56-58, 62. When fighting the Italian Normans at Durazzo in 1081, emperor Alexius was probably able to field an army of 20,000 to 25,000 soldiers.

The Byzantines' ability to feed armies of as many as 20,000 soldiers was important because the crusaders did not travel through Byzantium as a single army, but as a series of composite contingents<sup>(14)</sup>. The first crusade contingents to arrive on Byzantine soil traveled under the leadership of Peter the Hermit and Walter Sansavoir. In mid-1096 they entered Byzantium from the north, traveling along the Danube River.

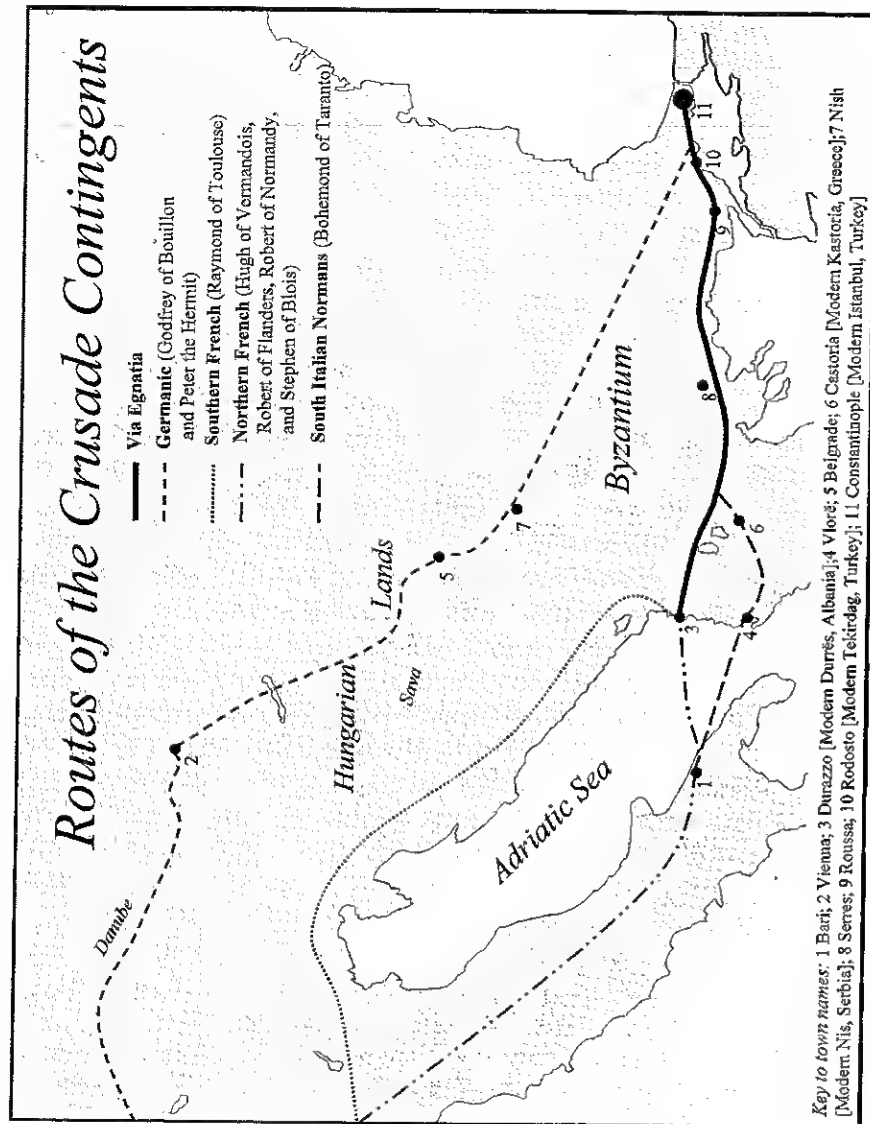
Another army, led by Godfrey of Bouillon, also traveled down the Danube. Around the same time that Godfrey traveled, other armies crossed the Adriatic Sea and followed the Via Egnatia. The crusaders Hugh of Vermandois, Bohemond of Taranto, and Raymond of Toulouse each led a contingent along this route, followed later by an army from northern France under Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, and Stephen of Blois. Some of these contingents were large, but it is unlikely that any of them totaled more than 20,000. For example, Peter the Hermit's followers, which comprised one of the larger contingents, probably numbered around 15,000-20,000 individuals<sup>(15)</sup>. The smallest contingent, Bohemond's soldiers including knights, squires, grooms, and foot soldiers, might have numbered as few as 5,800 men<sup>(16)</sup>.

The routes that the crusaders took through the Byzantine Empire were also significant because European pilgrims had traditionally used similar routes to visit the Holy Land. Since major overland pilgrimage routes to the Holy Land went through the Byzantine Empire, Western Europeans also had some experience traveling through it as pilgrims. The pilgrims generally used the same routes that the crusade armies would later follow, traveling along the Danube in the north and, in the south, on the Via Egnatia, an old pilgrim trail that traversed the Byzan-

(14) See map on p. 46. This map is loosely based on a map entitled "Eastern Europe (Shaded Relief) 1984" found through the Perry-Castaneda Library Map Collection, available courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, at [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/europe/eeurope\\_rel84.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/europe/eeurope_rel84.jpg). The original map was drawn to scale; however, the version used for this paper is not as exact. All labels, names, and drawn routes are my own. The routes are meant to provide a general visual representation, not a precise record of the journey.

(15) C. R. GLASHEEN, *Provisioning Peter the Hermit: From Cologne to Constantinople, 1096*, in PRYOR, *Logistics of Warfare*, pp. 119-129, especially pp. 120-121; FRANCE, *Victory*, p. 136. France suggests that the People's Crusade contained 20,000 or more participants.

(16) PRYOR, *Introduction: Modelling Bohemond's March to Thessalonike*, in PRYOR, *Logistics of Warfare*, pp. 9, 19. Pryor's exact estimation was 5,790 soldiers.



tine Empire from the Adriatic port of Durazzo (Durrës in modern Albania) to Constantinople<sup>(17)</sup> For example, the father of Robert of Flanders returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land along the Via

(17) FRANCE, *Victory*, p. 6, n. 14.

Egnatia less than a decade before his son set out along the same path at the head of a crusade contingent<sup>(18)</sup>. These pilgrimage routes crossed lands with significant population centers, presumably so that the pilgrims might have access to food and lodging in towns, just as the Byzantine armies were wont to have. Some pilgrimages were sizeable. In the mid-1060s, a German pilgrimage comprising several thousand participants, both rich and poor, traveled east via Constantinople and did not have difficulties finding provisions<sup>(19)</sup>. The fact that during the First Crusade the Europeans traveled along these pilgrimage routes, moving from town to town and purchasing provisions locally, suggests that the crusaders had an idea of what to expect in Byzantium.

Supplying the armies of the First Crusade was obviously a prerequisite to the success of the expedition, and an issue of such importance was bound to affect relations between the Byzantines and the crusaders. On the one hand, in addition to supplying provisions for the substantial crusade armies traveling through his territory, the Byzantine Emperor had to feed his soldiers and ensure that his rural and urban populations had sufficient food. On the other hand, the Europeans were utterly reliant on the Byzantines to provide them with food as they traveled through the Empire. Both sides had to work with the available economic and material resources at their disposal. Yet, it was incumbent upon the Byzantines to provide for the crusaders. After all, it was the Byzantines who had requested European military support, and their ability to transport and feed substantial armies of their own as well as large pilgrimages was probably known to the Europeans.

While there was reason to believe that obtaining provisions in Byzantium was possible, supplying the crusade armies was far from a certainty. Provisioning one army of 20,000 soldiers was one matter; providing food for several successive armies of this size, all following similar routes on ad hoc schedules, was another matter entirely. As the crusade armies entered, one by one, into Byzantine territory, it is easy to imag-

(18) For the example of Robert of Flanders' father and brief descriptions of other relevant pilgrims to the Holy Land prior to the First Crusade, see FRANCE, *Victory*, pp. 100-101.

(19) *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, in MGH, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum In Usum Scholarum Separatim Editi*, IV, ed. E. L. B. AB OEFELLE, Hannover, 1979, pp. 66-71, especially 66-68.

ine anxious Byzantines and crusaders, wondering whether there would be enough to eat.

#### *Logistical Expectations*

In addition to the probable cognizance of the Byzantines' ability to supply large groups of people such as armies and sizeable pilgrimages, the crusaders appear to have trusted the Byzantines to feed their armies and felt they had good reason to do so. When the southern French crusaders under Raymond of Toulouse arrived at the Via Egnatia in April of 1097, they anticipated a warm reception, according to the chronicler Raymond D'Aguilers. The crusaders believed they were in friendly territory, indeed their very "own country" (*patria nostra*), because "Alexius and his followers were our Christian brothers and confederates" (20). Upon entering Byzantine lands, Godfrey of Bouillon met envoys from the emperor, who offered safe passage through his territories so long as the crusaders purchased supplies and refrained from plundering the locals. If this was done, "then everything will be provided from our empire for your men to buy and sell in sufficient quantity" (21). Godfrey agreed wholeheartedly, and "proclaimed to all that they should not seize anything at all by unjust force" except fodder for the

(20) RAYMOND D'AGUILERS, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem, Le "Liber" de Raymond D'Aguilers*, eds. J. H. and L. L. HILL (*Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades*, 9), Paris, 1969, henceforth RAYMOND D'AGUILERS, *Liber*, p. 38: "Actenus de Sclavonia, venimus Dirachium, credidimus esse in patria nostra, existimantes imperatorem Alexium et satellites suos nobis esse fratres, et coadiutores." While the dangers of readily available translated versions of original Latin texts remains a point of contention among medievalists, I find that making translations available to undergraduate students, who are otherwise denied access to the material, promotes both the literature itself and the field of medieval history to a wider, educated audience. In this vein, for the purposes of this article, J. H. and L. L. Hill's eloquent translation of Raymond D'Aguilers will be used unless otherwise noted: *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, Philadelphia, 1968, henceforth HILLS, *Historia Francorum*, p. 18.

(21) ALBERT OF AACHEN, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans., S. B. EDINGTON, Oxford, 2007, pp. 70-71. "Rogo te, dux Christianissime [Godfrey], quatenus regnum et terras meas quas ingressus es gentem tuam uastare et depredari non patiaris, sed emendi necessaria licentiam obtineas, et sic omnia sufficienter ex nostro imperio emenda et uendenda tui reperient." Edington's translation will be used in this article unless otherwise noted.

horses (22). In other words, the crusaders entered the empire anticipating that they would turn to the Byzantines for crucial supplies.

The crusaders were correct that the Byzantines would try to help them, as the Byzantines did in fact successfully feed numerous crusade contingents. The first crusade leader to arrive in Byzantium along the Via Egnatia was Hugh of Vermandois. Even though the Byzantines quickly took Hugh into their custody and transferred him to Constantinople under escort, there is no record of the soldiers in Hugh's army having difficulty obtaining food or fighting with the locals. Robert of Flanders and his army crossed the Adriatic about a month after Hugh, and none of the chronicle sources mention trouble with the locals or shortages of food. Subsequently, the contingent under Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois also walked along the Via Egnatia. Fulcher of Chartres, who traveled with Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois during this phase of the journey, described an easy transit along the Via Egnatia during May of 1097. Fulcher lists a total of eighteen towns and cities that these armies traveled through en route to Constantinople, but not a single disagreement is mentioned (23). At one point he used the term "joyful" (*laetor*) to describe the journey (24). In Constantinople, food was available at market, and Alexius promised to give alms to the poor among the crusaders so that they might survive (25). Similarly, Godfrey of Bouillon's army marched down the Danube and all the way to Constantinople without incident over food.

(22) *Ibidem*, pp. 72-73. "Unde uniuersis indictum est, ne deinceps quicquam aliqua iniusta ui contingant, preter pabula equorum."

(23) FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 14 vols., Paris, 1841-1906, *Historiens Occidentaux*, 3, *Historia Iherosolymitana*, henceforth RHC Oc 3, pp. 330-331: Besides Constantinople, Fulcher mentioned the cities of Lucretia; Botella; Bofinat; Stella; Thessalonica, "bonis omnibus abundantem"; the valley of Philippi; Crisopolis; Christopolis; Praetoria; Messinopolis; Marca; Traianopolis; Neapolis; Panadox; Rodosto; Heraclea; Salumbria; and Natura.

(24) *Ibidem*, pp. 330-331: "Et quod non nisi navigio transiri solitum erat, opitulante Deo, laetanter vadando transmeauimus."

(25) ANONYMOUS, *Gesta Francorum Et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill, New York, 1962, henceforth *Gesta*, p. 7: After Godfrey of Bouillon's army was transported across the Bosphorus Straights, the emperor "permisitque eum habere omnem mercatum ibi sicut est Constantinopoli; et pauperibus elemosinam erogare, unde potuissent uiuere." Hill's translation will be quoted in this article unless otherwise noted.

The words that chronicler Albert of Aachen used to describe Godfrey's trip, such as satisfaction (*satisfacio, satisfacere*), opulence (*opulentia*) and agreeableness (*iocunditas*), underscore the availability of food and supplies (26).

In other words, for the most part the crusaders' expectations were seemingly fulfilled. Many crusaders traveled without mishap along the major pilgrimage routes. Provisions were made available at markets for the crusaders, who could exchange or purchase supplies much as the Byzantine armies had done.

Like their Western European guests, the Byzantines anticipated the importance of food. Indeed, turning to the Byzantine sources, Anna Comnena's descriptions of the system used to supply the crusade armies are remarkably similar to the methods used to sustain Byzantine armies described above (27). According to Anna, the emperor expected to provide supplies and provisions for the crusaders. Initially, Alexius sent military representatives, "captains," to those areas that the crusaders would likely travel through, and ordered these captains to "collect abundant supplies from all the countries along their route" (28). According to the *Gesta*, Byzantine representatives called *kriopalatios*, sent to accompany the crusaders and guide them to Constantinople, eventually found Bohemond. These Byzantines would "tell the people of the land to bring us [the crusaders] provisions" (29). Later, as more crusaders arrived, Alexius continued this practice. He "sent men to receive them kindly and to convey promises of reasonable help... He also gave orders to men specially appointed for this purpose to supply them with vict-

(26) ALBERT OF AACHEN, pp. 70-73. Godfrey would later have two conflicts with the Byzantines over food, but both instances took place after Godfrey's army arrived in the Byzantine capital and were primarily political. See below, pp. 62, 63-44.

(27) See above, p. 44.

(28) *Alexiad*, p. 250 ; *Alexias*, p. 336 : "Als aber bereits vereinzelt Gruppen dabei waren, die Meerenge der Longibardia zu überqueren, ließ der Autokrator einige Generäle der römischen Streitkräfte zu sich kommen und entsandte sie in die Region von Dyrrachion und Avlon mit dem Befehl, sie sollten diejenigen, die dort übersetzten, freundlich empfangen, für sie auf ihrem Marschweg reiche Märkte für Lebensmittel aus allen Landstrichen organisieren und sie, indem sie ihnen diskret folgten, genau beobachten ; und wenn sie sähen, daß sie von der Route abwichen..."

(29) *Gesta*, p. 10.

uals on their journey, so that they might not for any reason whatsoever have a handle for a quarrel against him" (30).

The Byzantines, however, were wary of their guests. Despite his efforts, the emperor was anxious about the advancing crusade armies. Alexius was aware that provisioning the crusaders made for a volatile situation. He suspected that violence could erupt at any moment, and that the crusaders should not be left entirely to their own devices. The Byzantines were "to follow and watch them [the crusaders] covertly all the time, and if they saw them making any foraging-excursions, they were to come out from under cover and check them by light skirmishing" (31).

The threat of violence in this matter was quite real to the emperor, who suspected that the crusaders might be difficult to control. However, he "did not lose heart, but prepared himself in every way so that, when the occasion called, he would be ready for battle" (32). Fulcher of Chartres, a chronicler traveling with Stephen of Blois, recognized the emperor's concern. At Constantinople, the crusaders did not enter the city "because it was not agreeable to the emperor," who feared the westerners would actually plot against him (33).

Experience probably influenced this fear of Alexius that the crusaders wanted to capture Constantinople for themselves, as the disputes between the Normans and the Byzantines during the decades

(30) *Alexiad*, pp. 262-263 ; *Alexias*, p. 353 : After the crusaders and their leaders arrived, "der Autokrator Leute aus und empfang sie freundlich und entsandte ihnen huldvolle Worte... Er gab auch denjenigen, die damit beauftragt waren, den Befehl, ihnen bei ihrer Ankunft ausreichend Proviant zu gewähren, damit sie nicht den geringsten Grund hätten, den sie als Vorwand benutzen könnten."

(31) *Alexiad*, p. 250 ; *Alexias*, p. 336 : The Byzantine representatives were to collect supplies along the crusaders' route, "indem sie Streifzüge zur Plünderung der umliegenden Gegenden unternähmen, dann sollten sie sie mit maßvoller Waffenanwendung in ihre Schranken weisen."

(32) *Alexiad*, p. 248 ; *Alexias*, p. 335 : "Er verlor also keine Zeit, sondern bereitete sich auf jede nur mögliche Weise vor, um dann, wenn es die Umstände verlangten, für die Kämpfe bereit zu sein."

(33) FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *Historia Iherosolymitana*, in *RHC Oc* 3, p. 331 : "Et quia civitatem illam ingredi non quivimus, quoniam imperatori non placuit (timebat enim ne forte aliquod damnum ei machinaremur)." English translation from FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, trans. F. R. RYAN and ed. H. S. FINK, Knoxville, 1969, henceforth RYAN and FINK, p. 78.



leading up to the First Crusade had become personal for the Imperial family. Among the Western European mercenaries hired by the Byzantines to fight the Turks in Asia Minor was a group led by a Norman named Roussel of Bailleul. These Norman mercenaries were present at the battle of Mantzikert in 1071, where the Turks soundly defeated the Byzantine army, exposing all of Asia Minor to the advancing Turkish armies<sup>(34)</sup>. The Frankish and Norman heavy cavalry were considered the best fighters in the Byzantine army at Mantzikert; however, Roussel and his men decided not to participate in the battle, and the defeated Byzantines saw the Normans' betrayal as a factor in their devastating loss. Despite their treachery, Roussel and his army continued to fight for the Byzantines. Sent out with a small army under the command of Isaac Comnenus, Roussel waited until the Turks were nearby and then abandoned the Byzantines to join the Turks in attacking and capturing Isaac. Alexius, who was Isaac's brother, was on the expedition and witnessed Roussel's betrayal firsthand. Roussel subsequently attempted to establish a Norman state in Anatolia and attacked Constantinople itself when the Byzantines opposed him<sup>(35)</sup>. Of course, the Guiscards, including the crusader Bohemond, also invaded Byzantium during the 1080s.

Further, in his treatment of the leaders of the various crusade contingents, Alexius seemed to believe that the westerners had an innate desire for money. For example, when Peter the Hermit's army crossed into Asia Minor, Anna describes the Christian violence against the Turkish population. The crusaders "devastated the [Muslim controlled] country round Nicaea, and behaved most cruelly to all." To draw the Christians into a trap, the Muslim commander, knowing "the Franks' love of money," claimed that the Normans had captured Nicaea and were taking all the loot for themselves. The Turks subsequently ambushed the exposed crusaders, who had advanced to ensure their share in the loot. The Christians were slaughtered<sup>(36)</sup>. In Anna's eyes, the desire for money and tendency to loot led to the destruction of Peter's

(34) HARRIS, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, p. 34, argues that the defeat at Dyrrachion, which in this article is referred to as Durazzo, was as devastating as the Turkish defeat of Byzantine forces at Mantzikert in 1071.

(35) RUNCIMAN, *A History of the Crusades*, pp. 62-63, 66-67.

(36) *Alexiad*, pp. 250-252; *Alexias*, p. 337-339: The Muslim commander "die Habgier der Keltien kannte."

army. The story of Alexius' handling of Hugh of Vermandois drives home the same point. According to Anna, Hugh was as haughty as the other crusaders, but was caught in a storm at sea and so arrived in Byzantine territory with a scattered and reduced army. Alexius then "set a rich banquet" for Hugh and gave him "a large sum of money"<sup>(37)</sup>. When Hugh's desires were met — food and money were provided — he proved quite amenable: he readily agreed to Alexius' terms, and remained in Constantinople with the Emperor.

As with Hugh, Alexius proved willing to use the other crusaders' desire for wealth and provisions to further his own agenda. He tried to placate Bohemond and Godfrey of Bouillon with food and money. In his lodgings, Bohemond found "a rich table spread for him, laden with all manner of meats and eatables," which Bohemond, fearing poison, refused until his own cooks were given food to prepare for him. Later, after Bohemond took an oath of allegiance to the Byzantine Emperor, Alexius rewarded him with a room full of treasure. Bohemond was initially ecstatic, but then refused the gift. It was only when Alexius started to take it back that Bohemond again changed his mind and accepted the valuables<sup>(38)</sup>. Alexius' actions are of particular interest here because in Anna's account Bohemond was the crusade leader who most concerned Alexius. The emperor worried that Bohemond intended to take Constantinople for himself — as he and his family had invaded Byzantium in the past — and might organize the crusaders to do so<sup>(39)</sup>.

(37) *Alexiad*, pp. 252-254, especially 254; *Alexias*, pp. 339-341, especially 341: Alexius heard of Hugh's troubles, "und ihn durch gutes Zureden getröstet hatte, setzte er ihm anschließend eine reiche Festtafel vor... Der Basileus empfing ihn mit allen Ehren, ließ ihm alle möglichen Aufmerksamkeiten zuteil werden, gab ihm dazu eine beträchtliche Geldsumme und brachte ihn so dazu, sogleich sein Vasall zu werden, indem er den bei den Lateinern üblichen Eid schwor."

(38) *Alexiad*, pp. 265-266; *Alexias*, pp. 356-357.

(39) See above, pp. 51-52, and R. BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, Princeton, 1993, pp. 86-90. Bartlett points out that the Normans used random acts of violence and unpredictability to generate fear among their adversaries, and, thereby, attained wealth and lordship. Bartlett references the actions of Bohemond's family and Anna Comnena's interpretation of the Norman chaotic decision-making. If Bartlett's interpretation is accurate, then Bohemond's sudden refusal of the treasure may well have been purposeful, in which case Anna would have good reason to be concerned about Bohemond's motives.

Similarly, upon swearing an oath to Alexius, Godfrey received a "large sum of money" and was invited to a feast. Godfrey then crossed to Asia Minor, and Alexius "gave orders that abundant supplies of food should be conveyed to them [Godfrey's followers]" (40). As with Hugh, once the crusade leaders agreed to Alexius' terms, food and wealth were used to placate them. Thus Alexius' working assumption was that steady provisions and sufficient money kept violence at bay. Alexius "softened their savage behaviour by dint of money and advice" (41). In other words, Alexius provided food and money in order to avoid conflict.

Although Alexius knew the crusaders relied on him for food and sometimes money to purchase food, the *Alexiad* insinuates that the emperor believed the crusaders' desire for these very items reflected a cultural flaw — a weakness of character — rather than a mutually recognized logistical necessity, despite the fact that, as has been pointed out, both the Byzantines and the Europeans were aware of the importance of provisions, or the money to purchase them, to the expedition. In the *Alexiad*, Anna described Emperor Alexius as knowing "their irresistible manner of attack," their "unstable and mobile character," their desire for money, and their willingness to "disregard their truces readily" (42). While these sentiments might be understood in the context of Alexius' personal experiences, including Roussel of Bailleul's betrayal of Alexius's family at Mantzikert and, later, of Alexius himself when he and his brother led an expedition to solidify Byzantine control of Asia Minor in the 1070s, the emperor knew the cause of the Europeans' anxiety to obtain sufficient provisions. Yet he consistently maintained the notion that the Westerners were good fighters, but were greedy and unpredictable, readily breaking agreements.

Other issues, besides food, also irked the Byzantines. The crusaders were violent, and Anna used an example of a sea battle with an over-

(40) *Alexiad*, p. 261; *Alexias*, p. 351: "Nachdem er das geschworen und beträchtliche Geldmittel erhalten hatte, sein Gast und Tischgenosse geworden und reich bewirtet worden war, setzte er über und schlug sein Lager bei Pelekanos auf. Der Basileus aber gab daraufhin den Befehl, man solle für sie reiche Märkte für Lebensmittel organisieren."

(41) *Alexiad*, p. 267; *Alexias*, p. 359: Alexius brought the crusade leaders together before they departed for Asia Minor. "Auf diese Weise besänftigte er durch Geld und Worte ihre Wildheit, gab ihnen gute Ratschläge und brachte sie dazu, auf die andere Seite überzusetzen."

(42) *Alexiad*, p. 248; *Alexias*, pp. 334-335. See full quotation on p. 38.

zealous European priest participating in the violence to make this point. There was the fear that the Europeans intended to conquer Constantinople. In two conflicts between the Emperor's forces and the crusader Godfrey of Bouillon, Alexius was fearful that Godfrey might not take an oath of allegiance and the crusade armies might coordinate to attack Constantinople. This latter concern was also the major point of a skirmish between the Byzantines and a crusader Anna called Raoul (43).

In Anna's account, therefore, food played a role in the conflicts between the Byzantines and the crusaders. Alexius was concerned to control the Western armies — he wanted to convince the crusade's leaders to take an oath of allegiance and to avoid a coordinated attack on his capital city. However, the emperor was keenly aware of the importance of food and money to the crusaders, who coveted more than the emperor's lavish gifts and banquets. He knew the crusaders relied on Byzantine resources. When he heard the Westerners might send military aid, the first action Alexius took was to send officers to ensure there was food available on the routes the crusaders would likely use. He did this to *avoid conflict*, and he was often, but not entirely, successful in his efforts.

#### *European Aggression : Conflicts Over Food*

Although the Byzantines fed most of the crusade contingents, there were conflicts over food. Besides Peter the Hermit and his army, there were only two crusade contingents that constantly fought with the locals as they crossed the empire, namely, the south Italian Normans under Bohemond of Taranto and Raymond of Toulouse's southern French contingent (44).

Bohemond of Taranto had continual difficulties traveling through Byzantine territory, and in this case food was noticeably an issue. Bohe-

(43) For the sea battle, see *Alexiad*, pp. 254-257, and *Alexias*, pp. 341-346; for Alexius' conflicts with Godfrey, see *Alexiad*, p. 261, and *Alexias*, pp. 351; and for the exchange with Raoul, see *Alexiad*, pp. 261-262, and *Alexias*, pp. 351-352.

(44) Godfrey of Bouillon would also come to blows with Byzantine soldiers, but not as he crossed through Byzantine territory. Those conflicts occurred late, after the German contingent had established a camp outside Constantinople, and were political, although food was a part of the conflict. See below, pp. 62, 63-64.

mond and his family had previously invaded the lands that the Via Egnatia traversed, so the locals had good reason to be wary of his army. Therefore, Bohemond took pains to maintain good relations with the Byzantines. He told his followers to purchase provisions, exhorting them to avoid plundering the locals. If looting (*depredari*) was necessary, he asked that they take only the food that they needed to survive<sup>(45)</sup>. When Bohemond's followers nevertheless insisted upon foraging, Bohemond made them return animals taken from the locals in his "desire to treat the country justly"<sup>(46)</sup>. They took oxen, horses, and asses from the people of Castoria when the locals would not sell provisions to the army<sup>(47)</sup>. Although the crusaders could purchase provisions locally around the city of Roussa, they instead turned aside from the main road so that they could "live in plenty," presumably off the land<sup>(48)</sup>. In his article, "Modeling Bohemond's March to Thessalonike," J. Pryor suggests that food was a real issue for Bohemond and his followers, going so far as to imply Bohemond's forces looted more often than the sources indicate<sup>(49)</sup>.

Another contingent that had trouble with the Byzantines was the southern French under Raymond of Toulouse. As mentioned above, Raymond and his men initially anticipated cooperation when they entered Byzantine territory, and they were surprised when the locals attacked them. Although the chronicler Raymond D'Aguilers did not mention food, he implied that the crusaders were foraging when he observed that they were attacked "in groves [*nemorosus*] and places far

(45) *Gesta*, p. 8: Bohemond told his men "et ne depredarentur terram istam quia Christianorum erat, et nemo acciperet nisi quod ei sufficeret ad edendum."

(46) *Ibidem*, p. 10: "Ibi Boamundus concordatus est cum duobus corpalatiis, et pro amicitia eorum ac pro iustitia terrae iussit reddi omnia animalia quae nostri depredata tenebant."

(47) *Ibidem*, p. 8. At Castoria, "fuimusque ibi per plures dies, et quesuimus mercatum, sed ipsi noluerunt nobis assentire.... Quapropter apprehendebamus boues, equos et asinos, et omnia quae inueniebamus."

(48) *Ibidem*, pp. 10-11: "Tancredus remansit caput militiae Christi [Bohemond had gone ahead to Constantinople], uidensque peregrinos cibos emere, ait intra se quod exiret extra uiam, et hunc populum conduceret ubi feliciter uiueret. Denique intrauit in uallem quamdam plenam omnibus bonis quae corpalibus nutrimentis sunt congrua..."

(49) PRYOR, *Modeling Bohemond*, p. 19.

from camp"<sup>(50)</sup>. There was no good reason for Raymond's contingent to be so dispersed except to search for food<sup>(51)</sup>. The locals, for their part, had an armed escort keep an eye on the crusaders<sup>(52)</sup>. Locals also captured the papal legate, Adhemar of Le Puy, away from camp, although in this case Raymond D'Aguilers might be taken at his word — Adhemar merely sought comfortable lodging away from the main camp<sup>(53)</sup>. At another town, Roussa, the crusaders broke down the city walls and looted because the locals were unfriendly<sup>(54)</sup>. They also looted at Rodosto, although in this case Raymond D'Aguilers claimed the conflict was in self-defense<sup>(55)</sup>. Food, or the money necessary to purchase food, was a possible reason for the army's initial dispersal, and an obvious factor in the looting.

The chronology of events suggests that problems of supply were behind these conflicts between the Byzantines and the crusaders under Raymond and Bohemond, as none of the other contingents had trouble traveling on the Via Egnatia before or after the southern French and southern Italians. The contingents of Hugh of Vermandois and Robert

(50) HILLS, *Historia Francorum*, p. 18; RAYMOND D'AGUILERS, *Liber*, p. 38: "Illi uero ritu leonum incrudescens, pacificos homines nichil minus quam arma cogitantes, invadunt per occulta trucidant, in nemoribus in vices remotis a castris, que poterant per noctem furabantur." The English word "grove," used in the Hill's translation of Raymond D'Aguilers' text, might be associated with fruit orchards. For the sake of clarity, the Latin term *nemorosus* implies a forest or a group of trees, not a fruit orchard. Clarification is needed because troops found in fruit orchards implies something very different than troops dispersed among various thickets or forests.

(51) FRANCE, *Victory*, p. 105, and ASBRIDGE, p. 105, both assume Raymond's forces were foraging.

(52) RAYMOND D'AGUILERS, *Liber*, p. 38. "Nam ante et retro dextrorsum et sinistrosum, Turci, et Comani, Husi, et tanaces, Pincenati, et Bulgari nobis insidiabantur."

(53) *Ibidem*, p. 39. "Quadam autem die cum essemus in valle Pelagonie episcopus Podiensis [Adhemar of Le Puy] gratia convenienter hospitandi cum paulisper a castris discessisset, a Pincenatis captus est."

(54) *Ibidem*, pp. 39-40. "Post hec venimus ad quandam civitatem nomine Rossam, ubi cum manifeste cives eius in nos multa mala molirentur, paulisper nostra solita paciencia displicuit. Itaque arreptis armis, diruntur antemuralia capitur ingens preda, et civitas in dedicionem atque illatis signis in civitatem et acclamata Tolosa quod erat signum clamoris comiti discessimus."

(55) *Ibidem*, p. 40. "Venimus ad aliam civitatem nomine Rodestol...et aliquantula capta preda."



Contingent	Travel Chronology
<i>Danube (Northern Route)</i>	
Peter the Hermit	Set out May / June 1096 Arrived at Constantinople on August 1, 1096
Godfrey of Bouillon	Set out late Summer 1096 Entered Hungary in September 1096 Arrived at Constantinople on December 23, 1096
<i>Via Egnatia (Southern Route)</i>	
Hugh of Vermandois	Set out late August 1096 Via Egnatia, late fall (September-November) 1096 Arrived at Constantinople in November 1096
Robert of Flanders	Set out from France in early fall 1096 In Lucca in late October 1096 Via Egnatia, late Fall 1096 - Early Winter 1097
Bohemond of Taranto	Crossed Adriatic as early as October 1096 South of Via Egnatia / Via Egnatia, November 1, 1096 - April 1097 Arrived at Constantinople : Bohemond, April 1, 1097 S. Italians, April 26, 1097
Raymond of Toulouse	Set out from Provence in late November 1096 Began Via Egnatia in early February 1097 Via Egnatia, February, March April 1097 Arrived at Constantinople in April 1097
Stephen of Blois and Robert of Normandy	Set out from France in early fall 1096 In Lucca in late October 1096 Went to cross Adriatic in early April 1097 Via Egnatia, April 9 through May 14, 1097 Arrived in Constantinople on May 14, 1097

of Flanders followed the Via Egnatia during the fall of 1096 and early winter of 1097, and in so doing probably consumed most of the available resources. Like Robert of Flanders, Bohemond's contingent and the southern French traveled on the Via Egnatia during the early winter, but the latter two groups took their time. Bohemond and his followers initially avoided the Via Egnatia, traveling to the south of the main

road. This may have kept them from traveling with other crusade contingents (either Raymond's or Robert of Flanders's) on the same road at the same time. Perhaps Bohemond, who had fought in this region before, anticipated food supplies would be scarce, and, by traveling off the main road, hoped to increase his chances of obtaining provisions.

The duration of the trip was also a factor. Bohemond took several months to cross the empire<sup>(56)</sup>. The southern French traveled along the Via Egnatia from the Adriatic coast to Constantinople for two-and-a-half to three months. Stephen of Blois and Robert of Normandy made the same journey in thirty-five days.

The southern French and the southern Italians traveled at the worst time of year. It was winter, and although the *Gesta* says that the locals at Castoria refused to sell their food because they were frightened of the crusaders, more likely they simply needed whatever food they possessed to survive the winter<sup>(57)</sup>. Besides simply not having had the time to recover from the previous crusade contingents, the Byzantines were, at best, in the process of collecting the harvest. The local foodstores had probably not yet been replenished<sup>(58)</sup>. Further, the government would not have had the time to send provisions from other provinces. In May, only a month after Raymond of Toulouse and Bohemond, the armies of Stephen of Blois and Robert of Normandy crossed the same route without any notable difficulty. The ease with which the contingent under Stephen of Blois and Robert of Normandy found provisions along the same route soon after Bohemond and Raymond traveled on it further suggests that shortages of food due to the time of the year and the recent crossing of two other crusade contingents led to food shortages and, therefore, conflict<sup>(59)</sup>.

(56) Bohemond, who personally took almost exactly five months to travel from the Adriatic port of Vlorë to Constantinople (November 1, 1096 - April 1, 1097), arrived at the Byzantine capital some twenty-five days prior to his army. FRANCE, *Victory*, p. 107, called Bohemond's long journey "purposeful procrastination". PRYOR, *Modeling Bohemond*, pp. 1-24, thought the delay had more to do with the size of the army, the width of the road, and the need to gather food supplies than procrastination.

(57) *Gesta*, p. 8; PRYOR, *Modeling Bohemond*, p. 9.

(58) FRANCE, *Victory*, p. 105, alludes to this when he says that Raymond traveled "at the very worst time of the year...when food stocks were at their lowest."

(59) See above, pp. 49-50, for a description of the journeys of Stephen of Blois and Robert of Normandy as they crossed through Byzantine territory.

Violence constantly erupted between the Byzantines and the two crusade contingents in question, namely the armies of Raymond of Toulouse and Bohemond. As promised, Alexius was quite willing to use force whenever the crusaders stepped out of line. The emperor's troops sent to police the crusaders resorted to violence. The Byzantines were particularly watchful of Raymond's contingent, and the crusaders' tendency to loot was the primary reason for Byzantine consternation. According to Raymond D'Aguilers, as the crusaders traveled into Byzantine lands, "to the right and to the left Turks, Kumans, Uzes, and the tenacious peoples — Pechenegs and Bulgars — were lying in wait for us" (60). At Bucinat, a Byzantine force was waiting to ambush the crusaders. As mentioned above, the emperor was concerned that the crusaders might get out of line — especially when food was lacking. This, presumably, was what happened.

Byzantine dismay at having to constantly fight the Europeans is palpable, even in a western chronicle account. After the attack on Rodosto, Raymond of Toulouse left his army to join the other crusade leaders in Constantinople. His chronicler clearly states that the remaining journey was difficult for the southern French contingent; they were "helpless" and thought to return home. Yet Raymond's discussion with the emperor, as his chronicler told it, underscored Alexius' hostility toward the crusaders because they continually attacked and looted Byzantine lands. When Raymond threatened to investigate the Byzantine's treatment of his army,

Alexius replied that he himself had been unaware that our [European] troops had plundered his kingdom and that his people had borne many wrongs, and that he knew of no legal grounds for the Count's investigation unless it was while Raymond's army in its accustomed way was ravaging villages and walled towns his men fled at the sight of the imperial army (61).

(60) HILLS, *Historia Francorum*, p. 19; RAYMOND D'AGUILERS, *Liber*, p. 38: "Nam ante et retro dextrorsum et sinistrosum, Turci, et Comani, Husi, et tanaces, Pincenati, et Bulgari nobis insidiabantur."

(61) HILLS, *Historia Francorum*, pp. 23-24; RAYMOND D'AGUILERS, *Liber*, pp. 41-42. "At Alexius dicit se nescisse nostros depopulatos esse regnum suum, se et suos multas passum esse iniurias, nichil esse quod comes querebatur, nisi quod dum exercitus solito more villas et castra vastaret, exercitu suo conspecto fugam arripuerit..."

Given the timing of Raymond's crossing, coupled with knowledge of the emperor's orders to watch the crusade armies and protect the locals from them, much of the violence between the southern French crusaders and the Byzantines probably stemmed from concern over supplies. Although Raymond D'Aguilers attributed the violence to Byzantine treachery, the chroniclers' own description of Byzantine soldiers shadowing the crusade army recalls Alexius' orders to do just that in case the crusaders acted up. Further, the crusaders were sometimes admittedly dispersed when these conflicts occurred. Perhaps the crusaders were simply indecently violent, attacking the locals for no good reason. It is possible that the Byzantine soldiers did not always follow orders, instead taking liberties and ambushing the crusaders out of spite rather than duty. However, given the probable shortage of food, a more likely scenario is that the crusaders could not obtain food, or there was none to be had, and so they resorted to violence to which the Byzantine soldiers retaliated.

Further evidence linking food and provisions with violence between the Byzantines and the crusaders can be found by studying accounts of violent interaction in the crusade chronicles. The chronicle accounts associated with major crusade contingents, namely, Fulcher of Chartres (Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, and Stephen of Blois), Raymond D'Aguilers (Raymond of Toulouse), Albert of Aachen (Peter the Hermit and Godfrey of Bouillon), and the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* (Bohemond of Taranto), contain twenty-two references to violent conflict between the Byzantines and the crusaders as they traveled through imperial lands. Access to provisions — whether food, the money to purchase necessary supplies, or looting — was a factor in sixteen, or almost seventy-three percent, of the references to conflict (62).

(62) References to violence between the Byzantines and crusaders within the empire: Peter the Hermit's contingent in ALBERT OF AACHEN, pp. 16-17, 18-19, 20-21, 20-25, and *Gesta*, p. 3; Hugh of Vermandois in *Gesta*, p. 5; Godfrey of Bouillon in ALBERT OF AACHEN, pp. 72-75, 74-77, 78-83, and *Gesta*, p. 6; Bohemond of Taranto in *Gesta*, pp. 8 (Castoria), 8 (Palagonian castle), 8-9 (at River Vardar), 10, 10-11; Raymond of Toulouse in RAYMOND D'AGUILERS, *Liber*, pp. 18-19, 21 (Adhémar of Le Puy in Pelagonia), 21 (Bucinat), 21 (Roussa), 21-22 (Rodosto), 23-24 (a vague reference to a larger conflict — there was an "infamous escape" of the army and Raymond later learned of "the rout and death of his men"), and *Gesta*, p. 13. Twenty-two references are small for a quantitative analysis. However, it is remarkable how often food found its way into the sources.

Sometimes these conflicts were directly over food. Soon after crossing into the empire, Peter the Hermit's soldiers attacked the local Byzantines over the selling and buying of food<sup>(63)</sup>. The stakes were high and Byzantine soldiers retaliated, scattering Peter's entire army<sup>(64)</sup>. While lodged outside of Constantinople, the Byzantines assaulted Godfrey's men as they set out to obtain straw and other equine supplies. Godfrey's brother, Baldwin, immediately attacked the Byzantine aggressors, and Emperor Alexius subsequently ordered his soldiers to lay into Godfrey's camp. The entire episode ended with the emperor sending the Germans to Asia Minor and promising provisions and alms to the poorer crusaders<sup>(65)</sup>. The southern Italian contingent also fought with the Byzantines over food. At Castoria, Bohemond attempted to purchase supplies, but the locals refused. The westerners were forced to seize the food they needed<sup>(66)</sup>. They also took animals at a town called Serres<sup>(67)</sup>.

In some references in which food was not mentioned as the instigating factor, provisions clearly played a role nonetheless. For example, after seeing the results of Peter's recent attack on the Hungarians, the Byzantine official in Belgrade moved his people and their herds to safety in the walled town of Nish. He also took his entire treasure<sup>(68)</sup>. In Albert of Aachen's eyes, at least, the Byzantines thought the crusaders sought their animals and their treasure and were willing to resort to violence to get them. Further, as Peter crossed into the empire to avoid a pitched battle with the king of Hungary, he brought along all his

Telling of crusader bravery and prowess in battle would more effectively further the laudatory tone of the western accounts, yet the far less praiseworthy issue of food continually appears in the chronicles.

(63) ALBERT OF AACHEN, pp. 20-21: "...propter contentionem uilissimam cum quodam Bulgaro uespere habitam in uenditione et emptione...".

(64) *Ibidem*, pp. 20-25.

(65) *Gesta*, p. 7.

(66) *Ibidem*, p. 8: "...quousque peruenimus Castoriam; ibique Natiuitatem Domini solemniter celebrauimus; fuimusque ibi per plures dies, et quesiuimus mercatum, sed ipsi noluerunt nobis assentire.... Quapropter apprehendebamus boues, equos et asinos, et omnia quae inueniebamus."

(67) *Ibidem*, p. 10: "Deinde uenimus ad quamdam urbem quae dicitur Serra," and, in a gesture of friendship toward the Byzantine authorities, Bohemond "iussit reddi omnia animalia quae nostri depredata tenebant."

(68) ALBERT OF AACHEN, pp. 16-17.

booty<sup>(69)</sup>. Cheap food was the reason why Tancred ordered the southern Italian contingent to leave Roussa. He did not want his followers to have to pay for sustenance, and when they moved away from Roussa and the Via Egnatia to "live in plenty"<sup>(70)</sup>, they likely took provisions from the locals rather than pay for them. As mentioned above, the fact that Raymond's army was scattered when the Byzantines attacked them may have been related to food — Raymond's soldiers may well have been foraging.

Often food or money was collected after a violent conflict in which food was not acknowledged in the source as the cause of the conflict. Peter's followers sacked and burned palaces in Constantinople, stealing the lead from the roofs and selling it to the Greeks<sup>(71)</sup>. At Roussa, the southern French crusaders attacked the citizenry, who had "strained our [the crusaders'] customary forbearance," and subsequently took substantial loot. Loot was again taken at Rodosto<sup>(72)</sup>. Perhaps loot was sought to pay for provisions rather than out of greed.

In Anna Comnena's description of the conflicts between Emperor Alexius and Godfrey of Bouillon, getting Godfrey to take an oath of allegiance and making sure the various crusade contingents did not coordinate to attack Constantinople were her father's primary concerns<sup>(73)</sup>. However, Albert of Aachen's account of these same conflicts clarifies that food, too, played an integral role. In this case, food was used as a

(69) *Ibidem*, pp. 16-19: "Petrus uero intelligens iram regis, et illius grauissimam adunationem, cum uniuersis sociis Maleuillam [a Hungarian town near Belgrade] deserens, sed cuncta spolia, gregesque ac predam equorum abducens, Maroam [Sava River] transire disposuit.... Hac ultione suorum facta, et Maroam fluuio transito, ingentia et spaciosissima nemora Bulgarorum ingreditur cum uehiculis cibariorum et omni apparatu et spoliis Belegraue."

(70) See above, p. 56, n. 48.

(71) *Gesta*, p. 3: "Ipsique Christiani nequiter deducebant se, quia palatia urbis [Constantinople] sternebant et ardebant, et auferebant plumbum quo ecclesiae erant coopertae et uendebant Grecis."

(72) HILLS, *Historia Francorum*, pp. 21-22; RAYMOND D'AGUILERS, *Liber*, pp. 39-40: "Post hec uenimus ad quandam civitatem nomine Rossam [Roussa], ubi cum manifeste cives eius in nos multa mala molirentur, paulisper nostra solita paciencia displicuit. Itaque arreptis armis, diruntur antemuralia capitur ingens preda.... Venimus ad aliam civitatem nomine Rodestol [Rodosto], ubi cum milites de roga imperatoris vindictam sui contra nos agere quererent, multi ex ipsis interfecti sunt, et aliquantula capta preda."

(73) See above, p. 53.

political tool. When Godfrey refused to meet with Alexius, the emperor cut off the market that supplied Godfrey's army. This happened twice, and it was only after the crusaders attacked the Byzantines that Alexius capitulated and gave permission for the crusaders to buy and sell — and thereby obtain provisions — that the violence ended <sup>(74)</sup>. Earlier, Godfrey had resorted to looting Byzantine lands for eight days when he heard a rumor that the emperor held Christian captives and refused to release them <sup>(75)</sup>.

There are examples in the chronicle accounts that food was a major factor in the tense relations with the locals even when violence never erupted. When Fulcher of Chartres said that the emperor would not allow the crusaders into Constantinople because he feared they might harm him, the very next sentence relates this issue to food. "Therefore," according to Fulcher, "it was necessary for us to buy our daily supplies outside the walls" <sup>(76)</sup>. In the *Gesta*, Bohemond made it clear that his soldiers were not to take from the locals unless the soldiers' survival was at stake. When the crusaders nevertheless stole from the locals, Bohemond made them return the goods, which happened to be animals. According to Albert of Aachen, when Peter the Hermit first entered Byzantine lands, the local ruler gave his army permission to purchase food in exchange for hostages "so that no injustice or act of violence" would occur <sup>(77)</sup>. The emperor later chastised Peter and justified the dispersal of this crusade contingent "because your army has pillaged and made discord" in Byzantine territory <sup>(78)</sup>. The link between food and conflict is even more direct in Albert of Aachen's description of Godfrey's initial discussions with the Byzantines :

(74) ALBERT OF AACHEN, pp. 74-77 and 78-83, for example, on p. 76: "Imperator, ergo, uidens terre regni sui predas et mala ingruere, licentiam uendendi et emendi omnibus iterauit."

(75) *Ibidem*, pp. 72-75.

(76) RYAN and FINK, p. 78; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Iherosolymitana*, in *RHC Oc 3*, p. 331: "Outside the city, 'stipendium nostrum quotidianum extra muros nos emere oportuit, quod praecepto imperatoris nobis cives afferebant.'"

(77) ALBERT OF AACHEN, pp. 18-19: "Quod benigne annuit, sub hac tamen conditione, ut obsides ei darentur, ne aliqua iniuria aut uis sicut Belegraue a tanta multitudine fieret."

(78) *Ibidem*, pp. 28-29: "Petre, domno imperatori graues de te tuisque querimonie allate sunt, eo quod in regno illius predam et seditionem tuus fecerit exercitus."

I ask you, most Christian duke, not to allow your people to lay waste and plunder my kingdom and territories which you have entered, but to obtain a license to buy necessities, and then everything will be provided from our empire for your men to buy and sell in sufficient quantity <sup>(79)</sup>.

In an exchange between Godfrey of Bouillon's men and King Coloman of Hungary, it is apparent that the availability of food and supplies was integral to maintaining good relations between the crusaders and the polities that they passed through en route to Constantinople. When Godfrey entered Hungarian territory, he sought to determine why the Hungarian king had destroyed so many Christian armies. King Coloman's response to Godfrey gets to the heart of the issue and is worth quoting in full :

We are not persecutors of Christians, but whatever cruelty we have displayed towards them, or death we have inflicted on them, we carried out because we were compelled by an overwhelming necessity. For in the first place when we prepared all good things for your army which Peter the Hermit assembled, a licence [sic] was granted to buy goods in fair weight and measure, and we organized a peaceful passage for them through the land of Hungary. They returned evil to us for good; not only stealing gold and silver, horses and mules and herds from our territory, but even destroying our cities and castles and killing about four thousand of our men; they plundered possessions and clothes <sup>(80)</sup>.

#### Repercussions

Given the constant armed conflict, it comes as no surprise that the Western chroniclers generally treated the Byzantines with disdain. The

(79) *Ibidem*, pp. 70-71: "Rogo te, dux Christianissime, quatenus regnum et terras meas quas ingressus es gentem tuam uastare et depredari non patiaris, sed emendi necessaria licentiam obtineas, et sic omnia sufficienter ex nostro imperio emenda et uendenda tui reperient."

(80) *Ibidem*, pp. 62-65. "Non Christianorum persecutores sumus, sed quicquid illis crudelitatis ostendimus, aut in illorum interitu commisimus, nimia necessitate compulsi fecimus. Cum enim primo exercitui uestro quem Petrus Heremita conduxit omnia bona accommodaremus, emendi licentia concessa in mensura et pondere equitatis, et pacifice illis per terram Vngarie transitum constitueremus, malum pro bono nobis reddiderunt, non solum in auro et argento, equis et mulis, et pecore regionis nostre auferentes, sed et ciuitates et castella nostra euertentes, hominesque nostros ad quatuor milia mortificantes, rebus et uestibus expolauerunt."

anonymous *Gesta Francorum* author described the "wretched" (*infelix*) emperor as anxious (*ango*), foul-tempered (*bullio ire*), fraudulent and cunning, and suggested that he wanted to hamper, not aid, the expedition<sup>(81)</sup>. The chronicler Raymond D'Aguilers also found the emperor to be fraudulent and treacherous<sup>(82)</sup>. A Byzantine general named Tatikios, who traveled with the crusade to Antioch, was a favorite target of the chroniclers. He was considered an enemy and a liar when he left the army at Antioch to seek more supplies from the emperor<sup>(83)</sup>. The chronicler Albert of Aachen said that Tatikios always intended to abandon the expedition<sup>(84)</sup>. Chronicler Guibert of Nogent stooped to pointing out Tatikios' deformed nose, which had been injured in battle, and labeled the Byzantine general a liar and a coward<sup>(85)</sup>.

The crusaders had expected Alexius to be kind and offer provisions, and the fact that this did not always happen might well have led chroniclers to label their hosts as fraudulent, cunning, and treacherous. This ties in with the suspicion found in both Albert of Aachen's account and the *Gesta* that Alexius always meant to hamper or even abandon the expedition. These sentiments might not simply refer to Alexius' refusal to send an army at Antioch, but also to the Byzantines' perceived miserliness when it came to providing sustenance as the crusaders traveled through the empire.

(81) *Gesta*, pp. 11, 17. "Tunc imperator anxians et bulliens ira, cogitabat quemadmodum callide fraudulenterque comprehenderet hos Christi milites." Later, on p. 17, the emperor is described as "plenus uana et iniqua cogitatione."

(82) RAYMOND D'AGUILERS, *Liber*, p. 41. "Quid vero potissimum et primum aggrediar dicere? An imperatoris fraudulentissimam ac detestabilem ammonitionis dolositatem, an exercitus nostri turpissimam fugam, et inopinabilem desperationem?"

(83) *Gesta*, p. 35. "Sic itaque fecit finem dictis. Fuit ille inimicus...et in perurio manet et manebit."

(84) ALBERT OF AACHEN, pp. 198-201: Tatikios pitched his tent away from the city, "semper fuge intentus."

(85) GUIBERT OF NOGENT, *Gesta Dei Per Francos*, in *RHC Oc* 4, pp. 175-176. "Praeterea, quidam quoque ex legatis, nisi fallor, tyrannici imperatoris, qui Tetigus vocabatur, et illi obsidioni intererat, vir siquidem gravis aevo, sed naso, qua nescio occasione, deciso, et ob id utens aureo: hinc Turcorum timore coactus, illinc famis periculo coartatus, multa mendaciorum coornatione politus, seniores adoritur..." Guibert, the abbot of a small monastery in France, was not an eyewitness to the events he describes. However, his account was composed within a decade of the capture of Jerusalem.

Social concerns also influenced negotiations over food. It was the common people in Byzantium who felt the wrath of the crusade soldiers, and it was they, not in a position to understand the bigger picture, who likely fueled the growing animosity. While the emperor sent representatives to make sure that his orders were followed, it was the locals who had to work with the crusaders in person. The crusade contingents were not Byzantine armies traveling through to defend the locals' homes, but rather foreigners, some of whom had invaded the empire in recent history. It is easy to imagine local Byzantines, unaware of their emperor's plans and the repercussions of not feeding the Europeans, hesitating to release their produce or charging high prices for it. In such a situation, violence against family and friends coupled with a skirmish between Byzantine troops and the crusaders probably left the local Byzantines feeling that they were in the presence of an enemy rather than an ally.

Likewise, the common crusaders might well know that they were forbidden to take food, but it is doubtful that they knew the why of it any more than the Byzantine populations. Both Godfrey and Bohemond told their followers to avoid looting, but this does not mean that everyone in their contingents understood why restraint was so important. Denial of food meant death. It would not be surprising if a group of armed crusaders, entering a local village expecting to purchase or trade for food, and being told, perhaps roughly, that there was no food to be had, would simply take what they needed. Parsing terms and agreements would mean little in such a situation.

These divisions and sentiments are reflected in Western accounts despite the chroniclers' tendency to overlook the roles and actions of the everyday crusaders. After all, Bohemond's followers willingly took animals from the Byzantines after being warned not to loot and forage<sup>(86)</sup>. As the German crusaders passed through the Kingdom of Hungary, Godfrey told his followers to avoid conflict on pain of death, but he did not explain why discipline was so vital<sup>(87)</sup>. Raymond's sol-

(86) See above, p. 56.

(87) ALBERT OF AACHEN, pp. 68-69: "Castris uero positus, et uniuersis hospitio sedatis, Godefridus dux precones per singulas domos et tentoria acclamare constituit, sub iudicio mortis, ne quicquam contingerent, aut uolenter in regno Vngarie raperent, et nullam seditionem commouerent, sed omnia equo precio mutuarentur."



diers were often found scattered off the main road. If Alexius is to be believed, these French crusaders mercilessly abused his subjects and deserved the wrath of his soldiers<sup>(88)</sup>.

The very fact that the crusade leaders asked their followers to avoid foraging unless there was no alternative, and the emperor ordered his soldiers to attack if the crusaders acted out, suggests that the leadership knew full well how volatile the situation might become, but did not trust their followers to uphold their policies. Bohemond apparently did not believe his soldiers would restrain themselves; he thought it necessary to stipulate they could loot if there were no other alternative. If Alexius thought his subjects were willing to and capable of feeding all the crusaders, then why would he assign a police force to defend them?

Therefore, the vulgarity and negativity so characteristic of the rhetoric of the Byzantine and crusade leadership may have reflected the feelings of their people more than the actual political situation. Rather than try to explain how food supplies ran short despite the significant effort put forth by both the Byzantines and the crusaders, leaders on both sides catered to the anxieties of the masses, who simply reacted to the violence. While the leadership might better appreciate the complexities of the situation, others may have come away from the experience feeling justified in their anger. The western chronicle accounts and that of Anna Comnena surely do not alter such a conclusion.

If irate crusaders and Byzantines returned home to tell family and friends about the uncalled for treatment they received from their supposed allies, then it would make sense that these animosities would temporarily subside, only to flare up when crusade armies again marched through Byzantine territory. This chronology of a general peace between westerners and Byzantines followed by periods of violence erupting in conjunction with major crusade expeditions complements the findings of modern crusade scholars and historians of the Byzantine Empire, as well. If, on the one hand, Western and Byzantine leaders were in a position to better understand the situation, despite their negative rhetoric, then they had good reason to continue to negotiate and make alliances with one another. The commoners, on the other hand, probably brought their animosities with them whenever they set out on crusade.

(88) See above, pp. 56-67 and 60, n. 61.

### *Conclusion*

Concern over food and supplies was a primary cause of conflict between the crusaders and the Empire as the various crusade contingents traveled through Byzantine lands. When food was available, both sides got along amicably. It was when the crusaders were unable to obtain food that they attacked the local population, deciding to take what they could not get legitimately through purchase or trade. The Byzantine escort would retaliate, and a cycle of violence began.

Further complicating the issue was that the violence was understood, on both sides, as a breach of faith. The Byzantines were concerned about supplying the crusaders, and made preparations to do so. The Byzantines felt it was their right to send armed soldiers to defend the locals and escort the crusade armies. The crusaders' willingness to loot and forage for food in the face of Byzantine support, therefore, might have contributed further to Anna's feeling that the crusaders were unstable, greedy, and untrustworthy. Her choice of words resonates with the disappointment that she and her father felt at the need to fight the crusaders and placate them with money.

For their part, the crusaders appear to have anticipated Byzantine aid. The contingents following Godfrey of Bouillon, Hugh of Vermandois, Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, and Stephen of Blois all relied on the Byzantines for sustenance. Raymond of Toulouse certainly anticipated good relations with the Byzantines and was thoroughly disappointed when they attacked him. The violence over provisions undermined the trust the crusaders had for the Byzantines. The crusaders were no longer sure the emperor would willingly supply them with food. Their accusations of treachery and fraudulence as well as the notion that they had been abandoned might have stemmed from the Byzantines unwillingness to participate in the fighting at Antioch and beyond, but also reflected uncertainties pertaining to food.

The deterioration of crusader-Byzantine relations was altogether avoidable. Rather than admit the difficulty of the situation when food ran short, leaders on both sides instead blamed the temperament and character of their collaborators. Although the supply of food was often the root cause of conflict, the leaders were seemingly unwilling or too proud to admit the actual problem. Instead of acknowledging their culpability, leaders on both sides, and later the chroniclers, found it easier to simply stereotype the other side. Historians have followed suit, label-

ing the crusaders as undisciplined and greedy, the Byzantines as belligerent and manipulative. Further, the leaders may have relied heavily on their subordinates — the local Byzantine populations and the bulk of the crusading armies — to comply with their logistical policies, but do not appear to have effectively conveyed what was at stake to their subordinates, neither why they should cooperate nor what might happen if orders were not followed.

As the crusaders approached the Byzantine Empire in the late eleventh century, they hoped to assist their Eastern Christian brethren in defeating the Muslim Turks before heading south to recapture Jerusalem, and the Byzantines had sought aid from the Western Europeans. Yet, they were quick to blame each other when problems occurred. Although they were anxious, and rightly so — at that time, the crusade was a unique event, and neither group knew what to expect — both sides appear to have had the best of intentions. While factors such as the longstanding tension between the Normans and Byzantines, the religious divide between the two cultures, or questions of control undermined relations at the time of the First Crusade, it was the inadvertent failure of the logistical system that seems to have played a key role in the initiation of the cycle of conflict. Starvation, after all, is just as deadly as a sword. Hungry and facing annihilation due to insufficient provisions, the crusaders turned on the very people they had hoped to support. Both sides meant well, and neither seems to have underestimated the potential for violence surrounding food. Although they appear to have thought that they might overcome their differences at the time of the First Crusade, conflicts between the two sides continually erupted, and the logistical necessity of available provisions was often at the heart of it.

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#### SUMMARY

At the time of the First Crusade, numerous factors fed the tension between the Byzantines and those Western Europeans who traveled through imperial lands. However, one of these factors — the supply of food — is often assumed or taken for granted. The purpose of this article is to examine the impact that the acquisition of food had on relations between the purported allies. It seems

that during the First Crusade, at a critical juncture in their ongoing social and political relationship, the supply of food seriously undermined relations between the crusaders and the Byzantines, gravely tarnishing political and military negotiations, and setting a precedent that clouded future interaction. Further, logistical issues appear to shed light on divisions among the social classes, namely, how individuals in the same army, but of different backgrounds, might interpret a similar event in distinctive ways.

## LA LETTRE B DU FLORILÈGE COISLIN : EDITIO PRINCEPS

Le *Florilège Coislin* est une importante anthologie byzantine, de type alphabétique, compilée très probablement à la fin du IX<sup>e</sup> ou au début du X<sup>e</sup> siècle (1). Un projet d'édition de ce florilège est en cours à la Katholieke Universiteit Leuven : l'édition de la lettre A est préparée par T. Fernández, la lettre Γ a déjà été éditée par nos soins dans un précédent article (2).

On distingue traditionnellement trois recensions du *Flor. Coisl.* : une recension dite longue, dont le seul représentant, conservé dans le fonds Coisl., a prêté son nom à l'ensemble du florilège (I) ; une recension un peu plus courte (II), et une recension très abrégée (III). Dans les recensions II et III, la numérotation des chapitres est continue tout au long du florilège et ne recommence pas à chaque chapitre, comme c'est le cas pour la recension I. Voici la liste des manuscrits, pour lesquels on trouvera toute la bibliographie utile dans notre précédent article :

## Recension I

A *Parisinus, Coislinianus* 294 (s. XI-XII)

## Recension II

B *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 464 (s. X)

C *Parisinus gr.* 924 (s. X)

(1) Quelques éléments permettent d'étayer cette thèse : les témoins du *Flor. Coisl.* les plus anciens datent du X<sup>e</sup> siècle et le texte le plus récent cité dans le florilège est la *Lettre 57* de Théodore Studite (l. 17-18 et 20-23 dans l'édition de G. FATOUROS, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae* [CFHB, 31], Berlin, 1992 — G. Fatouros n'utilise pas le florilège dans son édition), adressée à son oncle Platon et envoyée soit en 797, soit en 809-811, en tout cas avant la mort de Platon survenue le 4 avril 814.

(2) I. DE VOS, E. GIELEN, C. MACÉ et P. VAN DEUN, *L'art de compiler à Byzance : la Lettre Γ du Florilège Coislin*, dans *Byz.*, 78 (2008), pp. 159-223 ; on trouvera là toute la littérature antérieure. On ajoutera l'article de P.W. VAN DER HORST, *Vijfentwintig vragen om joden in het nauw te drijven. Een Byzantijns anti-joods document uit de zevende eeuw*, dans *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 58 (2004), pp. 89-99 (une traduction néerlandaise, accompagnée de notes intéressantes, du traité anti-juif conservé dans le *Flor. Coisl.*).

## Recension III

D *Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus* Q 74 sup. (s. X)

E *Argentoratensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis et Universitatis gr.* 12 (a. 1285-1286)

F *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 329 (s. XIII-XIV)

G *Athous, Iviron* 38 (a. 1281-1282)

H *Vaticanus gr.* 491 (s. XIII)

Comme nous l'avons montré à propos de la lettre Γ, le *Florilegium Hierosolymitanum*, contenu dans le manuscrit *Hierosolymitanus, Sancti Sepulchri* 15 (s. X-XI) (sigle T) est un témoin important et indépendant du *Flor. Coisl.*, dont il ne contient que les στοιχεῖα A à E.

En outre, il existe quelques témoins fragmentaires de la recension III : le manuscrit K (*Athous, Koutloumousiou* 9, s. XIV) était déjà connu pour la lettre Γ (3). De la lettre B, il ne contient que les fragments 1, 6-9, 12, 14-15, une partie de 16, et la totalité de 17 et de 24. Parmi les témoins fragmentaires, il faut ajouter le manuscrit suivant :

Q *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 375 (s. XIV-XV). Les f. 200<sup>v</sup>-219<sup>v</sup> renferment des extraits du *Flor. Coisl.* ; plus particulièrement, aux f. 215<sup>v</sup>-216<sup>v</sup>, on lit les fragments 1-3 et 7-9 de la lettre B ; on notera qu'il ne s'agit pas du même choix de textes qu'en K.

En plus de ce nouveau manuscrit, il faut encore en ajouter deux, qui nous avaient échappé jusqu'ici :

P *Parisinus gr.* 1096 (s. XVI)

S *Bruxellensis, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup>*, IV 881 (a. 1542)

Avant de passer au classement des témoins, nous donnerons quelques informations sur les trois témoins que nous ajoutons par rapport à notre article de 2008. Commençons par le *Parisinus gr.* 1096 et le *Bruxellensis* IV 881, tous deux du XVI<sup>e</sup> s. et, comme nous le verrons, étroitement apparentés.

Le manuscrit de Paris, dont on trouve une description succincte dans le catalogue de H. Omont (4), a été transcrit au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle par le scribe

(3) Le *Londinensis, British Library, Add.* 17472 (L), lui aussi du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui, pour la lettre Γ semblait un descendant direct de K, ne conserve aucun fragment de la lettre B.

(4) *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des départements*, I, Paris, 1886, p. 219.



omniprésent André Darmarios, mais le lieu et la date de confection restent malheureusement inconnus, bien qu'on sache que les manuscrits datés de Darmarios se situent entre 1558 et 1587 et qu'il a longtemps travaillé à Venise, l'origine, on le verra, du *Bruxellensis*. Avant d'entrer dans la collection du roi de France en 1732, le manuscrit a appartenu à la collection de Jacques-Auguste de Thou et à celle de Colbert. Pour ce qui est du contenu, des textes attribués à Hippolyte de Rome et à Grégoire de Nysse y sont précédés d'une longue section (f. 5-105) portant le titre trompeur τοῦ μεγάλου Μαζίμου, εἰς τὰ ἄπορα τῆς γραφῆς ; en effet, il ne s'agit pas des *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* de Maxime le Confesseur (CPG 7688), mais du *Flor. Coisl.* (5). En étudiant le manuscrit de près, on voit qu'il ne contient que la lettre A et une bonne partie de la lettre B (f. 93<sup>v</sup>-105) : le scribe s'est arrêté au milieu du fragment 24 de la lettre B et a noté en marge du f. 105 *fuere et alia plura, sed non possumus ea legere propter vetustatē libri*.

Le *Bruxellensis* (6) a été achevé le 28 novembre 1542 par Jean Katelos de Nauplie (colophon f. 188<sup>v</sup>), qui a travaillé à Venise pour Guillaume Pélicier, évêque de Montpellier et célèbre collectionneur de manuscrits (7). Le manuscrit a ensuite appartenu à Claude Naulot (souscription de 1573, f. 188<sup>v</sup>), qui a hérité des manuscrits de Pélicier, puis aux Jésuites de Paris. Avant de passer à la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique en 1972, le manuscrit a encore fait partie de la bibliothèque de Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872) à Cheltenham (cote 3080). Le manuscrit ne contient que le *Flor. Coisl.* ; la lettre B se lit aux f. 49-55<sup>v</sup> ; le fragment 8 et une partie de 11 manquent dans ce manuscrit.

Le troisième manuscrit nouveau est l'*Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 375 (8), qui remonte à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> ou au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Son lieu

(5) À ce propos, voir *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones et Dubia*, ed. J. DECLERCK (CCSG, 10), Turnhout - Leuven 1982, pp. CCIX-CCX ; *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, II, *Quaestiones LVI-LXV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugena iuxta posita*, ed. C. LAGA - C. STEEL (CCSG, 22), Turnhout - Leuven, 1990, p. XLII.

(6) Voir M. WITTEK, *Les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup> : vingt années d'acquisitions (1954-1973)*, dans *Le monde grec (...). Hommages à Claire Préaux*, Bruxelles, 1975, pp. 250-251 et la planche II ; consulter également J. NORET, *Catalogues récents de manuscrits. Cinquième série (Fonds grecs)*, dans *AB*, 91 (1973), pp. 419-420.

(7) Voir le *RGK*, II, n° 220.

(8) Voir la description sommaire de I. SAKKELION - A. I. SAKKELION, *Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Athènes, 1892, p. 64 (à

d'origine et son histoire nous sont inconnus. Il s'agit d'un manuscrit composé de différents volumes transcrits par des mains diverses ; dans ces miscellanées patristiques et byzantines, Jean Chrysostome, Nicéphore Blemmyde et Manuel Moschopoulos occupent une place importante ; on notera également la présence de quatre *Dialogues* de Lucien.

Ces trois témoins doivent encore recevoir une place dans la tradition manuscrite ; pour les autres manuscrits nous nous contenterons de vérifier si le classement que nous avons proposé sur base de la lettre Γ reste valide.

Commençons par la recension III et les manuscrits contenant des fragments qui se rattachent à cette recension. Les manuscrits E et G se caractérisent par un grand nombre de fautes et variantes qui les isolent du reste de la tradition : voir par ex. 3.10, 9.25, 9.28, 14.7, 15.11, 19.3, 23.4, 23.5, 23.8, 23.13, 24.28 et 25.1.

La même constatation s'impose pour les témoins F et H, qui, eux aussi, constituent un petit sous-groupe : voir, à titre d'exemples, 1.2, 2.1, 2.4, 3.3, 3.11, 23.10 et 23.28.

Trois cas (12.13, 15.2 et 26.4), pas très probants il est vrai, suggèrent un ancêtre commun aux manuscrits D, E et G.

Le modèle commun de la totalité de la troisième recension, dont descendent donc les manuscrits DEG et FH, se distingue nettement du reste de la tradition ; en effet, le *Flor. Coisl.* III a complètement omis les fragments 4, 5, 10, 11, 13, 27, 28, 29 et une partie du fragment 16 ; de plus, un grand nombre d'erreurs et de variantes isolent la troisième recension ; par exemple des omissions de DEG FH ainsi que de K et Q : 1.13-14 (G n'a pas ce passage), 9.21-24, 12.1-2, 12.14, 12.16-18, 12.20-24 (Q n'a pas le fragment 12), 15.3-9, 15.11-20, 16.1-3 (Q n'a pas les fragments 15 et 16), 23.16-18, 26.2, 26.3, 26.5-6 (K et Q n'ont pas les fragments 23 et 26) ; d'autres variantes : 3.10 (K n'a pas le fragment 3), 14.10 et 14.11 (Q n'a pas le fragment 14). En 9.4, D EGH et K présentent la variante δῆμοις au lieu de πανδήμοις, F et Q ont tous deux le texte de base.

Dans notre article paru en 2008, nous avons écrit que le témoin partiel K semblait dépendre du même modèle que les manuscrits E et G ; en

tort, le catalogue date le manuscrit du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle). Une étude un peu plus détaillée du manuscrit se trouve dans la dissertation, non publiée, de Marthe VERHELST, *Le «Traité de l'âme» de Nicéphore Blemmyde. Histoire du texte, édition critique, traduction et analyse du contenu doctrinal*, I, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1976, pp. 51-53.

effet, également pour la lettre B, quelques fautes réunissent ces trois témoins : des omissions : 1.40, 12.2, 14.1, 14.8 ; des additions : 9.4, 14.1, 24.2, 24.23 ; d'autres variantes : 1.2 (αὐτόθεν au lieu de αὐτόθι, aussi en Q ; G n'a pas ce passage) ; 1.9 (addition de γὰρ, aussi en Q ; G n'a pas ce passage) ; 1.17 (ἔχόμενα au lieu de ἔχομεν, aussi en Q ; G n'a pas ce passage) ; 12.15 (καίτερ au lieu de καί). Mais nous avons également constaté que EG ont souvent des variantes qui ne se lisent pas en K (par ex. 9.25 ; 9.28 ; 14.7), ce qui nous a obligé à postuler un modèle perdu supplémentaire pour E et G, et à conclure que ce modèle et K descendent, indépendamment l'un de l'autre, d'un autre modèle perdu.

Le manuscrit Q, que nous n'avions pas encore pu classer, se rattache sans aucun doute à la recension III, comme le montre la liste de variantes que nous venons de donner. En dehors de cette conclusion, il est très difficile de déterminer la place exacte dans le *stemma codicum* de ce témoin partiel, qui se caractérise par un bon nombre de variantes et fautes individuelles. Trois variantes déjà relevées ci-dessus (1.2 αὐτόθεν au lieu de αὐτόθι en E K et Q ; 1.9 l'addition de γὰρ en E K et Q ; 1.17 ἔχόμενα au lieu de ἔχομεν en E K Q ; dans ces trois cas G est lacunaire), semblent suggérer une parenté entre Q et la famille qui réunit les témoins E et G.

Passons aux autres manuscrits. Il n'y a rien à ajouter par rapport à notre article de 2008 en ce qui concerne la première recension (manuscrit A) et le *Florilegium Hierosolymitanum* (manuscrit T) : ce sont deux témoins indépendants, qui se caractérisent chacun par des fautes et variantes individuelles, comme le montre notre appareil critique<sup>(9)</sup>. Nous discuterons de la deuxième recension un peu plus en détails, car il faut y rattacher les deux témoins nouveaux que nous avons pu repérer (P et S) et qui n'ont pas encore été classés<sup>(10)</sup>. Comme on le verra tout de suite, l'importance de ces nouveaux témoins est très relative.

Ces deux témoins récents descendent, indépendamment l'un de l'autre, du manuscrit B, un des deux témoins majeurs du *Flor. Coisl. II*, qui datent tous deux du x<sup>e</sup> s. De cette parenté témoignent un bon nombre

(9) T. Fernández, qui travaille à l'édition de la lettre A, semble avoir trouvé quelques leçons qui ne pourraient s'expliquer que comme des fautes communes de A et de T. Ces cas doivent encore être vérifiés, mais ils pourraient entraîner une modification du *stemma* que nous proposons.

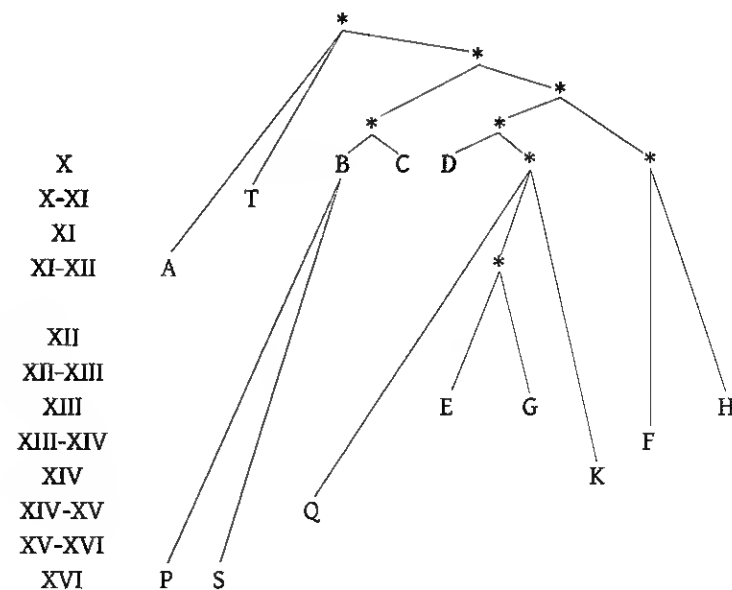
(10) Nous remercions Aurélie Gribomont, qui a collationné pour nous le manuscrit P.

de variantes et d'erreurs qui isolent ces trois manuscrits du reste de la tradition du florilège : voir par ex. 3.10, 5.2, 9.1, 9.30, 10.13, 13.2-3, 14.9, 15.15-16, 16.19, 16.38 et 16.43. De plus, P et S présentent chacun des fautes propres, ce qui n'est pas le cas de B.

Contrairement à ce qu'on avait pu constater pour la lettre Γ, les leçons individuelles de C, l'autre témoin majeur du *Flor. Coisl. II*, sont plus nombreuses dans la lettre B (12.22, 16.29, 16.33, 23.13, 23.25 et 29.6), ce qui permet d'exclure que B soit une copie de C, et d'affirmer que B et C sont des frères qui descendent, indépendamment l'un de l'autre, du modèle commun de la recension II. Pour la lettre B, cette deuxième recension se caractérise par l'absence d'une partie du fragment 11 (voir cependant, ci-dessous, la discussion au sujet de l'utilisation des sources) et par une dizaine de fautes ou variantes (1.35, 15.14, 16.8, 16.24, 16.31, 16.36, 18.2, 18.4, 23.27, 24.33, 26.3, 28.2).

Les leçons des manuscrits P et S sont mentionnées dans l'apparat critique, bien qu'ils soient des apographe directs de B ; en effet, B ayant perdu des folios après la confection de ces deux copies, P et S permettent de reconstruire les parties manquantes.

Tout cela nous permet de dresser le *stemma* suivant, qui est très légèrement différent de celui qui avait été proposé pour la lettre Γ :



Sur base de ce stemma, nous suivons, pour l'établissement du texte, le même principe que nous avons déjà adopté pour l'édition de la lettre  $\Gamma$  : nous privilégions les manuscrits qui se trouvent au sommet du stemma, à savoir A, B, C et T et, en cas de désaccord, nous considérons comme originale une leçon qui est soutenue par les témoins de deux branches contre une, soit A et BC contre T, ou A et T contre BC, ou BC et T contre A.

Venons en maintenant à l'utilisation des sources dans notre florilège. En ce qui concerne le fragment 1, le *Flor. Coisl.* avait déjà été utilisé par J. Declerck dans son apparat de QD 189 (I,26) de Maxime (CCSG 10, pp. 129-131). D'après J. Declerck (p. cix), le compilateur du *Flor. Coisl.* ne cite, des QD de Maxime, que des extraits de la «sélection I» et a eu probablement accès à un manuscrit italo-grec de cette sélection. Il s'agit peut-être d'une piste intéressante dans la recherche sur l'origine du *Flor. Coisl.*, et elle est soutenue par l'analyse qu'ont faite C. Laga et C. Steel des fragments des *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* (CPG 7688) de Maxime contenus dans le florilège<sup>(11)</sup>, mais il nous a été impossible jusqu'ici de la corroborer par d'autres éléments.

L'extrait 7, attribué à un certain Philon dans le florilège, est tiré de la lettre qui porte le numéro 42 dans le corpus de Basile de Césarée mais qui n'est vraisemblablement pas de lui<sup>(12)</sup>. Dans les manuscrits de Basile, ce texte est censé être adressé à Chilon, son disciple. Le même texte connaît une diffusion parallèle, en dehors des manuscrits basiliens, notamment dans des florilèges, où il est attribué à Χίλων ou Χίων et adressé à Eukarpios. Dans le *Hierosolymitanus, Sabaiticus* 408, un manuscrit des IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>(13)</sup>, le texte porte le titre suivant : Ἐπιστολή Φίλωνος πρὸς Εὐκάρπιον, ce qui le rapproche évidemment du titre qu'on lit dans notre florilège<sup>(14)</sup>. Le fragment 15 qui porte le titre Βασιλείου Κατσα-

(11) Maximi Confessoris *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, I, *Quaestiones I-LV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugenae juxta posita*, ed. C. LAGA et C. STEEL (CCSG, 7), Turnhout - Leuven, 1980, pp. LXXIV-LXXVI.

(12) J. GRIBOMONT, *apud* Basilio di Cesarea, *Le lettere*, *Introd., testo criticamente riveduto, trad., commento a cura di M. FORLIN PATRUCCO*, vol. I (*Corona patrum*, 11), Turin, 1983, p. 414.

(13) A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Ἱεροσολυμιτική βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων, I, St. Pétersbourg, 1891, pp. 525-527 (et deux planches).

(14) GRIBOMONT, *apud* FORLIN PATRUCCO, *Le lettere*, pp. 415-417. Voir aussi J. GRIBOMONT, *Histoire du texte des Ascétiques de S. Basile (Bibliothèque du Muséon, 32)*, Louvain, 1953, pp. 309-310.

ρείας ἐκ τῶν Ἀσκητικῶν est tiré du discours ascétique 11 dans le corpus basilien, mais J. Gribomont le considère comme inauthentique<sup>(15)</sup>. Il faut noter qu'aucun de ces deux textes pseudo-basiliens ne semble cité ni dans les SP ni dans les LC, tandis que, toujours selon J. Gribomont, on retrouve des extraits de ces deux textes (différents de ceux cités dans le *Flor. Coisl.*) dans le florilège accompagnant les *Quaestiones et Responsiones* attribuées à Anastase le Sinaïte (CPG 7746)<sup>(16)</sup>.

Les chapitres consacrés à l'exégèse du « royaume des cieux » (chapitres ζ', ζ', θ' et ι'), ne contiennent chaque fois qu'un seul fragment, pour lequel se pose un problème d'attribution. Les fragments 18 et 19 (qui présentent une exégèse de Matth. 13.31 et 33 respectivement) sont attribués à Chrysostome dans le florilège, mais les seuls parallèles que nous ayons pu identifier se trouvent dans le corpus des lettres d'Isidore de Péluse (CPG 5557) : I, 199 et 201, deux lettres très courtes et que notre florilège cite presque dans leur intégralité (le fragment 2 est également tiré d'une lettre d'Isidore, mais citée sous son nom cette fois). On sait qu'Isidore a largement puisé à la littérature patristique antérieure<sup>(17)</sup>. On notera toutefois que le substantif παλιντοκία est extrêmement rare et attesté, d'après Lampe, seulement chez Isidore, précisément dans la lettre I, 201 et une autre fois dans la lettre I, 68 (PG 78, 228 C 7). Les fragments 21 et 22, qui sont en réalité des citations d'Évagre, sont attribués dans le florilège à un certain Léonce de Damas, inconnu par ailleurs. Ces fragments ont déjà été édités dans le cadre d'un article consacré entièrement à cet « auteur »<sup>(18)</sup>.

Le chapitre η', qui interrompt la série des quatre extraits consacrés au « royaume », a pour titre une question : Διατί ἰθ' βασιλεύσαντας ἀπὸ Δαυὶδ ἕως Ἰεχονίου ὁ Εὐαγγελιστὴς ἰδ' ὀνομάζει; L'extrait 20 qui y répond est attribué à Eusèbe (Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Πιαμφίλου) et trouve en effet quelque écho dans la douzième des *Questions évangéliques* à Stéphane de

(15) GRIBOMONT, *Histoire*, pp. 311-312.

(16) GRIBOMONT, *Histoire*, p. 309 n. 30 (citation de l'Ep. 42 sous le nom de Nil en PG 89, col. 357 B-C) et p. 311 n. 44 (citation du *Sermo xi* en PG 89, 468 D - 469 D et 669 C-D).

(17) Voir la bibliographie citée dans Isidore de Péluse, *Lettres*, t. 1 : *Lettres 1214-1413*, introduction générale, texte critique et notes par P. ÉVIEUX (SC, 422), Paris, 1997, pp. 102-104.

(18) T. FERNÁNDEZ, *Un auteur inconnu dans le Florilège Coislin : Léonce de Damas*, dans *Sacris Erudiri*, 47 (2008), pp. 209-221.

ce Père, mais le texte le plus proche de celui de notre florilège est une des *Questions et Réponses* (κατὰ πεῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν) attribuées à l'«Éphrem grec» (CPG 4008), qui résume en quelque sorte le texte d'Eusèbe.

Outre les fragments 18 et 19, dont nous venons de parler, quatre autres extraits sont attribués à Chrysostome dans notre florilège : le fragment 5, tiré d'une homélie de Chrysostome *Sur les statues* ; le fragment 8, que nous n'avons pas pu identifier ; le fragment 14, pourvu du titre περὶ παρθένων et tiré d'une homélie pseudo-chrysostomienne *De corruptoribus virginum* (CPG 4624) ; le fragment 25, extrêmement bref puisqu'il consiste en une seule courte phrase et que nous avons pu rapprocher d'une autre homélie pseudo-chrysostomienne *De non iudicando proximo* (CPG 4630).

La lettre B nous offre une moisson intéressante de textes pseudo-athanasiens. Le fragment 26 est tiré de la question 73 des *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* ; cette question ne semble pas avoir de parallèle dans les Questions dites authentiques d'Anastase le Sinaïte<sup>(19)</sup>. Les fragments 12 et 24 peuvent être rapprochés de scholies sur Matthieu qui se trouvent sous le nom d'Athanase dans les Chaînes, et qui sont soit apocryphes soit tirées d'autres œuvres d'Athanase (CPG 2141 [7]). Le fragment 24 de notre florilège est proche également d'autres textes pseudo-athanasiens : *Liber de definitionibus* (CPG 2254), § 12 (περὶ ψυχῆς), PG 28, 552.34-553.2 = *De corpore et anima* (CPG 2990), PG 28, 1432.42-1435.16, qui correspondent aux l. 12-36 de notre fragment 24.

Comme nous l'avons fait dans notre article sur la lettre Γ, il convient de situer notre florilège par rapport à deux autres grands florilèges spirituels, les *Sacra Parallela* attribués à Jean Damascène (SP) (CPG 8056)<sup>(20)</sup> et les *Loci Communes* du pseudo-Maxime (CPG 7718) (LC)<sup>(21)</sup>. Les seuls points de comparaison entre le *Flor. Coisl.* et les LC ou les SP se trouvent pratiquement tous dans les citations tirées de la Bible ou de Chrysostome.

(19) *Anastasii Sinaitae Quaestiones et responsiones*, ed. M. RICHARD (†) et J. MUNITZ (CCSG, 59), Turnhout - Leuven, 2006, p. iv (Table 5).

(20) *Sacra parallela (recensiones secundum alphabeti litteras dispositae, quae tres libros conflant)* (fragmenta e cod. Vat. gr. 1236), PG 95, 1040-1588 ; PG 96, 9-441.

(21) S. IHM, *Ps.-Maximus Confessor. Erste kritische Edition einer Redaktion des sacro-profanen Florilegiums Loci Communes (Palingenesia, 3)*, Stuttgart, 2001.

Le chapitre γ̄ περὶ βλασφημίας est considéré par M. Richard comme un chapitre « damascénien », ajouté au noyau primitif du *Flor. Coisl.*<sup>(22)</sup>. Il contient les fragments 4 et 5, qui se retrouvent tous deux, en effet, dans les SP (litt. B, tit. viii Περὶ βλασφημίου καὶ μεγαλορρήμονος). Il faut noter que le chapitre γ̄ du *Flor. Coisl.* est omis tant par la recension III, apparentée à la recension II mais abrégée, que par le *Flor. Hier.* (T), qui contient par ailleurs un florilège damascénien et tend à éviter les doublets<sup>(23)</sup>. Le fragment 4 amalgame, sous le nom de Job, deux passages bibliques différents : Job 15.12-13 (modifié dans le florilège par rapport au texte biblique) et Sap. 1.6. Tant le mélange que la modification des deux versets de Job semblent uniques. Dans les SP, PG 95, 1285.22-23 et 37-38, les extraits sont séparés et le texte cité est le texte reçu (pour autant que l'édition des SP permette d'en juger).

Les deux premières lignes du fragment 9 (Evagr., *De octo spir. mal.*, PG 79, 1148.49-52) se retrouvent dans les LC, c. 73.13 (Ihm, p. 947), chapitre qui ne se trouve que dans le seul manuscrit A.

Le fragment 11, qui porte le titre παροιμιῶν, est lui aussi un amalgame de plusieurs passages bibliques et est absent de la recension III, certains versets sont même conservés seulement par A (recension I) et T (*Flor. Hierosolymitanum*). Pour la clarté, nous répétons ici de quels versets bibliques il s'agit et quels témoins du *Flor. Coisl.* les transmettent (nous ne citons pas les copies de B) :

*Flor. Coisl.* 11.1-3 (A BC T) = Prov. 5.3

*Flor. Coisl.* 11.3-4 (A T) = Prov. 5.4

*Flor. Coisl.* 11.5 (A T) = Prov. 6.26

*Flor. Coisl.* 11.6-7 (A T) = Prov. 11.22

*Flor. Coisl.* 11.8 (A T) = Sir. 9.4a

*Flor. Coisl.* 11.9-10 (A BC T) = Sir. 9.8a

*Flor. Coisl.* 11.11 (A BC T) = Sir. 9.9a

*Flor. Coisl.* 11.12 (A T) = Sir. 9.8c

Les extraits bibliques cités se retrouvent partiellement dans les deux autres grands florilèges :

(22) M. RICHARD, *Florilèges spirituels grecs*, dans *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, V, Paris, 1962-1964, coll. 484-486, repris dans M. RICHARD, *Opera minora*, I, Turnhout - Leuven, 1976, n° 1.

(23) Voir notre article cité à la n. 2.

*Flor. Coisl.* 11.1-3 (jusque εὐρήσεις) = *LC* c. 39.3 (MaxII) (c. 68.3 [Max.U])

*Flor. Coisl.* 11.6-7 = *LC* c. 39.5e (MaxII)

*Flor. Coisl.* 11.8 = *LC* c. 39.6a (MaxII)

*Flor. Coisl.* 11.9-12 = *LC* c. 39.6c (MaxII)

Le chapitre 39 de la recension II des *LC* porte le titre *Περὶ γυναικῶν* ; nous avons déjà trouvé des parallèles entre ce même chapitre et le livre Γ du *Flor. Coisl.* (24). Les variantes du *Flor. Coisl.* par rapport au texte biblique ne se retrouvent pas dans les *LC*. La combinaison des versets 9.8a, 9.9a et 9.8c du Siracide est remarquablement semblable dans les *LC* et le *Flor. Coisl.*, mais se retrouve aussi dans les *SP* (litt. Γ, tit. xii), PG 95, 1321.21-24. Il faut noter que cette combinaison de versets ne se trouve pas dans nos manuscrits B et C, qui ne présentent que les versets 8 et 9 de Sir. 9. En ce qui concerne le *Flor. Coisl.*, nous nous en sommes strictement tenus à notre règle d'édition et nous avons donc privilégié le texte soutenu par A et T, mais une contamination n'est pas à exclure ici, même si nous n'avancions cette hypothèse qu'avec la plus grande prudence. En effet, dans les *LC*, ces versets ne se lisent que dans un seul manuscrit de la recension II, à savoir F, qui présente à cet endroit un texte fort semblable à celui des *SP*, comme le montre la comparaison suivante (les différences par rapport au texte biblique reçu sont notées en grasses) :

*SP*, PG 95, 1321.18-25 : Μὴ δῶς γυναικὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σου, μὴ ὑπάντα **ἔταιριζομένη**. Μετὰ ψαλλούσης μὴ ἐνδελέχιζε. Παρθένον μὴ καταμάνθανε. Μὴ δῶς πόρνη τὴν ψυχὴν σου. Ἀπόστρεψον τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν σου ἀπὸ γυναικὸς εὐμόρφου. Μετὰ ὑπάνδρου γυναικὸς μὴ κάθου τὸ σύνολον. Ἐν κάλλει γὰρ γυναικὸς πολλοὶ ἐπλανήθησαν. Οἶνος καὶ γυναικῆς ἀποστήσουσι συνετούς.

*LC*, c. 39.6a-d (Ihm, p. 994-995), dans le manuscrit F (les versets tirés de Sir. 25 cités en c. 39.6e-g se trouvent également un peu plus loin dans le même chapitre des *SP*, mais cela ne nous intéressera pas ici) : Μὴ δῶς γυναικὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σου, μὴ ὑπάντα **ἔταιριζομένη**, καὶ μετὰ ψαλλούσης μὴ ἐνδελέχιζε. Παρθένον μὴ καταμάνθανε, καὶ πόρνη μὴ δῶς τὴν ψυχὴν σου. Ἀπόστρεψον ὀφθαλμὸν σου ἀπὸ γυναικὸς εὐμόρφου. μετὰ ὑπάνδρου γυναικὸς μὴ **καθέξου** τὸ σύνολον. Ἐν κάλλει γυναικὸς πολλοὶ ἐπλανήθησαν. Οἶνος καὶ γυναικῆς ἀποστήσουσι συνετούς.

Sir. 9.2a : μὴ δῶς γυναικὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σου ; Sir. 9.3a : μὴ ὑπάντα γυναικὶ ἔταιριζομένη ; Sir. 9.4a : μετὰ ψαλλούσης μὴ ἐνδελέχιζε ; Sir. 9.5a : παρθένον μὴ

καταμάνθανε ; Sir. 9.6a : μὴ δῶς πόρναις τὴν ψυχὴν σου ; Sir. 9.8a : ἀπόστρεψον ὀφθαλμὸν ἀπὸ γυναικὸς εὐμόρφου ; Sir. 9.9a : μετὰ ὑπάνδρου γυναικὸς μὴ κάθου τὸ σύνολον ; Sir. 9.8c : ἐν κάλλει γυναικὸς πολλοὶ ἐπλανήθησαν ; Sir. 19.2 : οἶνος καὶ γυναικῆς ἀποστήσουσιν συνετούς.

La parenté entre les *SP* et le manuscrit F des *LC* est évidente, croyons-nous. En ce qui concerne le *Flor. Coisl.*, il faut noter que le seul manuscrit A ajoute Μὴ δὸς γυναικὶ πόρνη ψυχὴν σου, c'est-à-dire en quelque sorte une combinaison des versets 2a et 6a de Sir. 9, avant Μετὰ ψαλλούσης (l. 8), ce qui le rapproche davantage, mais lui seul, des *SP* et du manuscrit F des *LC*. Se pourrait-il que les lignes 3-8 et 12 du fragment 11, qui ne se trouvent pas en B et C, soient en réalité des ajouts de A et de T (indépendamment l'un de l'autre ?) sous l'influence des *SP* ? Nous laissons la question ouverte pour le moment, dans l'attente de recherches plus étendues, et cela n'influencera pas l'établissement du texte. Pour en finir avec ce fragment 11, ajoutons enfin que les versets Prov. 5.3-4 (= *Flor. Coisl.* 11.1-4) se lisent dans le même chapitre xii de la lettre Γ dans les *SP* (PG 95, 1320.15-19) et sont directement suivis, comme dans notre florilège, par une citation de Prov. 6.26 (PG 95, 1320.20). Les *SP* citent également Prov. 11.22 (PG 95, 1320.54-55) et Sir. 9.4a (PG 95, 1321.19). Pas plus que les *LC*, les *SP* ne présentent de variantes qui se lisent dans le *Flor. Coisl.*

Enfin, le fragment 16 cite un long passage du livre des Proverbes (5.1-21 et 6.25-35), dont étaient tirées les premières lignes du fragment 11. La recension III ne préserve que le début du fragment 16 (l. 1-7 = Prov. 5.1-4). Les fragments 11 et 16 appartiennent à deux chapitres différents mais de sujets très proches : Δ' περὶ βλάβης ἐμπαθοῦς (fragments 6-11) et Ε' πῶς νοητέον τὸ ὀφθαλμὸν γυναικῆς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς ; (fragments 12-17).

Que peut-on conclure de cette discussion ? Les points de contact entre les trois florilèges sont très ténus en ce qui concerne la lettre B et ne permettent ni d'infirmer ni de confirmer l'hypothèse que nous avançons dans notre précédent article de l'existence d'un lien entre le *Flor. Coisl.* et les *LC*. Quant à déterminer le type de sources utilisées par le compilateur du *Flor. Coisl.*, il faudra attendre une étude d'ensemble quand davantage de lettres du florilège auront été éditées.

(24) Voir notre article cité n. 2.



## CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

## Recension I

A *Parisinus, Coislinianus* 294 (s. XI-XII), f. 65<sup>v</sup>-75<sup>v</sup>

## Recension II

B *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 464 (s. X), p. 77-91

C *Parisinus gr.* 924 (s. X), f. 78-88<sup>v</sup>

P *Parisinus gr.* 1096 (s. XVI), f. 93<sup>v</sup>-105

S *Bruxellensis, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup>* IV 881 (a. 1542), f. 49-55<sup>v</sup>

## Recension III

D *Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus* Q 74 sup. (s. X), f. 32<sup>v</sup>-36

E *Argentoratensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis et Universitatis gr.* 12 (a. 1285-1286), f. 52<sup>v</sup>-58

F *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 329 (s. XIII-XIV), f. 84-86<sup>v</sup>

G *Athous, Iviron* 38 (a. 1281-1282), f. 9-13

H *Vaticanus gr.* 491 (s. XIII), f. 139-143

## Recension III, fragments

K *Athous, Koutloumousiou* 9, f. 466-472

Q *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 375 (s. XIV-XV), f. 215<sup>v</sup>-216<sup>v</sup>

## Florilegium Hierosolymitanum

T *Hierosolymitanus, Sancti Sepulchri* 15 (s. X-XI), f. 189-193<sup>v</sup>

## ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΟΝ Β

## Α'

Τί ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου βλασφημία, καὶ πῶς τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ βλασφημοῦσιν οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται, οὔτε ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι;

## 1

## Μαξίμου

Ἡ περὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου βλασφημίας ἀπορία, αὐτόθι ἔχει τὴν λύσιν· τοῦ γὰρ κυρίου ἰάσεις ποιούντος ποικίλας, Ἰουδαῖοι τὰς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνεργείας, τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων αὐτὰς ἀνετίθεσαν. Τὸ δὲ οὔτε ἐνταῦθα οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ἀφεοῖν γενέσθαι τοῖς βλασφημοῦσιν, ἐξῆς ζητητέον. Φασὶ τινες τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα διὰ

5

A'.1-3 Max. Conf., Quaest. et Dubia, 189 (I,26), 1-4 1-3 Matth. 12.31-32 (cf. Marc. 3.28-29; Luc. 12.10) 1.1-42 Max. Conf., Quaest. et Dubia, 189 (I,26), 5-44 4 Matth. 9.34 et 12.24; Marc. 3.22; Luc. 11.15

## 1 ACPSTDEFHKQ

A' ] κεφάλαιον μβ' CPS, om. DEFHKQ A' Τί] τίς C in pinace, περὶ τοῦ τίς PS | Τί ... μέλλοντι] om. C (fenestra autem relicta) GK τοῦ! ... ἁγίου] εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον C in pinace PS | πνεύματος ... ἁγίου] ἁγίου πνεύματος DEQ | εἰς] om. S | αὐτὸ] αὐτὸν H οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται] post πῶς transp. C in pinace PS 1 Μαξίμου] om. C DE T Q, ἁγίου add. FH

1.1 Ἡ] om. CP | τῆς] om. HQ | πνεύματος... ἁγίου] ἁγίου πνεύματος D PS Q 1-2 βλασφημίας ἀπορία] βλασφημία Q 2 αὐτόθι] αὐτόθεν EKQ | ἔχει] ἔχειν P | γὰρ] om. FH 3 Ἰουδαῖοι] οἱ praem. D P | τὰς... ἐνεργείας] τὴν ... ἐνεργείαν Q 5 οὔτε] οὐδὲ A C

A'.1-2 πῶς... εἰς] πῶς πᾶν ἁμάρτημα ἀφεθήσεται, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, τοῖς δὲ εἰς Max. 3 νῦν] om. Max. | αἰῶνι] τούτῳ add. Max. 1.1 τοῦ ἁγίου] om. Max. 2 αὐτόθι] αὐτόθεν Max. 3 Ἰουδαῖοι] οἱ praem. Max. 4 αὐτὰς] ταύτας Max. 5 γενέσθαι] γίνεσθαι Max.

τοῦ πνεύματος ἠκριβωκότων, τέσσαρας εἶναι τρόπους  
 δι' ὧν συγχώρησις γίνεται ἀμαρτημάτων, δύο ἐνταῦθα,  
 καὶ δύο ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. Ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξικνεῖται ἡ μνήμη  
 ὄλου τοῦ χρόνου μνημονεύειν τὰ σφάλματα ἵνα ὑπὲρ αὐ- 10  
 τῶν μετανοήσῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐνταῦθα, φκονόμησε φιλάν-  
 θρωπος ὧν ὁ δεσπότης τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἡμῶν μὴ μετανο-  
 ούντων τρόπους μετανοίας· ἐν μὲν τῷ μέλλοντι ὡς εἴρη-  
 ται δύο· ὅταν τις ἀδιαφόρως ἐνταῦθα ἀμαρτήσας καὶ  
 πάλιν ἀδιαφόρως ἀγαθοεργήσας, εἴτε εἰς οἶκτον καὶ 15  
 συμπάθειαν πρὸς τὸν πλησίον κινηθεῖς ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα φι-  
 λανθρωπίας ἔχομεν, ταῦτα ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι ἐν τῷ  
 καιρῷ τῆς κρίσεως ζυγοστατούμενα ἐφ' ἃ τὴν ῥοπήν  
 ἔξει, συγχώρησις γίνεται· οὗτος μὲν ὁ εἷς τρόπος· ὁ δὲ  
 δεῦτερος ἐστὶν οὗτος· ὅταν τις ἐν ἀμαρτίαις ἐνεχόμενος, 20  
 ἀκούων δὲ τοῦ κυρίου λέγοντος *μη κρίνετε καὶ οὐ μὴ*  
*κριθῆσεσθε*, φοβούμενος οὐδένα κρίνη, ἐν τῇ ἐξετάσει  
 τῶν βεβιωμένων ὡς φύλαξ τῆς ἐντολῆς οὐ κρίνεται· τῆς  
 γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ ἐντολῆς, οὐκ ἐπιλήσμων ὁ ἀψευδέστατος. Οἱ  
 δὲ ἕτεροι δύο τρόποι ἐνταῦθα τὴν συγχώρησιν ἔχουσιν· 25  
 ὅταν ἐν ἀμαρτίαις τις ὧν οἰκονομῆται ἐκ τῆς προνοίας

1.21–22 Matth. 7.1; Luc. 6.37

ACPSTDEFHKQ ab ἐξετάσει (l. 22) ACPSTDEFGHQ

1.7 ἠκριβωκότων] ἠκριβηκότων PS 8 δι' ὧν... ἀμαρτημάτων] om.  
 P 9 Ἐπειδὴ] γὰρ add. EKQ 11 μετανοήσῃ] μετανοήσει A 13–14 ὡς  
 εἴρηται] om. DEFHKQ 14 ἐνταῦθα] om. T, post ἀμαρτήσας transp.  
 Q14–15 ἐνταῦθα... ἀδιαφόρως] om. P 14–15 ἀμαρτήσας... ἀγαθο-  
 εργήσας] ἀγαθοεργήσας ... ἀμαρτήσας T 17 ἔχομεν] ἔχομεν A  
 DF<sup>ac</sup>, ἐχόμενα EKQ 20 τις] om. F 21 κρίνετε] κρίνεται A T DH  
 (sed ε H<sup>s1</sup>) 22 κριθῆσεσθε] κριθῆσεσθα A, κριθῆτε Q | κρίνη] κρίνει  
 A T DEFHKQ<sup>ac</sup> 24 ἑαυτοῦ] om. PS 26 οἰκονομῆται]  
 οἰκονομεῖται S T DEFHG

1.9 Ἐπειδὴ] γὰρ add. Max. 11 ἐνταῦθα] ante μετανοήσῃ transp.  
 Max. 17 ἔχομεν] ἐχόμενα Max. 19–20 ὁ<sup>2</sup>... ἐστὶν] δεῦτερος δὲ  
 Max. 21–22 καὶ... κριθῆσεσθε] ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε Max. 22 κρίνη]  
 κρίνει Max.

ἐν συμφοραῖς, ἐν ἀνάγκαις, ἐν νόσοις — ὡς οὐκ οἶδε  
 γὰρ διὰ τῶν τοιούτων καθαίρει αὐτὸν ὁ θεός — καὶ εἰ  
 μὲν εὐχαριστεῖ πειραζόμενος, τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ 30  
 μισθὸν λαμβάνει, εἰ δὲ ἀχαριστεῖ, δι' ἧς μὲν ἀμαρτίας  
 παιδεύεται ἐκ τούτων καθαίρεται, τὴν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀχα-  
 ριστίας εἰσπράττεται ποινήν· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ συγχω-  
 ρεῖν τῷ πλησίον τὰ ἡμαρτημένα· ἄφετε γὰρ καὶ ἀφεθή-  
 σεται ὑμῖν. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἅτινα εἰς ἀνθρώπους τίς ἀμαρτάνει  
 ὡς ἔδειξεν ὁ λόγος πολλὰς ἔχει προφάσεις συγχωρήσεων 35  
 — ἀμαρτάνων γὰρ τις εἰς ἄνθρωπον, ἄλλον δὲ ἄνθρω-  
 πον εὖ ποιῶν, εἰς ἣν φύσιν ἡμαρτεν αὐτῇ καὶ ὑπεραπελο-  
 γήσατο — ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον βλασφημία ἐστὶν  
 ἡ ἀπιστία, μὴ ἔχουσα ἑτέραν πρόφασιν συγχωρήσεως, εἰ  
 μὴ τὸ γενέσθαι πιστόν, εἰκότως οὖν τῷ ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ τὸν 40  
 βίον κατακλείσαντι, οὔτε ἐνταῦθα οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι  
 ἀφεθήσεται τῆς ἀπιστίας καὶ ἀθείας ἡ ἀμαρτία.

ACPSTDEFGHQ

1.27 ὡς... οἶδε] om. P<sup>ac</sup> (add. in mg. P ead. manu) 28 καθαίρει  
 αὐτὸν] καθεαυτὸν S | εἰ] ἢ T, ὁ P 29 εὐχαριστία] εὐχαριστεία A PS  
 G 31–32 ἀχαριστίας] ἀχαριστείας A P F 35 πολλὰς] πολλὰκις  
 CPS 37 εὖ ποιῶν] εὐποιῶν PS 37–38 ὑπεραπελογήσατο] ὑπερα-  
 πολογήσατο S 39 ἀπιστία] ἀπιστεία A T | ἑτέραν] om. PS 40 οὖν]  
 om. EGK | τῷ] τῶν K | ἀπιστία] ἀπιστεία A P D 41 κατακλείσαντι]  
 καταλύσαντι E<sup>ac</sup>-FQ<sup>s1</sup>, κατακλύσαντι E<sup>s1</sup>-G

1.32–34 ὡσαύτως... ὑμῖν] om. Max. 37–38 ὑπεραπελογήσατο]  
 ἀπελογήσατο Max. 38 τὸ ἅγιον] om. Max. | ἐστὶν] δὲ add. Max.  
 40 οὖν] om. Max. | ἀπιστία] τῇ praem. Max.

## B'

Πῶς νοητέον τὸ δι' ὑμᾶς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν  
τοῖς ἔθνεσιν;

2

## Ἰουδαίου Πηλουσίου

Ἰουδαῖοι ἀμαρτάνοντες εἰς αἰχμαλωσίας παρεδίδοντο·  
οἱ τούτους αἰχμαλωτίζοντες, οὐ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ὀργῇ, ἀλλὰ  
τῇ τῶν οἰκείων ξοάνων δυνάμει τὴν νίκην ἐπιγράφοντες  
τῆς παγκρατοῦς δεξιᾶς ἀοθένειαν κατεψηφίζοντο.

3

## Γρηγορίου Νύσης

Ἦκουσά που τῆς ἀγίας γραφῆς κατακρινούσης  
ἐκείνους, οἱ κατὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βλασφημίας αἵτιοι γίνον-  
ται. Οὐαὶ γὰρ φησὶν δι' οὗς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται  
ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι. Τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. Οἱ μήπω πεπισ-  
τευκότες τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας πρὸς τὸν βίον τῶν παρα- 5

B'.1-2 Rom. 2.24 (cf. I Tim. 6.1) 2.1-4 Isid. Pel., Ep. III, 405, PG  
78, col. 1040.14-18 3.1-19 Greg. Nyss., De oratione dominica, Or.  
III, p. 35.6-23

2 ACPSTDEFGHQ 3 ACPSTDEFGHQ ab τὸ (l. 3)  
ABCPSTDEFGHQ

B' ] κεφάλαιον μγ' CP, κεφάλαιον μα' E, μα' FH, illeg. G | ἔθνεσιν]  
ἀνθρώποις PS 2 Ἰουδαίου Πηλουσίου] om. A T F, illeg. G, νεῖλου  
Q in mg. | Πηλουσίου] πηλουσιώτ(ου) PS D 3 Γρηγορίου Νύσης]  
τοῦ νύσης Q in mg.

2.1 Ἰουδαῖοι] ὦ praem. P, οἱ praem. Q 2 οἱ] δὲ add. PS EG, οὖν add.  
FH, γοῦν add. Q 4 κατεψηφίζοντο] καταψηφίζονται FH 3.1 κατα-  
κρινούσης] κατακινούσης Q<sup>ac</sup> 2 τῆς] om. Q 3 φησὶν] om. FH  
4 τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν] τοιοῦτόν ἐστίν A P T

2.1 Ἰουδαῖοι] μὲν add. Isid. | εἰς αἰχμαλωσίας] αἰχμαλωσίας Isid.  
2 οἱ] δ' add. Isid. | τούτους] om. Isid. 3.2 κατὰ] post τῆς transp.  
Nyss.

δεδεγμένων τὴν τοῦ μοτηρίου πίστιν ἀποκοκοποῦσιν.  
Ὅταν τοίνυν τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῆς πίστεως ἦ, ὁ δὲ βίος ἀντι-  
φθέγγεται τῷ ὀνόματι, ἢ διὰ πλεονεξίαν εἰδωλολατρῶν,  
ἢ ἐν μέθαις καὶ κώμοις ἀοχημονῶν, ἢ τῷ βορβόρῳ τῆς  
ἀσωτίας χοίρου δίκην ἐγκαλινδούμενος, πρόχειρος 10  
εὐθύς παρὰ τῶν ἀπίστων ὁ λόγος, οὐκ εἰς τὴν προαίρε-  
σιν τῶν κακῶς τῷ βίῳ κεχρημένων τὴν κατηγορίαν τρέ-  
πων, ἀλλ' ὡς τοιαῦτα πράττειν τοῦ μοτηρίου διδάσκον-  
τος· μὴ γὰρ ἂν γενέσθαι τὸν δεῖνα τὸν τὰ θεῖα μεμνημέ-  
νον μοτήρια λοῖδορον ἢ πλεονέκτην, ἢ ἄρπαγα, ἢ ἄλλο 15  
τι τοιοῦτον κακόν, εἰ μὴ ἔννομον αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν  
ἦν. Διὰ τοῦτο χαλεπὴν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἀπειλήν ὁ λόγος  
ἐπανατείνεται λέγων ἐκείνοις εἶναι τὸ Οὐαὶ δι' οὗς τὸ  
ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

ABCPTDEFGHQ

3.7 Ὅταν] ὅτε Q | μὲν] om. Q | ἦ] εἰ Q 7-8 ἀντιφθέγγεται]  
ἀντιφθέγγεται FH 8 πλεονεξίαν] πλεονεξίας A T D 9 κώμοις] A  
DEFG (et Greg.), κώμαις BCPS Q, κώμας T H 10 ἀσωτίας]  
ἀσωτείας A T F | χοίρου] χοίρων D | χοίρου δίκην] om. BPS, in v.  
DEFGHQ | δίκην] νίκην EG | ἐγκαλινδούμενος] ἐγκοιλινδούμενος  
A, ἐγκυλινδούμενος D 11 παρὰ] περὶ FH 12 κακῶς] κακῶν  
P 12-13 τρέπων] τρέπονται T 14 δεῖνα τὸν] δυνατὸν T 17 τοῦτο]  
γὰρ add. Q

3.8 πλεονεξίαν] πλεονεξίας Nyss. 15 λοῖδορον] ἢ praem. Nyss.

## Γ' περι βλασφημίας

4

Ίώβ

Τί ἐτόλμησας ἐν τῇ καρδία σου, ὅτι θυμὸν ἔρρηξας ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ, φιλόανθρωπον πνεῦμα σοφία, καὶ οὐκ ἀθώωσει βλάσφημον ἀπὸ χειλέων αὐτοῦ.

5

τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου

Τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει βλασφημοῦντας, σωφρόνιζε. Κὰν ἀκούσης τινὸς ἐν ἀμφόδῳ, ἢ ἐν ἀγορᾷ βλασφημοῦντος τὸν Θεόν, πρόσελθε, ἐπιτίμησον, κὰν πληγὰς ἐπιθεῖναι δέη, μὴ παραιτήσῃ· ῥάπισον αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄψιν, σύντριψον αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα, ἀγιάσον σου τὴν χεῖρα διὰ τῆς πληγῆς, κὰν ἐγκαλῶσι τινές, κὰν εἰς δικαστήριον ἔλκωσιν, ἀκούθησον.

4.1-2 Iob 15.12-13 2-3 Sap. 1.6 5.1-7 Io. Chrys., Ad populum Antiochenum, Or. 1, § 12, PG 49, col. 32.44-51

4 ABCPS 5 ABCPS

Γ' ] κεφάλαιον μδ' BCPS

5.2 ἀμφόδῳ] ἢ ἐν ὁδῷ add. BPS 4 παραιτήσῃ] παρεστήσῃ S

4.1 Τί... σου] τί ἐτόλμησεν ἡ καρδία σου LXX 1-2 ἐναντίον... θεοῦ] ἐναντι κυρίου LXX 2 φιλόανθρωπον] γὰρ add. LXX 5.2 ἀγορᾷ] μέσῃ add. Chrys. 4-5 αὐτοῦ] om. Chrys.

4.1-2 Sacra Parall., PG 95, col. 1285.22-23 2-3 Sacra Parall., PG 95, col. 1285.37-38 5.1-7 Sacra Parall., PG 95, col. 1285.46-51

## Δ' περι βλέψεως ἐμπαθοῦς

6

Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου

Φωτισθῶμεν ὀφθαλμὸν, ἴν' ὀρθὰ βλέπωμεν καὶ μηδὲν εἰδῶλον πορνικὸν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς περιφέρωμεν ἐκ φιλοπόδου θέας καὶ περιέργου. Κὰν γὰρ τῷ πάθει μὴ προσκυνήσωμεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐμολύνθημεν.

7

Φίλωνος

Εἶδον κάλλος γυναικὸς βασανίζον μου τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔργον τῆς πορνείας διέφυγον, τὴν δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ παρθενίαν ἐμόλυνα κατὰ διάνοιαν καρδίας.

8

τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου

Τὸ ὄμμα γίνεται τῇ ἀκολάστῳ ψυχῇ, ἀτόπου πράξεως ἐπιθυμίας ἀρχή.

6.1-4 Greg. Naz., Or. 40, § 38.3-7 7.1-4 Basil. Caes. (?), Ep. 42, § 4.34-36 (Gribomont) 8.1-2 fontem non invenimus

6 ABCPSTDEFGHK 7 ABCPSTDEFGHKQ 8 ABCPTDEFGHKQ

Δ' ] κεφάλαιον με' BCPS, γ' T, κεφάλαιον μβ' E, μβ' DFH, illeg. G, om. K 7 Φίλωνος] μοναχοῦ add. A, χρυσοστόμου BP, τοῦ χρυσοστόμου CS 8 τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου] om. BC, νεῖλου μοναχοῦ P

6.1 ἴν'] ἵνα BPS EGK 7.1 βασανίζον] βασανίζοντά A T D, βασανίζον EFG 2 μὲν ἔργον] ἔνεργον S 4 καρδίας] καρδιαν S

6.1 ὀφθαλμὸν] τὸν praem. Naz. 2 περιφέρωμεν] e tr., φέρωμεν Naz. in ed. 7.1 κάλλος] δὲ καὶ praem. Basil. | γυναικὸς] γυναικῶν Basil. | τὴν... καὶ] om. Basil. 2 ἔργον] post τῆς πορνείας transp. Basil.

9

## Νείλου μοναχοῦ

Ἵψις γυναικὸς βέλος ἐστὶ πεφαρμακευμένον, ἔτρωσε  
 τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τὸν ἰὸν ἐναπέθετο, καὶ ὄσον χρονίζει,  
 πλείονα τὴν σῆψιν ἐργάζεται. Ὁ φυλασσόμενος ταῦτα  
 τὰ βέλη, οὐ παραβάλλει πανηγύρεσι πανδήμοις, οὐδὲ ἐν  
 ταῖς ἑορταῖς περιάγει κεκηνῶς· βέλτιον γὰρ οἴκοι μένον- 5  
 τα σχολάζειν διηνεκῶς τῇ προσευχῇ, ἢ διὰ τοῦ τιμᾶν τὰς  
 ἑορτὰς πάρεργον γίνεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν. Φεῦγε συντυχίας  
 γυναικῶν ἐὰν θέλῃς σωφρονεῖν, καὶ μὴ δῶς αὐταῖς παρ-  
 ρησίαν θαρρήσαι σοὶ ποτε. Εὐλάβειαν γὰρ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἢ 10  
 ἔχουσιν ἢ ὑποκρίνονται· ὑπερὸν δὲ πάντα τολμῶσιν  
 ἀναιδῶς· πρώτη συντυχία καὶ τὸ βλέμμα ἔχουσι κάτω,  
 λαλοῦσι πραέως, καὶ δακρύουσι συμπαθῶς, οχηματίζον-  
 ται σεμνῶς, καὶ στενάζουσι πυκνά, ἐρωτῶσι περὶ ἀγνεί-  
 ας, καὶ ἀκούουσι σπουδαίως· δεύτερον εἶδες καὶ μικρόν, 15  
 ἀνένευσεν ἄνω· τρίτον καὶ προσέχουσιν ἀναιδῶς, ἐμει-

9.1–31 Evagr., De octo spir. mal., PG 79, col. 1148.49–1149.33

## 9 ABCPSTDEFGHKQ

9 Νείλου μοναχοῦ] om. P, ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς κακίας ὀκτώ λογισμῶν add.  
 F | μοναχοῦ] om. H K

9.1 Ἵψις] ἢ praem. H | βέλος] μέλος T | βέλος ἐστὶ] post πεφαρμα-  
 κευμένον transp. BPS 4 οὐ] οὔτε Q | πανδήμοις] δήμοις DEGHK,  
 οὐκ ἐμφιλοχωρεῖ add. EGK [οὐδὲ] οὔτε Q5 περιάγει] παραβάλλει Q  
 7 πάρεργον] παρανάλωμα H | τῶν ἐχθρῶν] τὸν ἐχθρόν A, τὸν ἐχ-  
 θρῶν T<sup>ac</sup> (τῶν T<sup>bc</sup>) 8 μὴ δῶς] μηδαμῶς S | αὐταῖς] αὐτῆς P  
 12 λαλοῦσι] καὶ praem. Q 13 σεμνῶς] σεμναὶ P 13–14 ἀγνείας]  
 ἀγνοίας P 15 ἀνένευσεν] ἀνένευσον P

9.5 περιάγει] περιάξει Evagr. 6–7 διηνεκῶς... ἐχθρῶν] προσευ-  
 χαῖς, ἢ τιμᾶν νομίζοντα τὰς ἑορτὰς, γίνεσθαι πάρεργον ἐχθρῶν  
 Evagr. 7 συντυχίας] συντυχίαν Evag. 8–9 αὐταῖς παρρησίαν]  
 inv. Evagr. 11 καὶ] om. Evagr. 12 πραέως] πράως Evagr.  
 13 πυκνά] πυκρά Evagr. 15 ἀνένευσεν] ἀνένευσαν Evagr.

9.1–2 Loci Com. c. 73.13 (MaxII, A tantum)

δίασας, κακεῖναι κεχυμένως ἐγέλασαν· κοσμοῦνται λοι-  
 πὸν καὶ ἐνδείκνυνται σοὶ σαφῶς, βλέμμα μορφοῦσιν εὐ-  
 αγγελιζόμενόν σοι τὸ πάθος, ὄφρῦς ἀνατείνουσι, καὶ πε-  
 ριστρέφουσι βλέφαρα, γυμνοῦσι τὸν τράχηλον, καὶ ὄλω 20  
 τῷ σώματι θρύπτονται, λόγους λαλοῦσι μαλάσσοντας τὸ  
 πάθος, καὶ φθέγμα ἐπιτηδεύουσι θέλγητρον ἀκοῆς ὡς ἂν  
 διὰ πάντων τούτων πολιορκήσωσι τὴν ψυχὴν. Ταῦτα δὲ  
 γίνονται σοὶ ἄγκιστρα δελεάζοντα εἰς θάνατον, καὶ θή-  
 ρατρα πολύπλοκα ἔλκοντα εἰς ἀπώλειαν, μὴ σε τοίνυν 25  
 πλανήσωσι λόγοις ἐπιεικῶς κεκρημένοι· ἐγκέκρυπται  
 γὰρ αὐταῖς ἰδὸς πονηρός, θηρίω μᾶλλον προσέγγισον, καὶ  
 πυρὶ καιομένῳ, ἢ γυναικὶ νέῃ νέος ὢν καὶ αὐτός· πυρὶ  
 μὲν γὰρ προσελθὼν καὶ ὀδυνηθεὶς ταχέως ἀποπηδήσεις,  
 γυναικεῖος δὲ ῥήμασι χαυνωθεὶς, οὐκ εὐχερῶς ἀναχωρή- 30  
 σεις. Θάλλει βοτάνη ἐστῶσα παρ' ὕδατι, καὶ πάθος ἀκο-  
 λασίας, ἐν συντυχίαις γυναικῶν.

## ABCPSTDEFGHKQ

9.16 κεχυμένως] κεχυνὸς T 17 ἐνδείκνυνται] ἐνδεικνύοντέ  
 T 17–18 εὐαγγελιζόμενόν σοι] εὐαγγελιζόμεναι  
 F21–24 καὶ... ἀπώλειαν] om. DEFGHKQ 21 φθέγμα] φθέγματα T  
 25 πλανήσωσι λόγοις] inv. EG 26 αὐταῖς] αὐτοῖς G | ἰδὸς] υἱὸς add.  
 S<sup>ac</sup> 27 καὶ αὐτός] om. DEFGHKQ 28 μὲν] om. EG | γὰρ] om. P  
 Q 30 Θάλλει] θάλλει BPS | βοτάνη ἐστῶσα] inv. BPS | ἐστῶσα]  
 ἐστῶσα T, ἰστῶσα H

9.17–18 εὐαγγελιζόμενόν... τὸ] εὐαγγελιζόμεναι Evagr. 21 θέλ-  
 γητρον] θέλγητρον Evagr. | ὡς] ἕως Evagr. 22 τούτων] om.  
 Evagr. 22–23 δὲ γίνονται] γίνεταί Evagr. 24 τοίνυν] om. Evagr.  
 26 πονηρός θηρίω] πονηρὸς θηρίων Evagr. | καὶ] om. Evagr.  
 31 συντυχίας] συντυχία Evagr.



10

τσῦ αὐτοῦ

Μορφή κεκαλλωπισμένη κύματος χεῖρον βυθίζει· τοῦτο γάρ ἔστι καὶ διανήξασθαι, πόθῳ ζωῆς, μορφή δὲ γυναικὸς ἀπατήοασα, καταφρονεῖν πείθει καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ζωῆς. Βάτος ἐρημικὴ διέφυγε φλόγα πυρὸς ἀβλαβῶς, καὶ σῶφρων κεχωρισμένως γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐφλογίσθη πάθει ἀκολασίας· ὡσπερ μνήμη πυρὸς οὐ καίει διάνοιαν, οὕτως οὐδὲ πάθος ἰσχύει, μὴ παρούσης ὕλης. Ἐὰν ἐλεήσης πολέμιον, ἔσται σοι ἐχθρὸς, καὶ ἐὰν ἀφῆς πάθος, ἐπαναστήσεται σοι. Ἀκόλαστον ἐρεθίζει πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὄψις γυναικός, τὸν δὲ σῶφρονα κινεῖ πρὸς δοξολογίαν Θεοῦ ἐὰν ἡρεμήσῃ τὸ πάθος ἐν συντυχίαις γυναικῶν, μὴ πιστεύσης αὐτῷ ἀπάθειαν ἐπαγγελλομένῳ. Καὶ γὰρ κύων σαίνει μὲν ἀπολειφθεὶς ὄχλου, ἔξω δὲ προσελθὼν, τὴν σίκειαν ἐπιδείκνυται πονηρίαν. Ὅταν γυναικὸς μνήμη γένηται ἀπαθῆς, καὶ ἡ φαντασία αὐτῆς μὴ κινήσῃ τὸ πάθος, τότε νόμιζε τῶν ὄρων ἐπιβεβηκέναι τῆς σωφροσύνης. Ὅτε δὲ σε τὸ εἶδωλον αὐτῆς ἐπὶ θεωρίαν καλεῖ, καὶ τὰ μέλη αὐτῆς δυνηθῆς ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφαρμόσαι δύναμειν, τότε ἐν ἔξει πέπεισο εἶναι τῆς ἀρετῆς. Ἀλλὰ μὴ δὲ οὕτως χρονίσης τοῖς τοισύτοις λογισμοῖς, μὴ δὲ ἐπὶ

10.1–30 Evagr., De octo spir. mal., PG 79, col. 1149.44–1152.21

10 ABCPST

10.6 ἀκολασίας] ἀκολασίαν S 12 ἐπαγγελλομένῳ] ἐπαγγελομένῳ S 13 ἀπολειφθεὶς] ἀποληφθεὶς A T | ὄχλου] ὄχλων T | προσελθὼν] προσελθὼν BPS 14 μνήμη] μνήμης P 18 δυνηθῆς] δυνηθεὶς A T

10.1 τοῦτο] τοῦ μὲν Evagr. 4 διέφυγε] διαφεύγει Evagr. 5 πάθει] post ἀκολασίας transp. Evagr. 6 ὡσπερ] γὰρ add. Evagr. | οὕτως] οὕτω Evagr. 8 ἀφῆς πάθος] φείση πάθους Evagr. 13 ὄχλου] ὄχλω Evagr. 15 ἀπαθῆς] ἀπαθῶς Evagr. 15–16 καί... πάθος] om. Evagr. 17 καλεῖ] διεγείρει Evagr. 18 μέλη] βέλη Evagr. 18–19 δυνηθῆς... πέπεισο] τὴν ψυχὴν σου περιλαμβάνουσι, τότε νόμιζε ἔξω Evagr. 20 χρονίσης] ἐχρονίσης Evagr.

πολὺ κατὰ διάνοιαν προσομιλήσης μορφαῖς γυναικῶν, ἔστι γὰρ φιλυπόστροφον τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἔχει ἐγγύς. Ὡσπερ σύμμετρος χωνεῖα καθαίρει τὸν ἀργυρον, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ καίει καὶ ἀπόλλυσιν εὐχερῶς, οὕτως ἔξιν οωφροσνικὴν διαφθείρει χρονίζουσα φαντασία γυναικῶν· μὴ οὖν προσομιλήσης ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ φανέντι προσώπῳ, ἵνα μὴ ἀνάψῃ ἐν σοὶ ἡδονῆς φλόγα, καὶ ἐμπρήσῃ ἄλωνα σῆς ψυχῆς· ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἀχύροις χρονίωσαν πῦρ ἐγείρει φλόγα, οὕτως μνήμη γυναικὸς παραμένουσα ἐξάπτει ἐπιθυμίαν.

11

παροιμιῶν

Μὴ πρόοεχε φαύλη γυναικί· μέλι γὰρ ἀποστάζει ἀπὸ χυλῶν γυναικὸς πονηρᾶς, ἡ πρόσκαιρον λιπαίνει σὸν φάρυγγα. Ὑστερον δὲ πικρότερον χολῆς εὐρήσεις, καὶ ἠκονημένον μᾶλλον μαχαίρας διστόμου.

11.1–4 Prov. 5.3–4

ABCPST 11 ABCPST

10.22 ἔστι] ἔχει S 28 ἄλωνα] ἄλωνας A, ἄλωνας (sic) T, ἄλωνα P 11.2 πονηρᾶς] πόρνης T | ἡ] ἡ A T | πρόσκαιρον] πρὸς καιρὸν BCPS 3–8 Ὑστερον... ἐνδελέχιζε] om. BCPS 3–4 ἠκονημένον] εἰκονημένον A T

10.21 μορφαῖς γυναικῶν] μορφῆ γυναικὸς Evagr. 23 Ὡσπερ] γὰρ ἡ add. Evagr. 24 καίει] om. Evagr. 25 χρονίζουσα] ἐχρονίζουσα Evagr. 25–26 γυναικῶν] γυναικός Evagr. 26 μὴ... πολὺ] μηδὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ προσομιλήσης Evagr. 28 γὰρ] οπινθήρ add. Evagr. | χρονίωσαν πῦρ] χρονίως Evagr. 29 οὕτως] οὕτω Evagr. 11.2 πονηρᾶς] πόρνης LXX 3 δὲ] e tr., μέντοι LXX in ed.

11.1–3 Loci Com. c. 68.3 (Max.U) c. 39.3 (MaxII) 1–5 Sacra ParaII, PG 95, col. 1320.15–20

Γυνή τιμίας ψυχᾶς ἀγρεύει.  
 Ὡσπερ ἐνώπιον ἐν ῥίνι ὑός, οὕτως γυναικί κακόφρονι  
 κάλλος.  
 Μετὰ ψαλλούσης μὴ ἐνδελέχιζε.  
 Ἀπόστρεψον τὸν ὀφθαλμόν σου ἀπὸ γυναικὸς εὐμόρ-  
 φου.  
 Μετὰ ὑπάνδρου γυναικὸς μὴ καθίσης τὸ σύνολον.  
 Ἐν κάλλει γυναικὸς πολλοὶ ἐπλανήθησαν.

5

10

11.5 Prov. 6.26 6-7 Prov. 11.22 8 Sir. 9.4 9-10 Sir. 9.8 11  
 Sir. 9.9 12 Sir. 9.8

ABCPST

11.6 κακόφρονι] ἄφρονι T 7 κάλλος] Μὴ δὸς γυναικί πόρνη ψυ-  
 χήν σου add. A (cfr. Sir. 9.2 et 9.6) 12 Ἐν... ἐπλανήθησαν] om.  
 BCPS

11.5 Γυνή] δὲ ἀνδρῶν add. LXX 9 τὸν] e tr., deest in LXX in ed.  
 σου] e tr., deest in LXX in ed. 11 καθίσης] κάθου LXX

11.6-7 Loci Com. c. 39.5e (MaxII, F tantum) (om. c. 68 MaxU);  
 Sacra Parall., PG 95 1320.54-55 8 Loci Com. c. 39.6a (MaxII, F  
 tantum) (om. c. 68 MaxU); Sacra Parall., PG 95, 1321.19 9-12 Loci  
 Com. c. 39.6c (MaxII, F tantum) (om. c. 68 MaxU); Sacra Parall., PG  
 95, col. 1321.21-24

E'

Πῶς νοητέον τὸ ὁ ἐμβλέψας γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι  
 αὐτῆς;

12

Ἀθανασίου Ἀλεξανδρείας

Ὁ δὲ ἐμβλέψας γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἤδη ἐμοί-  
 χευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ; Μοιχεύει δὲ τις γυναῖ-  
 κα τῇ καρδίᾳ, ἐκεῖνος ὁ συνδιατιθέμενος τῇ πράξει ἀπε-  
 κώλυσε δὲ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ τῆς παρανόμου καὶ ἀθεμί-  
 του κοινωνίας ἢ τόπος, ἢ χρόνος, ἢ ὁ φόβος τῶν Ῥωμαϊ-  
 κῶν νόμων. Ὅτι δὲ πολλοὶ μὴ δράσαντες τὴν ἀσέβειαν  
 ὡς μοιχοὶ ἐκολάσθησαν, ῥαδίως ἐστὶ τοὺς πάντας πλη-  
 ροφορηθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ Ὀλοφέρνηου· σπεύδοντος γὰρ δρᾶ-  
 σαι τὸ μῦσος, ἢ Ἰουδήθ, ὡς νόμος δικαιοσύνης, σπασα-  
 μένη τὸ ξίφος ἀπέτεμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἐπικαλεσα- 10

E'.1-2 ps.-Ath., Frag. In Matth., PG 27, col. 1369A7-8 1-2 Matth.  
 5.28 12.1-2 Matth. 5.28 1-24 ps.-Ath., Frag. In Matth., PG 27,  
 col. 1369A7-B15 8-10 cf. Iudith 13

12 ABCPSTDEFGHK

E' ] κεφάλαιον μζ BCPS, δ' T, κεφάλαιον μγ E, μγ DH, illeg. G,  
 om. FK | τὸ] om. T | ὁ] om. D | γυναῖκα] γυναικί T EFK, illeg. G  
 πρὸς ... αὐτῆς] om. E, illeg. G | αὐτῆς] αὐτόν A T F, αὐτήν DH  
 12 Ἀλεξανδρείας] om. S | ἐν τῇ] ante Πῶς νοητέον... (tit. E') habent  
 B DEFHK ἄλεξανδρείας om. TF, illeg. G

12.1-2 Ὁ... αὐτοῦ] om. DEFGHK 2 δέ] om. DEFGHK (et Ath.)  
 τις] om. EGK (et Ath.), τις DFH 4-5 καὶ ἀθεμίτου] om. S9 Ἰουδήθ]  
 Ἰουδίθ EGK | νόμος] νόμω P H, ὁ praem. S<sup>ac</sup>

E'.1 ὁ ἐμβλέψας] πᾶς ὁ βλέπων NT 2 αὐτῆς] Ath. et NT e tr., αὐ-  
 τὴν NT in ed., om. NT e tr. 12.1 Ὁ... ἐμβλέψας] πᾶς ὁ βλέπων NT  
 | Ὁ... ἐπιθυμῆσαι] om. Ath. | ἐπιθυμῆσαι] NT e tr., αὐτήν add. NT  
 in ed., αὐτῆς add. NT e tr. 2 δέ τις] om. Ath. 4-5 ἀπὸ...  
 κοινωνίας] om. Ath. 5 ὁ] om. Ath. 8 Ὀλοφέρνηου] -νοῦς Ath.  
 9 μῦσος] μύσος Ath.

μένη εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ ὑπερασπισμὸν τὸν δοτήρα τῶν νόμων Θεόν καὶ τὸν συνεργὸν τῆς σωφροσύνης. Ὡσαύτως δέ, καὶ οἱ δύο πρεσβύτεροι εἰρηκότες τῇ Σωσάννῃ· ἰδοὺ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ σου ἐσμὲν, καὶ νῦν δεῦρο συγκατάθου ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτο μὴ πράξαντες, ὡς μοιχοὶ ἔσχον τὴν ζημίαν θάνατον. Ἡ δὲ Αἴγυπτία διόλου ἐνοχλοῦσα τῷ Ἰωσήφ ἵνα καθευδήσῃ μετ' αὐτῆς ἕως τῆς σήμερον μοιχαλῖς καὶ ἄχρωμος κρίνεται. Ἐὰν οὖν καὶ ἄρτι τίς ἐστι τοιοῦτος ἀκόλαστος, ἀκρατής, ἐπιθυμῶν ἀλλοτριῶν γυναικῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν μοιχεύει· ὁ γὰρ ἡγεμονεύων τῶν παθῶν καὶ καθαρῶν ἀπὸ φιλήματος, ἀπὸ αἰσχρολογίας, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστι μοιχός, ἀλλὰ παθοκρατορικός, ἀναστέλλων τὸ ἐπαχθὲς τῆς ἡδονῆς τῷ θεϊκῷ φόβῳ ὡς κύμα θαλάσσιον ἀνακοπτόμενον ὑπὸ ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ στερεᾶς πέτρας.

12.13–14 Susanna 20 (Theod.) 16–17 cf. Gen. 39

ABCPSTDEFGHK

12.13 δέ] om. DEFGHK (et Ath.) | Σωσάννη] σουσάνη A, σουσάννη DEG, σωσάνη S<sup>ac</sup>. 14 καὶ... ἡμῖν] om. DEFGHK (et Ath.) 15 καὶ] καίπερ EGK (et Ath.) 16–18 Ἡ... κρίνεται] om. DEFGHK (et Ath.) 16 διόλου] δόλου S 17 καθευδήσῃ] καθευδήσει BP<sup>ac</sup> | τῆς] τῇ T 19 ἀλλοτριῶν] ἀλλοτριῶν BS 20–24 ὁ... πέτρας] om. DEFGHK 21 οὗτος] om. T 22 οὐκ ἔστι] iter. T | ἀναστέλλων] ἀνατέλλων C 23 κύμα] κύμα A BCP T

12.12 τὸν] om. Ath. 13 δέ] om. Ath. 14 καὶ... δεῦρο] διὸ LXX καὶ... ἡμῖν] om. Ath. 15 καὶ] καίπερ Ath. | μοιχοὶ] ἐκολάοθησαν καὶ add. Ath. | ἔσχον] post ζημίαν transp. Ath. 16–18 Αἴγυπτία... κρίνεται] om. Ath. 20 καὶ] om. Ath. 21 φιλήματος] ὀφλήματος Ath.

13

Βασιλείου Καισαρείας

Ῥίζα, τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐνεργειῶν, τὸ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ βούλευμα· ἡ γὰρ μοιχεία ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ φιληδόνου πρῶτον ἀναφλεχθεῖσα· οὕτω τὴν διὰ τοῦ σώματος φθορὰν ἀπεργάζεται· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐνδοθεν φησὶν εἶναι τὰ κοινοποιοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

5

14

τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· περὶ παρθένων

Οὐκ ἂν ὁ μονάζων ἐκεῖνος εἴη παρθένος εἰ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἐκπορνεύσει· ἡ γὰρ συγκατάθεσις τῶν λογισμῶν πᾶσαν τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀπετέλεσεν. Ἀψευδῆς γὰρ ὁ εἰπὼν ὅτι· Πᾶς ὁ ἐμβλέψας γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν, ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτήν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Οὐδὲν δὲ κεχωρισμένον ἐκ τοῦ ἄρρενος καὶ τῆς θηλείας· πάντες γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τυγχάνομεν φυράματος, καθὼς τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον φη-

5

13.1–5 Basil. Caes., Hom. super Psalmos, PG 29, col. 220.22–25  
14.1–9 ps.-Io. Chrys., De corruptoribus virginum, PG 60, col. 744.25–34 4–5 Matth. 5.28 6–7 cf. Rom. 9.21

13 ABCPST 14 ABCPSTDEFGHK

13 Βασιλείου Καισαρείας] om. BCP | Καισαρείας] om. T 14 τοῦ] τοῦ ἁγίου ἰωάννου praem. D | περὶ] ἐκ τοῦ praem. A | περὶ παρθένων] om. T DEFHK, illeg. G

13.2–3 πρῶτον] om. BPS 3 ἀναφλεχθεῖσα] ἀναχθεῖσα sic A 5 κοινοποιοῦντα] κινουῦντα S 14.1 ὁ] om. EGK [εἴη] οὐδὲ add. EGK, om. H 2 ἐκπορνεύσει] ἐκπορνεύσει BP, ἐκπορνεύσει S T F, ἐκπορνεύει DEGK 3 ὁ] om. S<sup>ac</sup> [ὅτι] om. DEFGHK (et Chrys.) 4 γυναῖκα] om. A, γυναικί EGK | αὐτήν] αὐτῆς BPS T 6 τοῦ<sup>2</sup>] ἐκ praem. T EG 7 τυγχάνομεν] om. EG

13.4 κύριος... φησὶν] Κύριός φησιν ἐνδοθεν Basil. 5 κοινοποιοῦντα] κοινουῦντα Basil. 14.1 Οὐκ ἂν] ἐάν Chrys. | εἴη] ἢ ἡ Chrys. | εἰ] om. Chrys. 2 ἐκπορνεύσει] μὴ ἐκπορνεύσει Chrys. 3 ὅτι] om. Chrys. 4 ἐμβλέψας] βλέπων Chrys. et NT | αὐτήν] αὐτῆς Chrys. et NT e tr. 7 τυγχάνομεν φυράματος] inv. Chrys.

σί· τὸ μὲν θέλημα ἀνδρὸς λέγει, τὸ δὲ θέλημα σαρκός, ἐν  
καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶν εἰρηκῶς.

15 Βασιλείου Καισαρείας· ἐκ τῶν Ἀοκητικῶν

Νέος ὢν εἴτε τὴν σάρκα, εἴτε τὸ φρόνημα, φεῦγε τὴν τῶν  
ὀμηλικῶν συνδιαγωγὴν, καὶ ἀποδίδρασκε ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὡς  
ἀπὸ φλογός. Πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐμπρήσας δι' αὐτῶν ὁ ἐχθρὸς  
τῷ αἰώνῳ πυρὶ παρέδωκε, πνευματικῇ δὴθεν ἀγάπῃ εἰς  
τὸ τῶν πενταπολιτῶν μυσαρὸν βάραθρον ἐγκαταστρέ- 5  
ψας αὐτούς. Καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πελάγει καὶ παντὶ ἀνέμῳ  
καὶ κλύδωνι διασωθέντας, εἶσω τῶν λιμένων ἀμε-  
ριμνοῦντας, οὖν αὐτάνδρῳ τῷ οκάφει τῷ βυθῷ παραδοῦ-  
ναι δεδύνητο. Ἐν καθέδρῳ οὖν πρὸ πολλοῦ καθέσθητι  
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Ἐν ἀνακλήσει ὕπνου, μὴ γειτνιαζέτω σοι τὰ 10  
ἐνδύματα τὰ ἐκείνου· μᾶλλον δὲ κέχρησο γέροντι μεσί-  
τη. Ἦνίκα δὲ σοι διαλέγεται ἢ ἀντιπροσώπως ψάλλει,  
κάτω νεύων ἀντίφθεγξαι αὐτῷ, μήπως τῇ εἰς τὰ πρόσω-

14.8-9 cf. Io. 1.13 15.1-20 Basil. Caes. (?), Sermo 11, PG 31, col.  
637.20-41

ABCPSTDEFGHK 15 ABCPSTDEFGHK

15 Βασιλείου Καισαρείας] τοῦ αὐτοῦ T, om. EG | ἐκ ...  
Ἀοκητικῶν] om. T DEFGHK

14.8 λέγει] om. EGK 9 πᾶν] om. BPS 15.2 συνδιαγωγὴν] διαγωγὴν  
DEG | ἀπ'] om. FH 3-9 Πολλοὺς ... δεδύνητο] om.  
DEFGHK 7 διασωθέντας] κατασωθέντας P 9 οὖν] γοῦν  
FH 10 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν D | γειτνιαζέτω] συγγειτνιαζέτω DEFGK,  
συγγειτνιαζέτω H 11 ἐνδύματα] ἱμάτια DEFGHK | τὰ] om. T  
EFGK | ἐκείνου] αὐτοῦ EG 11-20 μᾶλλον... ἀπέθανεν] om.  
DEFGHK 12 ἀντιπροσώπως] ἀντιπρόσωπος T

15.1-2 τῶν ὀμηλικῶν] post συνδιαγωγὴν transp. Basil. 8-9 παρα-  
δοῦναι δεδύνητο] παρέδωκεν Basil. 9 οὖν] om. Basil. 10 ἀνα-  
κλήσει] ἀνακλίσει Basil. | σοι] σου Basil. 11 τὰ] τοῦ Basil.  
12 ἀντιπροσώπως] ἀντιπρόσωπος Basil.

πα ἐνατενίσει οπέρμα ἐπιθυμίας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἐπιπο-  
ρέως δεξάμενος, δράματα φθορᾶς καὶ ἀπωλείας καρπο- 15  
φορήσεις. Ἐν οἴκῳ ἢ ἐν τόπῳ, οὐδ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ βλέπων τὰ  
ἔργα ὑμῶν, μὴ εὐρεθῆς μετ' αὐτοῦ, προφάσει μελέτης θεί-  
ων λογίων, μὴ προφάσει ἐτέρᾳ ὁποιαοῦν ἀναγκαιοτάτης  
χρείας. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαιότερον ψυχῆς, ὑπὲρ ἧς Χρι-  
στὸς ἀπέθανεν. 20

16 παροιμιῶν

Υἱέ, ἐμῇ σοφίᾳ πρόσεχε, τῇ δὲ φρονήσει μου κλίνον τὸ  
οὖς σου, ἵνα φυλάξῃς ἔννοιαν ἀγαθὴν· αἰθθησιν δὲ ἐμῶν  
χειλέων ἐντέλλομαί σοι. Μὴ πρόσεχε φαύλη γυναικί· μέ-  
λι γὰρ ἀποοτάζει ἀπὸ χειλέων γυναικὸς πόρνης, ἢ πρὸς 5  
καιρὸν λιπαίνει σὸν φάρυγγα, ὕστερον δὲ πικρότερον  
χολῆς εὐρήσεις, καὶ ἠκονημένης μᾶλλον μαχαίρας διστό-  
μου. Τῆς γὰρ ἀφροσύνης οἱ πόδες κατάγουσι τοὺς χρω-  
μένους αὐτῇ μετὰ θάνατον εἰς ἄδου, τὰ δὲ ἴχνη αὐτῆς  
οὐκ ἐρείδεται· ὁδοὺς γὰρ ζωῆς οὐκ ἐπέρχεται, σφαλεραὶ

16.1-33 Prov. 5.1-21

ABCPSTDEFGHK 16 ABCPSTDEFGHK ab Τῆς (l. 7) ABCPST

16 παροιμιῶν] παροιμίαι EG, μὴ add. EFGHK

15.14 ὑπὸ] ἐπὶ BCPS 14-15 ἐπιπορέως] ἐπιπολέως  
T15-16 καρποφορήσεις] καρποφορήσης BPS17 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν BP  
19 ψυχῆς] ψυχὴν P 16.1-3 Υἱέ... σοι] om. DEFGHK 4 γυναικός]  
om. T | ἢ] ἢ AT 4-5 πρὸς καιρὸν] πρόσκαιρον AT 6 ἠκονημένης]  
εἰκονημένην A, ἠκονημένον T DEFGHK 7 τοῦς] τὰς S 8 θάνατον]  
θανάτου BCPS 9 ἐπέρχεται] ἐρέπερχεται sic S

15.14 ἐχθροῦ] post ἐπιπορέως transp. Basil. 15 δράματα] δράγ-  
ματα Basil. 15-16 καρποφορήσεις] καρποφορήσης Basil.  
18 μὴ... ὁποιαοῦν] ἢ ἐτέρας ὁποιαοῦν καὶ Basil. 16.1-2 τῇ...  
σου] ἐμοῖς δὲ λόγοις παράβαλλε σὸν οὖς LXX 5 δὲ] μέντοι LXX  
6 ἠκονημένης] ἠκονημένον LXX 8 θάνατον... ἄδου] θανάτου εἰς  
τὸν ἄδην LXX

δὲ αἱ τροχιαὶ αὐτῆς καὶ οὐκ εὐγνωστοί. Νῦν οὖν υἱέ ἄ- 10  
 κουέ μου καὶ μὴ ἀκύρους ποιήσης ἐμοὺς λόγους, μακρὰν  
 ποιήσον ἀπ' αὐτῆς σὴν ὁδόν, καὶ μὴ ἐγγίῃς πρὸς θύραις  
 οἴκων αὐτῆς, ἵνα μὴ πρόη ἄλλοις ζωὴν σου καὶ σὸν βίον  
 ἀνελεήμοσιν, ἵνα μὴ πληθῶσιν ἀλλότριον οἴης ἰσχύος, οἱ 15  
 δὲ σοὶ πόνοι εἰς οἴκους ἀλλοτρίων εἰσέλθωσιν καὶ μετα-  
 μεληθῆς ἐπ' ἐοχάτων ἠνίκα ἂν κατατριβῶσιν σάρκες σώ-  
 ματός σου, καὶ ἐρεῖς· Πῶς ἐμίσησα παιδείαν καὶ ἐλέγ-  
 χους, ἐξέκλινεν ἡ καρδία μου· οὐκ ἤκουον φωνὴν παι-  
 δεύοντός με καὶ διδάσκοντός με οὐδὲ παρέβαλλον τὸ οὖς 20  
 μου παρ' ὀλίγον ἐγενόμην ἐν παντὶ κακῷ ἐν μέσῳ ἐκ-  
 κληοῖας καὶ συναγωγῆς, υἱέ, πίνε ὕδατα ἀπὸ σῶν ἀγγεί-  
 ων καὶ ἀπὸ σῶν φρεάτων πηγῆς, ὑπερεκχεῖσθω τὰ σὰ ὕ-  
 दाτα ἔξω τῆς σῆς πηγῆς, εἰς δὲ σὰς πλατείας διαπορευ-  
 ἔσθω τὰ σὰ ὕδατα. Ἔστω σοὶ μόνῳ ὑπάρχοντι, καὶ μη-  
 δεὶς ἀλλότριος μετασχέτω σοι. Ἡ πηγὴ σου τοῦ ὕδατος 25  
 ἔστω σοὶ ἰδία, καὶ συνευφραίνου μετὰ γυναῖκός τῆς ἐκ  
 νεότητός σου. Ἐλαφὸς φιλίας καὶ πῶλος σῶν χαρίτων ὁ-  
 μιλεῖτω σοι, ἡ δὲ ἰδία ἡγείσθω σοι καὶ συνέστω σοι ἐν  
 παντὶ καιρῷ· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ταύτης φιλίᾳ συμπεριφερόμενος  
 πολλοστὸς ἔσῃ. Μὴ πολὺς ἴσθι πρὸς ἀλλοτρίαν μὴ δὲ συ- 30  
 νέχου ἀγκάλαις ταῖς μὴ ἰδίαις· ἐνώπιον γὰρ εἰσι τῶν τοῦ  
 θεοῦ ὀφθαλμῶν ὁδοὶ ἀνδρός, εἰς δὲ πάσας τροχιάς αὐτοῦ

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 ABCPST
 

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16.15 πόνοι] om. A, πόδες T 19 καὶ... με<sup>2</sup>] om. BPS [παρέβαλλον]  
 παρέβαλον BPS 21-22 ἀγγείων] ἀγγίων A, ἀγγίων T 22 ὑπε-  
 εκχεῖσθω] μὴ ραem. S 22-23 ὑπερεκχεῖσθω... πηγῆς] om. P  
 23 ἔξω] ἐκ add. A 24 ὑπάρχοντι] ὑπάρχειν BCPS 29 ταύτης]  
 ταύτη C 30 πολὺς] πολλοῖς A 31 ταῖς... ἰδίαις] τῆς ... ἰδίας BCP,  
 ταῖς ... ἰδίας sic S 32 τροχιάς] τὰς ραem. T (τροχίας AT)

16.12 καὶ] om. LXX 15-16 μεταμεληθῆς] μεταμεληθήση LXX  
 21 υἱέ] om. LXX 22-23 ὑπερεκχεῖσθω... ἔξω] μὴ ὑπερεκχεῖσθω  
 σοι τὰ ὕδατα ἐκ LXX 24 ὑπάρχοντι] ὑπάρχοντα LXX 28 σοι<sup>2</sup>]  
 σου LXX 31 ταῖς... ἰδίαις] τῆς μὴ ἰδίας LXX 32 τροχιάς] τὰς  
 ραem. LXX

σκοπεύει. Μὴ σε νικήσῃ κάλλους ἐπιθυμία, μὴ δὲ ἀγρευ-  
 θῆς σοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, μὴ δὲ συναρπασθῆς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῆς 35  
 βλεφάρων, τιμὴ γὰρ πόρνης ὡσεὶ καὶ ἐνὸς ἄρτου, γυνὴ  
 δὲ ἀνδρῶν τιμίας ψυχὰς ἀγρεύει. Ἀποδήσει τίς πῦρ ἐν  
 κόλπῳ, τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια οὐ κατακαύσει; ἢ περιπατήσει τίς  
 ἐπ' ἀνθράκων πυρός, τοὺς δὲ πόδας οὐ κατακαύσει; Οὐ-  
 τως ὁ εἰσελθὼν πρὸς γυναῖκα ὑπανδρον οὐκ ἀθρωθήσε-  
 ται, οὐδὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀπτόμενος αὐτῆς. Οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἐὰν ἀ- 40  
 λῶ τίς κλέπτων, κλέπτει γὰρ ἵνα ἐμπλήσῃ ψυχὴν πεινώ-  
 σαν, ἐὰν δὲ ἀλῶ, ἀπαιτήσει ἐπταπλάσια, καὶ πάντα τὰ ὑ-  
 πάρχοντα αὐτοῦ δοῦς ῥύσεται ἑαυτόν. Ὁ δὲ μοιχὸς δι'  
 ἔνδειαν φρενῶν ἀπώλειαν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ περιποιεῖ- 45  
 ται, ὀδύνας τὲ καὶ ἀτιμίας ὑποφέρει, τὸ δὲ ὄνειδος αὐτοῦ  
 οὐκ ἐξαλειφθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Μεστὸς γὰρ ζήλου  
 θυμὸς ἀνδρός αὐτῆς· οὐ φείσεται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως, οὐκ  
 ἀνταλλάσσεται οὐδενὸς λύτρου τὴν ἔχθραν οὐδὲ μὴ δια-  
 λυθῆ πολλῶν δώρων.

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 16.33-49 Prov. 6.25-35
 

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 ABCPST
 

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16.33 σκοπεύει] σκοπεύη P | νικήσῃ] νικήσοι P | κάλλους] κάλλος  
 P | ἐπιθυμία] ἐπιθυμιῶν C 34 συναρπασθῆς] συναρπάγῃς  
 A 34-35 αὐτῆς βλεφάρων] ἰν. A 35 καὶ] om. S 36 τιμίας] τιμίων  
 BCPS | πῦρ] post κόλπῳ transp. T 37-38 ἢ... κατακαύσει] om.  
 A 37 τίς] om. T 38 πυρός] om. BPS 41 ἐμπλήσῃ] ἐμπλήσει S  
 42 ἀπαιτήσει] ἀποτίσει T [ἐπταπλάσια] ἐπταπλασίως S 43 αὐτοῦ]  
 om. BPS

16.35 ὡσεὶ] ὅση LXX 41-42 ψυχὴν πεινώσαν] τὴν ψυχὴν πεινῶν  
 LXX 42 ἀπαιτήσει] ἀποτίσει LXX



17

## Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου

Μή σε νικησάτω κάλλους ἐπιθυμία, μὴ δὲ συναρπασθῆς  
σοῖς βλεφάροις, εἰ δυνατὸν μέχρι καὶ παροράματος, τὴν  
Εὐαν ἐνθυμηθεῖς τὸ γλυκὺ δέλεαρ τὸ τιμώμενον φάρμα-  
κον. Πῶς γὰρ σώσει ῥαδίως ἢ ἀλλοτρία, ὃν ἀπώλεσεν ἡ  
ἰδία;

5

ζ'

Τί δήποτε τὴν οὐράνιον βασιλείαν κόκκῳ σινάπεως  
παρεικάξει ὁ κύριος;

18

## τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου

Διὰ τὴν εὐτέλειαν τῆς ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ συγκαταβάσει πτω-  
χείας· διὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ ποιμνίου σμι-  
κρότητα· διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον τοῦ κόκκου δριμύτητα· διὰ τὸ  
ἐκ μικρότητος εἰς αὐξήσιν ἔρχεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ δια-

17.1-2 Prov. 6.25 1-5 Greg. Naz., Or. 44, § 6, PG 36, col. 613.19-  
24 ζ'.1-2 cf. Matth. 13.31, Marc. 4.30, Luc. 13.19 18.1-6 Isid.  
Pel., Ep. I, 199, PG 78, col. 309.28-36

17 ABCPSTDEFGHK 18 ABCPSTDEFGH

ζ' ] κεφάλαιον μζ' BCPS, ε' T, κεφάλαιον μδ' E, μδ' DG, illeg. G,  
om. FH | οὐράνιον] οὐρανῶν F, illeg. GH | παρεικάξει] παρεικάζε-  
ται BS 18 τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου] ante tit. transp. BCDEFH, illeg. G,  
om. P

17.1 δὲ] om. A 2 καὶ] om. S 18.2 ἐν ἀρχῇ] ἐναρχὴν  
BCS 3 διὰ!... δριμύτητα] om. S 4 μικρότητος] σμικρότητος  
BCPS | εἰς αὐξήσιν] αὐξήσεως BCPS F, αὐξίας sic D, αὐξίως H  
ἔρχεσθαι] ἄρχεσθαι BCPS FH

18.1-2 πτωχείας] ἀφ' ἧς ἡμῖν ἡ σκιά καὶ ἀνάψυξις ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν  
ἐν τῷ βίῳ γέγονεν ὀδυνῶν add. Isid. 3-4 διὰ²... καὶ] om. Isid.

κόπτεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ἀκεραίαν οὔζειν ὑπό- 5  
σταῖν.

&lt;Z'&gt;

Τί δήποτε ζύμη τὴν αὐτὴν παρεικάξει βασιλείαν ὁ  
κύριος;

19

## τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου

Διότι τὴν ἀγίαν αὐτοῦ οἶακα ἐξ ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς ἀγίας θεο-  
τόκου ἔλαβεν· ἀναφυράσαι τὴν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀνθρωπότη-  
τα καὶ εἰς παλιντοκίαν ἀνακαινίσει.

Z'.1-2 cf. Matth. 13.33, Luc. 13.20-21 19.1-3 fontem non  
invenimus, cf. Isid. Pel., Ep. I, 201, PG 78, col. 312.19-25

ABCPSTDEFGH 19 ABCPSTDEFGH

Z' ] supplevimus, om. A, κεφάλαιον μῆ' BCP, ζ' T, κεφάλαιον με' E,  
με' D, om. FH, illeg. G | Τί ... κύριος] cf. Isid. Pel., Ep. I, 201, PG  
78, col. 312.19-25 | τὴν αὐτὴν] τῇ αὐτῇ A, post παρεικάξει transp. S  
| βασιλείαν] om. P 19 τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου] τοῦ αὐτοῦ C, ante tit.  
transp. BCPD, om. H, illeg. G

18.5 ἀλλ' ἀδιαίρετον] ἀλλὰ διαίρετον (sic accent.) C T | καὶ ἀκε-  
ραίαν] καὶ ἀκεραῖον C, καὶ ἀδιαίρετον BS, om. P 19.3 ἀνακαινίσει]  
ἀνακαινίσας EG

18.5 ἀλλ' ἀλλὰ τὴν Isid. | καὶ ἀκεραίαν] om. Isid.

## Η'

Διατί ιθ' βασιλεύσαντας ἀπὸ Δαυὶδ ἕως Ἰεχονίου ὁ  
Εὐαγγελιστῆς ιδ' ὀνομάζει;

20

Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου

Ἐπειδὴ σὺ διαδοχὰς λέγει, ἀλλὰ γενεάς. Ἐπεὶ σὺν τινέσ  
αὐτῶν ἀπὸ εἰκοσαετοῦς χρόνου ἐπαιδοποίησαν εἰς ἀνα-  
πλήρωσιν τῶν γενεῶν τῶν μακροβιούτων τοὺς λαιποὺς  
ἐνέθηκεν ἴσως δέ, καὶ τοὺς ἀσεβῶς ζήσαντας ὑπερεῖδεν.

H'.1-2 cf. Matth. 1.17 20.1-4 Ephr., Inter. ac resp., p. 238.1-3; cf. Eus. Caes., Quaest. ev., ad Steph., Quaest. XII, § 1-3

20 ABCPSTDEFGH

H' ] κεφάλαιον μθ' BCP, ζ' T, κεφάλαιον μζ' E, μζ' D, om. FH, illeg. G | Διατί ... ὀνομάζει] Ephr., Inter. ac resp., p. 237.10-11; cf. Eus. Caes., Quaest. ev., Quaest. XII (tit.) | βασιλεύσαντας] βασιλευοάντων BPS 20 Εὐσεβίου ... Παμφίλου] ante tit. quest. H' transp. BC τοῦ] om. S

20.3 γενεῶν] λεγομένων graem. S<sup>4c</sup> 4 ἐνέθηκεν] ἀνέθηκεν S

H'.1 ιθ'] τοὺς graem. Ephr. | Ἰεχονίου] Ἰεχονιῆ Ephr. 20.1 Ἐπεὶ] Ἐπειδὴ Ephr. 2 εἰκοσαετοῦς] εἴκοσιν ἔτους Ephr. | χρόνου] om. Ephr. | ἐπαιδοποίησαν] ἐπαιδοποιοῦν Ephr. 4 ἐνέθηκεν] ἀνέθηκεν Ephr. | τοὺς] πολιούς add. Ephr. | ἀσεβῶς] om. Ephr. ζήσαντας] ἐκζήσαντας Ephr.

## Θ' τί ἐστὶ βασιλεία οὐρανῶν;

21

Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Δαμασκηνοῦ

Βασιλεία οὐρανῶν ἐστὶν ἀπάθεια ψυχῆς μετὰ γνώσεως  
τῶν ὄντων ἀληθοῦς, ὡς οἱ πατέρες φασίν.

Γ' τί ἐστὶ βασιλεία θεοῦ;

22

τοῦ αὐτοῦ

Βασιλεία θεοῦ ἐστὶ γνώσις τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, ὡς δι-  
δάσκουσιν οἱ ἅγιοι, συμπαρακτεινομένη τῇ συστάσει τοῦ  
νοός, καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσα τὴν ἀφθαροῖαν αὐτοῦ.

ΙΑ' περὶ βρωμάτων

23

Κυρίλλου Ἱεροσολύμων

Καὶ περὶ τροφῆς ὑμῖν ἔστω ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα· ἐπειδὴ  
πολλοὶ καὶ περὶ τὰ βρώματα πταίουσιν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς

21.1-2 Evagr., Practicus, 2 22.1-3 Evagr., Practicus, 3 23.1-32 Cyril. Hier., Catech. ad illum., IV, 27-28

21 ABCPSTDEFGH 22 ABCPSTDEFGH 23 ABCPSTDEFGH

Θ' ] κεφάλαιον ν' BCPS, η' T, κεφάλαιον μζ' EG, μζ' D, om. F, μδ' H 21 μοναχοῦ πρεσβυτέρου] om. DEFH P, illeg. G | Δαμασκηνοῦ] τοῦ graem. BS F, illeg. G Γ' ] κεφάλαιον νά' BCPS, θ' T, κεφάλαιον μθ' E, μθ' D, om. F, με' H, illeg. G | τί ... θεοῦ] βασιλεία θεοῦ τί ἐστίν C | ἐστὶ] om. P ΙΑ' ] κεφάλαιον νβ' BCPS, ι' T, κεφάλαιον μθ' EG, μθ' D, om. FH 23 Ἱεροσολύμων] Ἀλεξανδρείας P, ἐκ τοῦ κατηχητικοῦ add. BCP, ἐκ τοῦ κατηχητικῶν (sic) add. S

23.1 ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν FH | τὰ] om. T

23.1 τροφῆς] τροφῶν Cyr., δὲ add. Cyr.

εἰδωλοθύτοις ἀδιαφόρως προσέρχονται· οἱ δὲ ἀσκοῦοι  
 μέν, κατακρίνουσι δὲ τοὺς ἐσθίοντας. Καὶ διαφόρως ἐν  
 τῷ περὶ βρωμάτων λόγῳ τινῶν ἢ ψυχῇ μολύνεται, ἀγνο- 5  
 ούντων τὰς ἐπωφελεῖς αἰτίας. Νηστεύομεν γὰρ ἀπὸ οἴ-  
 νου καὶ κρεῶν ἀπεχόμεθα, οὐχ' ὡς ταῦτα βδελυττόμενοι,  
 ἀλλὰ τὸν μιοθὸν προσδοκῶντες, ἵνα αἰσθητῶν ὑπεριδόν-  
 τες, ἀπολαύομεν τῆς πνευματικῆς καὶ νοητῆς τραπέ- 10  
 ζης, καὶ ἵνα νῦν σπείραντες ἐν δάκρυσιν, ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει  
 θερίσωμεν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι. Μὴ τοίνυν καταφρόνει  
 τῶν ἐσθίωντων καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενεῖαν μετα-  
 λαμβανόντων. Μὴ δὲ ψέγε τοὺς ὀλίγῳ οἴνῳ χρωμένους,  
 διὰ τὸν οτόμαχον καὶ τὰς πυκνὰς ἀσθενείας· μήτε αὐ- 15  
 τοὺς ὡς ἀμαρτωλοὺς κατακρίνης. Μήτε ὡς ἀλλότρια μί-  
 σσει τὰ κρέα· οἶδε γὰρ τινὰς ὁ Ἀπόστολος τοιοῦτους λέ-  
 γων· *Κωλυόντων γαμῆν ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων ἃ ὁ θεὸς*  
*ἔκτισεν εἰς μετάληψιν μετ' εὐχαριστίας τοῖς πιστοῖς.* Ἀ-  
 πεχόμενος τοίνυν τούτων, μὴ ὡς βδελυκτῶν ἀπέχου, ἐ-

23.17–18 I Tim. 4.3

ABCPSTDEFGH ab ὀλίγῳ (l. 13) ACPSTDEFGH

23.4 διαφόρως] ἀδιαφόρως EG, προσέρχονται ... καὶ ἀδιαφόρως (l. 3–4) iter. G 5 τινῶν... ψυχῇ] ante ἐν τῷ περὶ βρωμάτων λόγῳ (l. 4–5) transp. EG 6 γὰρ] om. FH 8 αἰσθητῶν] τῶν ραem. EG 9 καὶ νοητῆς] om. BPS T 10 σπείραντες] σπείροντες FH | ἀγαλλιάσει] ἀγαλλιάσει sic A 12–13 καὶ... μεταλαμβάνοντων] om. T 12 τοῦ σώματος] τοῦ σώμα sic A 13 ψέγε] λέγε κακῶς EG, om. H | χρωμένους] χρωμένοις sic C 14 διὰ... ἀσθενείας] διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενεῖαν D, om. EGH, μήτε αὐτοὺς τοὺς πολὺ τοῦτο χρωμένους F 15 κατακρίνης] κατακρίνει C<sup>a-c</sup> EFG 16–18 οἶδε... πιστοῖς] om. DEFGH 18 εὐχαριστίας] εὐχαριστείας AT 19–20 ἀπέχου... ὄντων] om. T

23.5–6 ἀγνοούντων] τοῦ ἐσθίειν καὶ μήτε add. Cyr. 6 ἀπὸ] om. Cyr. 7 καὶ] τε ρaem. Cyr. | ἀπεχόμεθα] ἀπεχόμενοι Cyr. | ταῦτα βδελυττόμενοι] βδελύγματα μισοῦντες Cyr. 9 τῆς] om. Cyr. 12 τὴν] om. Cyr. | τοῦ σώματος] τῶν σωμάτων Cyr. 14 μήτε] καὶ ρaem. Cyr. 16 τοιοῦτους] post τινὰς transp. Cyr.

πει μιοθὸν οὐκ ἔχεις· ἀλλ' ὡς καλῶν ὄντων ὑπερφρόνει 20  
 διὰ τὰ προκείμενα νοητὰ καὶ καλλίονα. Ἀσφάλιοαί σου  
 τὴν ψυχὴν, μὴ ποτε φάγῃς τῶν τοῖς εἰδώλοις προση-  
 νεχθέντων. Περί γὰρ τούτων οὐχ' ἡμῖν μόνον, ἀλλ' ἤδη  
 καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ Ἰακώβῳ τῷ ταύτης τῆς ἐκκλη- 25  
 σίας ἐπισκόπῳ οποιδὴ γέγονε. Καὶ γράφουσι οἱ ἀπό-  
 στολοι καὶ οἱ πρεοβύτεροι πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι καθολικὴν ἐ-  
 πιτολὴν προηγουμένως ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων, ἐ-  
 πιτα δὲ καὶ αἵματος καὶ πνικτῶν. Πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐν  
 ἀνθρώποις θηριώδεις ὄντες, καὶ κυνῶν δίκην ζῶντες, τὸ 30  
 μὲν αἷμα λάπτουσι ἀγριωτάτων θηρίων τρόπον· τὰ πε-  
 πνιγμένα δὲ κατεσθίουσι ἀφειδῶς. Σὺ δὲ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 δοῦλος ἐσθίων, ἔχε καὶ τὸ μετ' εὐλαβείας ἐσθίειν.

ACPSTDEFGH

23.20 ἀλλ'] om. S 22 ποτε] om. P 25 ἐπισκόπῳ] ἐπισκοπῆς C | οἱ] om. S 27 προηγουμένως] προηγούμενοι CPS 28 πνικτῶν] πνικτοῦ FH 28–29 ἐν ἀνθρώποις] ἀνθρώπων PS 30 λάπτουσι] λάπτουσι S | τρόπον] τρόπω PS 30–31 πεπνιγμένα] πεπηγμένα C DF

23.21 καὶ] om. Cyr. 22 ποτε] ποτέ τι Cyr. 23 τούτων] [τούτων] τῶν βρωμάτων Cyr. | οὐχ' ἡμῖν] οὐκ ἐμοὶ Cyr. | μόνον] νῦν ρaem. Cyr. 27 ἀπέχεσθαι] post εἰδωλοθύτων transp. Cyr. 28 πνικτῶν] πνικτοῦ Cyr. 28–29 ἐν ἀνθρώποις] ἀνθρώπων Cyr. 30 τρόπον] μιμούμενοι add. Cyr. 32 καὶ] om. Cyr.

## IB'

Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι τὰ βρώματα ἢ ψυχὴ ἀναλίσκει.

24

Ἀθανασίου

Διαφέρει δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς τροφῆς, καθὼ αὕτη μὲν ἐστὶ πνεῦμα τί ζωτικόν, ἢ δὲ τροφή γηΐνη καὶ εὐδιάλυτος, τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον θεϊκῶν χειρῶν, τὸ δὲ πόκος ἀλόγου βοσκήματος. Πολλοὶ δὲ ἀκούοντες ψυχὴν ἐσθίουσαν, ξενίζονται ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ, ὀρώντες τὴν χεῖρα τῷ στόματι κομίζουσαν τὰ σιτία. Ἀλλὰ σὺ ἀγαπητέ, μὴ ξενισθῆς ψυχὴν ἀκούων ἐσθίουσαν, καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶ καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως πῶς· ἐσθίει δὲ ψυχὴ τὰ παραπεμπόμενα τῷ στόματι, ἐπεὶ ἐστὶν τὴν φύσιν θερμὴ κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς Σοφίας· *Ψυχὴ θερμὴ, ὡς πῦρ καιόμενον.* Ὡσπερ οὖν τὸ πῦρ τὰ βαλλόμενα εἰς τὸν λέβητα ἔψει, οὕτως καὶ ἡ πυρώδης ψυχὴ τὰ παραπεμπόμενα σιτία τῇ κοιλίᾳ λεπτύνει καὶ δαπανᾷ. Κὰν δὲ ψυχὴ λέγεται, οὐ

24.1–38 ps.-Ath., Frag. In Matth., PG 27, col. 1373D3-1376C3 1  
cf. Matth. 6.25 2–3 Matth. 6.25, Luc. 12.33 10 Sir. 23.17

24 ACPSTDEFGHK ab οὕτως (l. 12) ACSTDEFGHK

IB' ] κεφάλαιον γγ' CPS, ια' T, κεφάλαιον ν' E, ν' D, om. FHK, illeg. G | Ἀπόδειξις ... ἀναλίσκει] fontem non invenimus 24 Ἀθανασίου] ἀλεξανδρείας· βιβλίου τῆς ἐρμηνείας τοῦ κατὰ ματθαῖον add. A al. manu, ante tit. quaest. IB' transp. CD, om. PS EH, illeg. G

24.1 ἐστὶ] om. DEFGHK 2 πνεῦμα τί] scripsimus cum PS et fonte, πνεύματι (sic) CD, πνεῦμα A T EFGHK | τὸ] ὡσπερ praem. EGK 4 ἀλόγου] om. P 8–9 παραπεμπόμενα] περιπεμπόμενα H 9 στόματι] σώματι PS | θερμὴ] θερμὴν S<sup>a.c.</sup> 9–10 κατὰ... θερμὴ] om. PS 11 βαλλόμενα] καταβαλλόμενα PS | ἔψει] GH, ἔψει CP, ἔψει A T, ἔψει S EFK, illeg. D 12 σιτία] post κοιλία transp. S13 λέγεται] λέγεται A FH | οὐ] διού sic S<sup>a.c.</sup>

24.2 πνεῦμα τί] πνευμά τι Ath. 6 σὺ] οὐ Ath.

λέγεται διὰ τὸ εἶναι ψυχρὰ τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ὡς τινες τῶν ἀπλουστέρων φήθησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῆς θερμότητος ἀναξηραίνειν αὐτὴν τὰ ὑγρά, ὡς ἔστι πληροφορηθῆναι καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ ἡλίου. Ὡν γὰρ θερμὸς καὶ πυρώδης πηλὸν ξηραίνει, καὶ πᾶν ὑγρὸν ἀνιμάται. Ὅτι δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ θερμὴ ἐστὶ κατὰ φύσιν, πείθου ἀδελφέ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων. Ἦι γὰρ ὄρα ἀποκριθῆ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, πάντα τὰ μέλη εὐρίσκονται κρυσταλλώδη, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦττον πάγου χειμερίου ἢ χιόνος ψυχρότερα, καὶ δὴ ἀπὸ τῶν λιμῶν ἐστὶ δοκιμάσαι τὸ λεγόμενον. Ἔως γὰρ ἔχει ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν τροφήν εἰς ἀφθονίαν, τὸ σῶμα θάλλει καὶ ἀδρύνεται. Ὅσπινικα δὲ ἀπορήσει σιτίων, αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα κατεσθίει καὶ φθείρει. Οὐ γὰρ δύναται τὸ σῶμα ἄνευ τροφῆς ἀντέχειν πρὸς τὴν θερμότητα τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς οὔτε ἀγγεῖον χαλκοῦν ἐστὼς ἐπὶ κλιβάνου, οὐ δύναται ἄνευ ὕδατος φέρειν τὴν σφοδρότητα τοῦ πυρός· ἐκφρύγεται γὰρ καὶ διαλύεται τέλειον. Οὕτως γοῦν καὶ ὁ λέβης τοῦ σώματος, μὴ ἔχων τὴν τροφήν, παρὰ τῆς πυρώδους ψυχῆς ὑπολιχμώμενος ἀπόλλυται παντάπασι. Κεφάλαιον δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσι, τὸ λεχθὲν πρὸς τοῦ κυρίου· *μη μεριμνήσητε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν τί φάγητε, ἢ τῷ σώματι τί ἐνδύσθηθε· ἐπεὶ πλεῖον ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὸ σῶ-*

24.33–36 Matth. 6.25

ACSTDEFGHK ab ἡ (l. 24) ABCSTDEFGHK

24.16 αὐτὴν] αὐτὰ A T 17 καὶ<sup>1</sup>] τοὺς πάντας T 20 Ἦι] ἢ A D | ἀποκριθῆ] τοῦ σώματος add. S 23 δὴ] καὶ add. EGK | τῶν λιμῶν] τοῦ λιμοῦ FH 24 ἔχει] om. S 25 ἀδρύνεται] ἀδρύνεται A BS T EFGHK 28 ὡς] om. EG | ἐστὼς] ἐστός A BS D 30 ἐκφρύγεται] ἐκφρύνεται E 31 μὴ] om. FH | παρὰ] περὶ FH 32 ὑπολιχμώμενος] ἀπολιχμώμενος S 33 δὲ] πᾶν add. BCS (et Ath.) | πρὸς] παρὰ A T 34 μεριμνήσητε] μεριμνήσεται A FH | φάγητε] φάγεται A, φάγεται T F | ἢ] μὴ δὲ BS | σώματι] ὑμῶν add. FH 35 πλεῖον] πλείων BS EGK ἢ... τροφῆς] ἡ τροφή τῆς ψυχῆς FH

24.20 ὄρα ἀποκριθῆ] ἀποχωρισθῆ Ath. 30 τέλειον] τέλειον Ath. Οὕτως] Οὕτω Ath. 33 δὲ] πᾶν add. Ath. 35 ἐπεὶ] ἐπὶ Ath.

μα τοῦ ἐνδύματος· εἰ τοίνυν τῶν κρείττωνων καὶ μειζό-  
νων ἠξιώθημεν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ κρείττονος, πολλῶ μᾶλλον  
τῶν βραχυτέρων καὶ καταδεοτέρων ἐμπληθῶμεν.

ΠΓ'

Τί τὸ Ὅμοια ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν θησαυρῶ  
κεκρυμμένῳ;

25

τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου

Θησαυρὸν τὴν θεότητα λέγει κρυπτομένην ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ  
ναῶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ.

ΠΓ'.1-2 Matth. 13.44 25.1-2 fontem non invenimus, cf. ps.-Io.  
Chrys., De non iudicando proximo, PG 60, col. 765.27-29

ABCSTDEFGHK 25 ABCSTDEFGH

ΠΓ' ] κεφάλαιον νδ' BCS, ιβ' T, κεφάλαιον να' EG, να' D, om. FH  
25 τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου] ante tit. transp. BC DEG

24.36 τοίνυν] om. K 25.1 Θησαυρὸν] κεκρυμμένον add. EG

ΙΔ' περι βαπτίματος

26

Ἀθανασίου

Τρία βαπτίσματα καθαρτικὰ πάσης ἀμαρτίας ὁ θεὸς τῇ  
φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐδωρήσατο· λέγω δὴ τὸ δι' ὕδατος,  
τὸ διὰ μαρτυρίου, ἤγουν τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος, καὶ τρίτον  
τὸ διὰ δακρῶν, εἰς ὅπερ καὶ ἡ πόρνη ἐκαθαρίσθη. Καὶ ὁ  
κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρος τὴν ἄρνησιν ἀπενί- 5  
ψατο.

27

Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου

Ἐβάπτισε Μωϋσῆς, ἀλλ' ἐν ὕδατι· καὶ πρὸ τούτου ἐν νε-  
φέλῃ καὶ ἐν θαλάσῃ. Τυπικῶς δὲ τοῦτο ἦν, ὡς καὶ Παύ-  
λω δοκεῖ· ἡ θάλασσα, τοῦ ὕδατος· ἡ νεφέλη, τοῦ Πνεύ-  
ματος· τὸ μάννα, τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ἄρτου· τὸ πόμα, τοῦ θείου 5  
πόματος. Ἐβάπτισε καὶ Ἰωάννης, οὐκ ἔτι μὲν Ἰουδαί-  
κῶς· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ὕδατι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν·

26.1-6 ps.-Ath., Quaest. ad Ant., Quaest. 73, PG 28, col. 644.41-47

27.1-20 Greg. Naz., Or. 39, § 17.5-25

26 ABCSTDEFGH 27 ABCST

ΙΔ'] κεφάλαιον νε' BCS, ιγ' T, κεφάλαιον νβ' E, νβ' DH, om. F,  
illeg. G 26 Ἀθανασίου] ἀλεξανδρείας add. A, om. BCS DEFGH

26.1 ὁ θεὸς] om. G 2 λέγω δὴ] om. DEFGH 3 ἤγουν... αἵματος] om.  
DEFGH | τοῦ... αἵματος] τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου BCS | τρίτον] om.  
DEFGH 4 τὸ] om. DEG | ἐκαθαρίσθη] ἐκαθερίσθη sic D, ἐκαθάρθη  
EG 4-5 ὁ... ἀποστόλων] post Πέτρος transp. DEFGH  
5-6 τὴν... ἀπενίψατο] om. DEFGH

26.1 πάσης] οἷας δῆποτε add. Ath. 2 δὴ] δὲ Ath. | δι'] om. Ath.  
3 τὸ] καὶ πάλιν praem. Ath. | ἤγουν] om. Ath. 4 Καὶ Πλὴν δὲ  
praem. Ath. | ὁ] αὐτὸς praem. Ath. 5 ἀποστόλων] ἀγίων praem.  
Ath. | τὴν] μετὰ praem. Ath. 5-6 ἀπενίψατο] κλαύσας  
προσεδέχθη καὶ ἐοώθη Ath.



οὐπω δ' ὄλον πνευματικῶς· οὐ γὰρ προστίθησι τὸ ἐν Πνεύματι. Βαπτίζει καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἄλλ' ἐν Πνεύματι. Τοῦτο ἡ τελειότης. Καὶ πῶς οὐ θεὸς ἵνα τί παραθεωρήσω μικρόν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ σὺ γίνῃ θεός; Οἶδα καὶ τέταρτον βάπτισμα, τὸ διὰ μαρτυρίου καὶ αἵματος, δ καὶ αὐτὸ Χριστὸς ἐβαπτίσατο, καὶ πολὺ γε τῶν ἄλλων αἰδεσιμώτερον, ὅσφ δευτέροις ῥύποις οὐ μολύνεται. Οἶδα καὶ πέμπτον ἔπι, τὸ τῶν δακρῶν· ἄλλ' ἐπιπονώτερον, ὡς ὁ λούων καθ' ἐκάστην νύκτα τὴν κλίνην ἐν δάκρυσιν, ᾧ τῆς κακίας προσώζεσαν οἱ μάλωπες· ὃς πενθῶν καὶ σκυθρωπάζων πορεύεται, ὃς μιμεῖται τὴν ἐπιστροφήν Μανασσῆ, καὶ τὴν Νινευιτῶν ἠλεημένην ταπείνωσιν· ὃς φθέγγεται τὰς τοῦ τελώνου φωνὰς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ δικαιοῦται παρὰ τὸν μέγαλαυχον Φαρισαῖον

28

Κυρίλλου Ἱεροσολύμων

Πνεύματι ἀγίῳ καὶ πυρὶ τοὺς Ἀποστόλους ἐβάπτισεν, ὅτε ἐγένετο ἄφνω ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἦχος, ὡσπερ φερομένης πνοῆς βιαίας καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐφ' ἓνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν.

28.1-3 Cyr. Hier. Catech. ad illum., III, 9, 6-11

ABCST 28 ABCST

27.7 τὸ] τῷ T 1θ καί] om. BS | οὐ] σοι A 13 ῥύποις] ῥυπαροῖς A (forte ante corr.) | πέμπτον] βάπτισμα add. T 15 τὴν... ἐν] τοῖς T 16 οἶ] καὶ praem. BS 17 Μανασσῆ] μανασῆ S 28.1 καὶ πυρὶ] om. BS 2 ὅτε] ὅτι BCS 3 ἐκάθισεν] ἐκάθεσεν S

27.11 αὐτὸ] αὐτὸς Naz. 15 ἐν] αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρωμνὴν τοῖς Naz. 16 οἶ] e tr., καὶ praem. Naz. in ed. 17 ὃς] καὶ praem. Naz. 18 Νινευιτῶν] τῶν praem. Naz. 28.1 ἐβάπτισεν] ὁ Σωτὴρ add. Cyr. 3 βιαίας] καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν ὄλον τὸν οἶκον οὗ ἦσαν καθήμενοι· καὶ ἄφθησαν αὐτοῖς διαμεριζόμεναι γλώσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρός add. Cyr.

29

τοῦ αὐτοῦ

Εἴ τις μὴ λάβῃ τὸ βάπτισμα, σωτηρίαν οὐκ ἔχει· πλὴν μόνων μαρτύρων, οἱ καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ὕδατος λαμβάνουσι τὴν βασιλείαν. Λυτρούμενος γὰρ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὁ Σωτὴρ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ τὴν πλευρὰν νυχθεῖς, ἐξήγαγεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ ἵνα οἱ μὲν ἐν καιρῷ εἰρήνης, ἐν ὕδατι βαπτισθῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν αἵματι. Οἶδε γὰρ τὸ μαρτύριον βάπτισμα καλεῖν ὁ Χριστός, λέγων· Δύνασθε τὸ ποτήριον πιεῖν, ὃ ἐγὼ μέλλω πίνειν, καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθῆναι;

29.1-9 Cyr. Hier. Catech. ad illum., III, 10, 1-9

29 ABCST

29 τοῦ αὐτοῦ] om. BCS

29.5 οἶ] ἐν sic S | ἐν?] om. T 6 μαρτύριον] μαρτύρων C 8 μέλλω πίνειν] in. BS

29.1 λάβῃ] λάβοι Cyr. 4 νυχθεῖς] νυγείς Cyr. 5 καιρῷ] καιροῖς Cyr. 6 ἐν αἵματι] ἐν καιροῖς διωγμῶν ἐν οἰκείοις αἵμασι βαπτισθῶσι Cyr. | Οἶδε... μαρτύριον] Καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον γὰρ οἶδε Cyr. 7 Χριστός] Σωτὴρ Cyr. 8 μέλλω πίνειν] πίνω Cyr.

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#### SUMMARY

The monumental *Florilegium Coislinianum* can be dated in the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century and originally contained all the letters up to Omega, but now the most complete manuscript, *Parisinus gr.* 923 (10<sup>th</sup> century), ends at Psi. Hitherto only the third book (letter Gamma) has been made available in a critical edition, while the rest of the anthology is still not accessible in a printed version. This article presents the critical edition of the second book (letter Bêta), containing some interesting fragments attributed e.g. to a certain Leontius the Damascene, to Athanasius of Alexandria and to John Chrysostom.

## UNE VIE DE PLATON DE GEORGES SCHOLARIOS ?

en souvenir de Madame Margherita Isnardi Parente

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς χρὴ εὐέλπιδας εἶναι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον,  
καὶ ἔν τι τοῦτο διανοεῖσθαι ἀληθές,  
ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κακὸν οὔτε ζῶντι οὔτε τελευτήσαντι,  
οὐδὲ ἀμελεῖται ὑπὸ θεῶν τὰ τούτου πράγματα

Pendant que j'étudiais les manuscrits des *Vies des philosophes* de Diogène Laërce qui transmettent seulement la *Vie de Platon* (livre III), j'ai découvert une brève biographie du philosophe largement inspirée de celle de Diogène (1). Ce texte est transmis par deux manuscrits : le *Parisinus gr.* 1417 (p) et le *Barberinianus gr.* 85 (ba). Dans p le texte est l'autographe de Georges Scholarios (vers 1400-vers 1472) (2).

Commençons par une description sommaire des deux manuscrits (3) :

p Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1417, deuxième quart du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle. Constantinople. Papier filigrané ('ciseaux' = Briquet 3668, a. 1454). 290 × 205 mm. ff. 188. Varia (ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>) (4) ; Epictète, *Dissertationes* (ff. 8<sup>v</sup>-71<sup>v</sup>) précédées du πίναξ et d'une προθεωρία (f. 8<sup>v</sup>) ; Aristote, *Ethica Nicomachea* (ff. 73<sup>r</sup>-164<sup>v</sup>), accompagnée de προθεωρούμενα (f. 72<sup>v</sup>) et de scholies dans les marges ; Aristote, *Magna Moralia* (ff. 168<sup>r</sup>-186<sup>v</sup>) ; *Vita Platonis* (ff. 186<sup>v</sup>-

(1) Vid. DORANDI, *Laertiana*, pp. 120-124.

(2) HARLFINGER, *Textgeschichte Lin.*, p. 416 ; *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten*, II, nr. 92. Pour les manuscrits autographes de Scholarios, voir aussi DE GREGORIO, *Manoscritti greci patristici*, pp. 333-334.

(3) Pour une description plus détaillée et des considérations plus approfondies sur le contenu des deux manuscrits ainsi que des propositions d'attribution de quelques textes, voir DORANDI, *Préliminaires*.

(4) Le contenu de ces pages correspond en grande partie à celui des ff. 254<sup>r</sup>-276<sup>r</sup> de ba. Voir DORANDI, *Préliminaires*.

188<sup>v</sup>). Les ff. 8<sup>r</sup>, 72<sup>r</sup>, 164<sup>v</sup> (moitié inférieure) – 167<sup>v</sup> sont blancs. Copiste : <Georges Scholarios> (ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>, 8<sup>v</sup> moitié inférieure, 72<sup>r</sup>, 186<sup>v</sup>-188<sup>v</sup> et *marginalia* dans les ff. 73<sup>v</sup>-163<sup>v</sup>) et <Grégoire Bryennios> (ff. 8<sup>v</sup>-71<sup>v</sup>, 73<sup>v</sup>-186<sup>v</sup>)<sup>(5)</sup>. Bibliographie : H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, II, Paris, 1898, p. 40 — Bonnet, p. 590 ; Harlfinger, *Textgeschichte Lin.*, pp. 416, 420 ; Idem, dans P. Moraux et al. (éd.), *Aristoteles Graecus*, I, Berlin und New York, 1976, pp. 4-5, 463 ; *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten*, II, nr. 92 et 108 ; De Gregorio, *Manoscritti greci patristici*, p. 334 et n. 51 ; Dorandi, *Laertiana*, p. 24.

ba Cité du Vatican, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberiniana gr. 85*, troisième quart du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle. Constantinople. Papier. 216 × 146 mm. ff. III+445. Προθεωρούμενα in Aristote, *Ethica Nicomachea* (ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>) ; Aristote, *Ethica Nicomachea* avec des scholies dans les marges (ff. 3<sup>r</sup>-186<sup>v</sup>) ; Aristote, *Magna Moralia* (ff. 189<sup>v</sup>-230<sup>v</sup>) ; *De Aristotelis categoriis tractatus* (ff. 237<sup>v</sup>-252<sup>v</sup>) ; varia (ff. 254<sup>v</sup>-276<sup>v</sup>) ; προθεωρία in Epictetum (f. 278<sup>v</sup>) et Arriani epistula ad L. Gellium (f. 279<sup>v</sup>) ; Epictète, *Dissertationes* (ff. 280<sup>v</sup>-433<sup>v</sup>) ; *Vita Platonis* (ff. 434<sup>v</sup>-440<sup>v</sup>). Les ff. I<sup>r</sup>-III<sup>r</sup>, 186<sup>v</sup>-188<sup>v</sup>, 231<sup>r</sup>-236<sup>v</sup>, 253<sup>r</sup>, 277<sup>v</sup> et 441<sup>r</sup>-445<sup>v</sup> sont blancs<sup>(6)</sup>. Copié en entier par une seule main (Anonymus 4 Harlfinger)<sup>(7)</sup>.

Bibliographie : Capocci, pp. 108-113, xxx-xxxI (Addenda & Corrigenda) ; Harlfinger, *Textgeschichte Lin.*, p. 418 ; Idem, dans P. Moraux et al. (éd.), *Aristoteles Graecus*, op. cit., pp. 4-5, 463 ; Dorandi, *Laertiana*, p. 4.

Les deux manuscrits contiennent, à peu près, les mêmes textes mais dans un ordre différent ; ba a en plus le traité sur les *Catégories*<sup>(8)</sup>. Il

(5) Le moine de Thessalonique Grégoire Bryennios (PLP, nr. 3252) copia, avec ou pour Scholarios, plusieurs manuscrits. Pour l'identification de sa main dans p, voir *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten*, II, nr. 108 (= Anonyme 44 HARLFINGER, *Textgeschichte Lin.*, p. 420).

(6) Le manuscrit présente une double numérotation moderne. Je suivrai celle retenue par Capocci.

(7) L'identification de la main de l'Anonyme porte à dater le manuscrit au troisième quart du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle. CAPOCCI, p. 108 le date encore du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle.

(8) Le traité a été publié anonymement en 1883 par M. HAYDUCK dans les *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, XXIII 2 (HAYDUCK n'utilise ni ba ni le *Mutinensis* cité plus loin). En ba, il est intitulé περι τῶν ἕξ κατηγοριῶν τῶν μετὰ τὰς ἀρχοειδεῖς τέσσαρας κατηγορίας. Le texte est partagé en six sections qui correspondent aux six dernières catégories (= pp. 52, 36-72, 17 HAYDUCK) ; il manque (sans indication de lacune) la partie sur les quatre premières catégories (inc. περι τοῦ ποτέ. μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῆς ποιότητος λόγον, τὴν χρονικὴν κατηγορίαν ἐκτίθεμεν). La même portion de texte avec le même titre est transmise aussi par le manuscrit de Modena, *Biblioteca Estense* 10 (α. U. 2. 10), copié par Matthieu

demeure assez probable que, à l'exception de cet ouvrage, ba soit une copie directe de p<sup>(9)</sup>.

Je ne m'arrêterai que sur la *Vita Platonis*. Les deux manuscrits transmettent le même texte et partagent les mêmes erreurs. Se présentent deux possibilités : p et ba dérivent d'un modèle commun perdu, ou ba a été copié sur p. Or, non seulement ba reproduit les erreurs de p, mais il commet d'autres ; ce qui prouve que, pour ce texte, ba est copié sur p. Voici une liste d'erreurs propres à ba<sup>(10)</sup> :

li. 61 σύμφεροι || li. 75 εἴκοσι μῶν om. || li. 154 ὡς περ τῶν προτέρων om. || li. 156 μαστίγῳσων ba : μαστίγῳσαι (sic) p, lege μαστιγῳσαι || li. 161 πρέπειν || li. 245 ταχθῆναι || li. 251 στοιχείον σχῆμα || li. 259 δημιουργημα om. || li. 285 ὁμοιος p<sup>ac</sup> (ut vid.), ba<sup>ac</sup> : ὁμοίως p<sup>ac</sup>, ba<sup>ac</sup> || li. 289 περὶ δ' ἐπὶ || li. 352 πρὸς om. ba<sup>ac</sup>, πρὸς τὸν s.l. add. ba<sup>ac</sup>

Le rédacteur de la *Vie* a eu pour modèle un manuscrit récent des *Vies des philosophes* de Diogène Laërce, largement contaminé par la vulgate, et qu'on peut identifier avec un des quatre témoins de la première moitié du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle qui transmettent l'œuvre de Platon accompagnée de plusieurs textes préliminaires à sa lecture, y compris la *Vie de Platon* au livre III de Diogène Laërce : *Caesenae Malatestianae* D.XXVIII.4 (= b) ; *Laurentianae* plut. 59.1 (= z) ; *Laurentianae* plut. 85.9 (= c) et *Marcianae* gr. 189 [coll. 704] (= m)<sup>(11)</sup>.

Camariotès peu avant 1484, ff. 179<sup>v</sup>-196<sup>v</sup>. Voir G. DE GREGORIO - P. ELEUTERI, *Per un catalogo sommario dei manoscritti greci dei Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina : specimen* (Leiden, Modena), dans *Symbolae Berolinenses für D. Harlfinger*, Amsterdam, 1993, pp. 133-134. Il reste à définir les relations des deux nouveaux témoins entre eux ainsi qu'avec le reste de la tradition.

(9) La dérivation de ba de p est prouvée pour Épictète par J. SOUILHÉ (éd.), *Épictète. Entretiens*, I, Paris, 1943, 1962<sup>2</sup>, pp. LXXVII-LXXX (ba y est daté du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle). Souilhé suggère (p. LXXVII) que le *Mutinensis* 10 (indiqué avec la vieille signature *Estensis* II.A.10) est une copie de p. On doit néanmoins tenir compte qu'il transmet aussi le traité sur les *Catégories* absent de p. Pour les *Magna Moralia*, Chr. BROCKMANN, *Zur Überlieferung der aristotelischen Magna Moralia*, dans *Symbolae Berolinenses*, pp. 47-48, 65-66, 70-71 suppose que ba, pour le livre I, a eu comme modèle le *Laurentianus* plut. 87.17 (milieu/troisième quart du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle), tandis que pour le livre II il descend directement du *Coislinianus* 161 (sixième décennie du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle) tout comme p, dont il serait donc un jumeau. Voir cependant DORANDI, *Préliminaires*.

(10) Les renvois sont aux lignes de mon édition, *infra*, pp. 128-140.

(11) Vid. DORANDI, *Laertiana*, pp. 120-124.

Voici une liste des cas où **p** et **ba** s'accordent (en erreur) avec des témoins de ce groupe (entre parenthèses, le sigle de(s) manuscrit(s) qui a(ont) en commun la variante ;  $\pi$  indique le *consensus codicum*) <sup>(12)</sup> :

li. 2 νηρέα (cz) || li. 4 μελανθίου (bc) || li. 78 τὸν προσέσθαι, om. μὴ (cz) || li. 92 ἀναμιμνασκόμενος (c) || li. 96 πολλῶν (π) || li. 104 προσεκάλουν (c, z<sup>2</sup>) || li. 107 κρώκυλος (π) || li. 116 θεοῦ καὶ (c) || li. 180 φιλοσόφων (π) || li. 242 post κύκλον om. ὀρθουμένου (c) || li. 243 post ὕλην om. ὄν-ὑλην (cmz, b<sup>2ms</sup>) || li. 285 post ἄλλων om. ζώων (c) || li. 288 om. τῷ ante οὐρανῷ (c) || li. 328 om. τὸν ante θάνατον (cz)

Si l'on considère ces données et l'erreur séparative (li. 92 ἀμιμνασκόμενος z : ἀναμιμνα- c), et si l'on tient compte aussi de mes conclusions sur les relations entre les manuscrits du groupe  $\pi$  <sup>(13)</sup> on arrive à confirmer l'intuition de Bonnet <sup>(14)</sup> selon laquelle le modèle de **p** est **c**. Ce dernier est un manuscrit copié dans les années trente du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle à Constantinople et apporté en Italie en 1438 par l'Empereur Jean VII Paléologue à l'occasion des travaux du Concile pour l'Union des Églises d'Occident et d'Orient (1431-1445). On a supposé que **c** resta à Florence (où le Concile s'était transféré en 1439) ; il y était sans doute en 1462 quand Côme de Médicis l'offrit à Marsile Ficin pour sa traduction de Platon <sup>(15)</sup>.

La *Vie* présente plusieurs *lectiones singulares* qui se révèlent être des corrections fautives ou non nécessaires : li. 48 (ποσῶ ἢ ποιῶ) ; li. 49 (οὐδέποτε et μήτε) ; li. 72 (ἐκλέξασθαι) ; li. 116 (πρόοδον καὶ add.) ; li. 145

(12) Je tire les leçons des manuscrits bcz de l'édition des Basileenses ; celles de **m** de l'article de S. AZZARÀ, *Note su alcuni codici di Platone e Diogene Laerzio : la datazione del Laur. LXXXV 9 e il Marc. Gr. 189*, dans *Res Publica Litterarum*, N. S. 5 (2002), pp. 164-171. J'ai vérifié quelques passages sur microfilm. Je ne considère pas les cas dans lesquels **p** et **ba** partagent une erreur avec  $\pi$  et un ou plusieurs manuscrit(s) des *Vies*, en particulier : **P** (*Parisinus gr. 1759*, xi<sup>e</sup>/xii<sup>e</sup> siècle), **Q** (*Parisinus gr. 1758*, xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle *in.*, copie directe de **P**), **F** (*Laurentianus plut. 69.13*, xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle) et **V** (*Vaticanus gr. 1302*, xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle *in.*, chef de file de la vulgate). En effet, **P** n'était plus à Constantinople au moment de la confection de **p** (et de **ba**), **Q** est un frère de **z** (modèle de **c**), copié lui aussi sur **P** (après correction **P**<sup>2</sup>) ; les accords avec **V** et **F** s'expliquent par le fait que le modèle de **V**,  $\alpha$  (aujourd'hui perdu), avait été contaminé par **P**, tandis que **F** l'a été par  $\alpha$  (voir DORANDI, *Laertiana*, pp. 105-120).

(13) Vid. DORANDI, *Laertiana*, pp. 120-124, avec un stemma (p. 124).

(14) BONNET, p. 590 : «Vielleicht nach Laur. LXXXV 9».

(15) Vid. DORANDI, *Laertiana*, pp. 14-15, 121-122 (avec bibliographie).

(τῇ ante Ἀπολογία add.) ; li. 206 (πρῶτον) ; li. 220 (τὴν καὶ αἴσθησιν καὶ ὄν καὶ μὴ ὄν λέγει ἦ) ; li. 338 (προτρεπομένων) ; li. 342 (λύρας ἢ ἀσπίδος). Des conjectures qui devancent celles de philologues modernes ne manquent pas : li. 60-61 (κρεῖττον ὃ συμφέρον comme l'*editio Frobeniana*, 1533) ; l. 99 (χαριῆ comme l'*editio H. Stephani*, 1570<sup>1</sup>) ; li. 135 (πυθομένω comme Cobet) ; l. 269 οὐδενί (comme Cobet) ; li. 318 (ἀπαραίτητα *recte*, comme Is. Casaubon). J'attribuerais ces retouches et ces conjectures au rédacteur de la *Vie*.

La *Vie* se présente, sous le titre ἐκ τῶν Λαερτίου εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ Πλάτωνος, comme une réélaboration du livre III de Diogène Laërce dans laquelle extraits et paraphrases se succèdent et se mélangent (li. 1-335) ; elle est suivie (sans interruption et sans qu'on en indique la source) par cinq brefs passages tirés du *Didaskalikos* d'Alcinoos (li. 337-354) <sup>(16)</sup>.

Dans la première partie (li. 1-208), qui correspond aux § 1-56 du livre III, et qui contient les données biographiques de Platon et une discussion sur les Dialogues, le texte a été largement résumé et réécrit ; on y repère néanmoins plusieurs extraits copiés mot à mot (en particulier, la lettre du pseudo-Archytas à Denys de Syracuse : li. 90-99). On remarque dans ces pages l'omission des références érudites aux sources citées par Diogène et du testament de Platon (§ 41-43) ainsi que de la quasi totalité des compositions poétiques, y compris les passages du pseudo-Épicharme (§ 14-17. Vid. li. 55 πάρεργον δὲ θεῖναι τὰ ἔπη Ἐπιχάρμου), les vers des poètes comiques dirigés contre Platon (§ 26-28) et les épigrammes attribuées au philosophe (§ 29-33. Vid. li. 168-169 : διαθήκην δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐ γράφομεν συντομίας εἴνεκεν). La deuxième partie (li. 209-335), qui contient un exposé de la pensée de Platon et qui correspond aux § 63-80 du même livre, se compose généralement d'extraits retouchés, ici et là, dans quelques détails. L'omission la plus évidente est celle des *Divisiones* attribuées à Aristote (§ 80-109) : τὰ μὲν ἀρέκοντα Πλάτωνι τοιαῦτα. τούτοις ἐπιουνάπει ὁ Λαέρτιος καὶ ὡς διήρει τὰ τε ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνθρώπεια πράγματα, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ἀρκεῖ περὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν δοξάντων αὐτῷ εἶδέναι (li. 330-332). On signalera aussi l'absence des paragraphes sur la division des dialogues en tétralogies ou en trilogies (§§ 57-62). La section laër-

(16) La dérivation de ces extraits de **c** est probable. Ce manuscrit transmet aussi, en effet, le *Didaskalikos* (ff. 3<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>). **c** ne partage pas toutefois les deux *lectiones singulares* (de **p** et **ba**) προτρεπομένων (li. 338) et λύρας ἢ ἀσπίδος (li. 342).



tienne s'achève par la liste d'homonymes (§ 109 = li. 333-335). Dans l'ensemble, l'auteur ne s'éloigne pas de la narration de Diogène, qu'il reproduit fidèlement, mais non sans quelques méprises ou bévues qui entravent la compréhension immédiate du texte ou en faussent le sens (17).

Quant au rédacteur du texte, on pourrait proposer (en considération aussi de l'autographie de p) de l'identifier avec Georges Scholarios, philosophe et théologien, moine à la fin de 1449, et premier patriarche de Constantinople, sous le nom de Gennadios II, après la prise de la ville par les Turcs en 1453 (18). Quant à sa chronologie, je suggérerais une date entre 1430/1431-1438 (ou plus prudemment avant 1450). C'est pendant les années trente du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle que s'étale en effet la production philosophique de Georges Scholarios, qui, à partir de son entrée dans la vie monastique, changea aussi son prénom en celui de Gennadios (19). On peut signaler une preuve complémentaire en faveur de cette hypothèse dans la note qu'on lit dans **ba** (f. 1<sup>r</sup>) de la même main du copiste principal et à l'encre rouge en marge des προθεωρούμενα à l'Éthique à Nicomaque d'Aristote : ἐπιστάσις ταῦτα πάντα μέχρι τέλους τοῦ βιβλίου καὶ ἐξηγήσει τοῦ σοφωτάτου διδασκάλου κυρίου Γεωργίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου (20).

J'intitulerais donc cette biographie *Platonis Vita Scholarii* (dorénavant *VS*) à l'instar de l'*Aristotelis Vita Lascaris* éditée par Düring (21).

(17) Voir *infra*, pp. 128-139.

(18) Voir M.-H. BLANCHET, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400-vers 1472). Un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 2008.

(19) Voir PETIT-XIDERIDÈS-JUGIE t. VIII (1936), pp. 15\*-19\*. À compléter par les recherches de BLANCHET, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios*.

(20) Voir CAPOCCI, p. 108, qui, dans les Addenda, p. xxx écrit : «quod, nisi fallor, ita explanandum est : προθεωρούμενα et scholia haec in Ethicam Nicomacheam, nec non omnia quae in codice nostro subsequuntur, digesta et conlecta fuisse studio et cura Georgii Scholarii». Si **c** est le modèle de la *Vie de Platon* et si ce manuscrit resta à Florence après le Concile (*supra*, p. 124), on pourrait indiquer en 1438 le *terminus ante quem* pour la première prise de notes (Scholarios quitta Florence et les travaux du Concile en 1439). On ne tire rien, à mon avis, pour parfaire la chronologie, du fait que **p** (et **ba**) transmettent aussi l'Éthique à Nicomaque et les *Magna Moralia* d'Aristote (la première accompagnée de προθεωρούμενα et de scholies autographes de Scholarios dans les marges), et de ce que Scholarios composa 'vers 1446-1450' (PETIT-XIDERIDÈS-JUGIE t. VIII, p. 17\*) un opuscule intitulé Περὶ ἀνθρωπίνης εὐδαιμονίας Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Πλωτίνου συμβιβαστικόν (édité par PETIT-XIDERIDÈS-JUGIE t. VIII, pp. 499-502 à partir du *Laurentianus* plut. 86.27, ff. 91<sup>v</sup>-93<sup>v</sup>, autographe de Scholarios).

(21) DÜRING, pp. 122-123, 140-141.

La *VS* n'est pas l'unique 'biographie' de ce genre compilée à Byzance à l'époque paléologue. Une *Vie de Platon*, autographe de Nicéphore Grégoras (vers 1295-1359) et probablement rédigée par le même savant en rassemblant plusieurs extraits des livres III et V de Diogène Laërce et de la *Varia historia* d'Élien tirés du *Vaticanus gr.* 96 (= **Φ**), est conservée dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 1898, ff. 224<sup>v</sup>-225<sup>v</sup>. Elle a été éditée, anonymement, par J. B. Sturm (22).

En conclusion, je propose l'*editio princeps* de la *VS* (23). J'ai établi mon texte sur l'autographe de Scholarios (**p**). J'ai moi-même introduit les alinéas et j'ai ajouté, entre parenthèses, les numéros des paragraphes dans la section tirée de Diogène ainsi que les pages et les lignes de l'édition Hermann dans les extraits d'Alcinoos. Un appareil enregistre les variantes de **p** et **ba**. J'ai décidé de pas intervenir directement sur le texte à partir des critères exposés par Martini (à propos de l'édition des *excerpta Vaticana* de Diogène Laërce) (24) et de Düring (à propos de l'édition de l'*Aristotelis Vita Hesychii* ou *Vita Menagiana*) (25). J'en ai indiqué les difficultés et j'ai proposé quelques corrections, à partir des autres témoins de la tradition de Diogène Laërce et du travail des philologues modernes, dans les notes qui accompagnent l'édition (26). Je n'ai pas, enfin, proposé de traduction de la *VS* ; celle du livre III des *Vies* de Diogène Laërce de L. Brisson (27) ainsi que celle du *Didaskalikos* d'Alcinoos de P. Louis suffiront à orienter le lecteur.

(22) Voir J. B. STURM, *Biographisches über Plato aus dem Codex Vaticanus graecus 1898 und die Isagoge des Albinus auf Grund derselben Handschrift herausgegeben*, Progr. des k. humanistischen Gymnasiums Kaiserlautern, 1901 et les compléments in DORANDI, *Laertiana*, pp. 11, 86-88.

(23) PETIT-XIDERIDÈS-JUGIE ignorent l'existence de **p** et **ba** (voir la table des manuscrits utilisés dans l'Appendice II du t. VIII, pp. 7\*-9\*) et par conséquent les textes qui y sont conservés. Pour plus de détails, voir DORANDI, *Préliminaires*.

(24) E. MARTINI, *Analecta Laertiana. Pars secunda*, dans *Leipziger Studien zur klassischen Philologie*, 20 (1902), pp. 158-159.

(25) DÜRING, p. 81.

(26) J'utilise, pour Diogène Laërce, le texte de mon édition (sous presse) ; pour Alcinoos, celui de J. WHITTAKER, *Alcinoos. Enseignement des doctrines de Platon*, introduction, texte établi et commenté par J. W. et traduit par P. Louis, Paris, 1990.

(27) L. BRISSON, <Diogène Laërce> Livre III. Introduction, traduction et notes, dans *Diogène Laërce. Vies et doctrines des philosophes illustres*. Traduction française sous la direction de M.-O. GOULET-CAZÉ (Paris, 1999<sup>2</sup>), pp. 369-464.

## ἐκ τῶν Λαερτίου εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ Πλάτωνος

(1) Πλάτων, Ἀρίστωνος καὶ Περικτιόνης ἢ Πωτώνης, Ἀθηναῖος, ἦτις τὸ γένος ἀνέφερεν εἰς Σόλωνα. ὁ δὲ Σόλων εἰς Νηρέα καὶ Ποσειδῶνα ὡς εἶναι Πλάτωνα ἕκτον ἀπὸ Σόλωνος. Ἀρίστων δὲ ὁ πατήρ εἰς Κόδρον τὸν Μελανθίου ἀνήγε ἀπὸ Ποσειδῶνος ἱστορουμένους.

5 (2) ἱστόρησαν δὲ Σπεύσιππος καὶ Κλέαρχος καὶ Ἀναξιάδης λόγον γεγονέναι Ἀθήνησιν ὡς ὠραία οὔσα ἡ Περικτιόνη βιάζομένη ὑπ' Ἀρίστωνος οὐκ ἀνέσχετο· ὃν τῆς βίας πεπαυόμενον ἰδεῖν τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος ὄψιν· ὅθεν ἀποσχέσθαι αὐτῆς ἕως τῆς ἀποκυήσεως.

καὶ γίνεται Πλάτων κατὰ Ἀπολλόδωρον ὄγδοη καὶ εἰκοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι, Θαρρηλιῶνος ἐβδόμη, ὅτε κατὰ Δηλίους καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐγένετο. 10 τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐν γάμοις δειπνῶν ὡς μὲν Ἑρμιππος πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ὄγδοης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐτῶν δηλονότι ἐνὸς πρὸς τοῖς ὄγδοήκοντα, ὡς δὲ Νεάνθης τεττάρων καὶ ὄγδοήκοντα. (3) ἔστιν οὖν Ἰσοκράτους νεώτερος ἔτεσιν ἕξ· ἐπ' αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ Περικλῆς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἦν δὲ τῶν 15 δῆμων Κωλλυτεὺς γεννηθεὶς κατὰ τινὰς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ πεμφθέντος ἐκεῖ τοῦ πατρὸς κληρούχου τότε εἶτα Ἀθήνησι καὶ χορηγήσαντος. (4) ἀδελφοὺς δὲ ἔσχε Ἀδείμαντον καὶ Γλαύκωνα καὶ Πωτώνην.

καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη μὲν γράμματα παρὰ Διονυσίῳ, ἐγυμνάσατο δὲ παρὰ Ἀρίστωνι Ἀργεῖῳ παλαιστῇ· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Πλάτων διὰ τὴν εὐεξίαν μετῴνη.

Je propose de traduire le titre par « Extraits tirés de Diogène Laërce pour une biographie de Platon ».

li. 1-4. Ces lignes résument de manière très concentrée et ambiguë le premier paragraphe du livre III de Diogène Laërce. Il s'agit d'un des nombreux cas dans lesquels on arrive à comprendre le texte de la VS uniquement si on lit en parallèle son modèle. À la li. 4, j'interprète ἱστορουμένους comme se rapportant *ad sensum* à Κόδρον et à Μελανθίου de la li. 3-4 comme s'il y avait écrit Κόδρον καὶ Μελάνθιον.

li. 9. εἰκοστῇ est faux, et il faut lire ὄγδοηκοστῇ. On peut supposer que εἰκοστῇ (déjà dans c, et dans P avant qu'il soit corrigé) est une erreur née de manière accidentelle d'ὄγδοη καὶ ὄγδοηκοστῇ des autres manuscrits.

li. 13-14. ἔστιν οὖν Ἰσοκράτους νεώτερος ἔτεσιν ἕξ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Λυσιμάχου, Πλάτων δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίου γέγονεν, ἐφ' οὗ Περικλῆς ἐτελεύτησεν Diogène Laërce. L'omission des noms des archontes rend la phrase de la VS incohérente.

li. 16. εἶτα Ἀθήνησι καὶ χορηγήσαντος. Encore une fois, il faut revenir au texte de Diogène Laërce pour comprendre ce passage trop concentré : καὶ ἐπαυθέντος εἰς Ἀθήνας, ὅπου ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξεβλήθησαν βοηθούτων Αἰγινήταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐχορήγησεν Ἀθήνησι Δίωνος ἀναλίσκοντος.

20 μάσθη, πρότερον Ἀριστοκλῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πάππου καλούμενος, ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ τὴν πλατύτητα τῆς ἐρμηνείας φασίν· ἄλλοι διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ. ἐπάλαισε δὲ Ἰσθμοὶ ὡς ἔνιοι ἀναγράφουσι, (5) καὶ γραφικῆς ἐπεμελήθη καὶ ποιήματα ἔγραψεν, ἰσχνόφωνος ὢν. λέγεται δ' ὅτι Σωκράτης ὄναρ εἶδε κύκνου νεοττὸν ἐν γόνασιν ἔχειν, ὃν καὶ παραχρήμα πτεροφυήσαντα 25 ἀναπτῆναι ἠδὲ κλάγξαντα· καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν Πλάτωνα αὐτῷ συστήναι, τὸν δὲ τοῦτον εἰπεῖν εἶναι τὸν ὄρνιν.

ἐφιλοσόφει δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ, εἶτα ἐν κήπῳ τῷ περὶ τὸν Κολωνόν. μέλλων δὲ ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τραγωδίᾳ ὡς ἤκουσε Σωκράτους κατέφλεξε τὰ ποιήματα εἰπών·

30 Ἔφαιστε, πρόμολ' ὦδε· Πλάτων νύ τι σεῖο χατίζει.

(6) τούντεῦθεν δὴ γεγωνῶς εἴκοσιν ἔτη διήκουσε Σωκράτους καὶ ἀπελθόντος Κρατύλῳ τῷ Ἡρακλειτεῖῳ προσεῖχε καὶ Ερμιογένει τῷ παρὰ Παρμνίδει φιλοσοφοῦντι. ὀκτῶ δὲ καὶ εἴκοσιν γεγωνῶς ἐν Μεγάρῳις Εὐκλείδῃ ἐφοίτησε σὺν καὶ ἄλλοις Σωκρατικοῖς, εἶτα εἰς Κυρήνην 35 Θεοδώρῳ τῷ μαθηματικῷ εἶτα εἰς Ἰταλίαν Φιλολάῳ καὶ Εὐρύτῳ τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς, εἶτα εἰς Αἴγυπτον παρὰ τοὺς προφήτας· οὗ καὶ Εὐριπίδην αὐτῷ συνακολουθήσαι. (7) διέγνω δὲ καὶ τοῖς Μάγοις συμμίξει· ἀλλ' ἀπέστη διὰ τοὺς τῆς Ἀσίας τότε πολέμους, ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ διέτριβε. τὸ δ' ἐστὶ γυμνάσιον προάστειον ἀλσῶδες ἀπὸ τινος 40 ἤρωος Ἀκαδήμου ὀνομασμένον. (8) Ἐκαδημία δὲ πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο. φίλος δ' ἦν Ἰσοκράτει. τρεῖς δὲ ἐστράτευται, ἅπαξ μὲν εἰς Τάναγραν, δεύτερον δὲ εἰς Κόρινθον, τρίτον ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ· ἔνθα καὶ ἠρίστευσεν. μίξιν τε ἐποίησατο Ἡρακλειτεῖων τε λόγων καὶ Πυθαγορικῶν καὶ Σωκρατικῶν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθητὰ καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, τὰ δὲ νοητὰ κατὰ Πυθαγό- 45 ραν, τὰ δὲ ἠθικὰ κατὰ Σωκράτην ἐφιλοσόφει καὶ πολιτικά.

(9) καὶ παρ' Ἐπιχάρμου τοῦ κωμωδοποιῦ προσωφέλῃται μεταγράψας. καὶ φαίνεται πολλὰ τῶν Ἐπιχάρμου λέγων ὅτι γὰρ αἰσθητὸν μὲν

li. 30. Vid. Homère, *Iliade* XVIII 392.

li. 45. ἠθικὰ est un ajout, non nécessaire, de la VS. Dans le passage correspondant de Diogène Laërce, on lit τὰ δὲ πολιτικά κατὰ Σωκράτην ἐφιλοσόφει.

li. 46-55. Scholarios résume, de manière très synthétique et avec quelques incohérences et bévues, le long extrait d'Alcimos cité par Diogène Laërce (§§ 9-17) y compris les vers du pseudo-Épicharme. Dans la phrase (li. 52-53) καὶ ὅτι τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἰδέαι εἰσὶ καὶ παραδείγματα ἅς καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῆς μνήμῃ μένειν, ἅς se réfère *ad sensum* à ἰδέαι, tandis que ἐν τῇ ψυχῆς μνήμῃ renvoie, à ce qu'il semble, aux li. 52-53.

ἔστι τὸ μηδέποτε ἐν τῷ ποσῷ ἢ ποιῷ διαμένον ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ῥέον (10) καὶ οὐ  
 γένεσις μὲν αἰεὶ, οὐσία δὲ οὐδέποτε πέφυκε. νοητὸν δὲ ἐξ οὗ μήτε  
 50 ἀπογίνεται μηδὲ μήτε προσγίνεται· τοῦτο δ' εἶναι τὴν τῶν αἰδίων φύσιν.  
 (12) καὶ ὅτι ψυχὴ τὰ μὲν διὰ τοῦ σώματος αἰσθάνεται τὰ δ' αὐτὴ καθ'  
 αὐτὴν ἐνθυμεῖται μηδὲν τῷ σώματι χρωμένη. (13) καὶ ὅτι τῶν αἰσθη-  
 τῶν ἰδέαι εἰσὶ καὶ παραδείγματα (15) ἃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μνήμη μένειν.  
 (17) καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξ Ἐπιχάρμου τῶν βιβλίων εἴληφε Πλάτων.  
 55 πάρεργον δὲ θεῖναι τὰ ἔπη Ἐπιχάρμου.

(18) πρῶτος δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας διεκόμεσε τὰ Σώφρονος τοῦ μιμογράφου  
 βιβλία ἡμελημένα πρὸ αὐτοῦ. τρις δὲ πέπλευκεν εἰς Σικελίαν· πρῶτον  
 μὲν κατὰ θεάν τῆς νήσου καὶ τῶν κρατήρων, ὅτε καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἑρμο-  
 κράτους τύραννος ὦν ἠνάγκασεν ὥστε συμμῖξαι αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ διαλεγό-  
 60 μενος περὶ τυραννίδος καὶ φάσκων ὡς οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο κρεῖττον ὃ  
 συμφέρον αὐτῷ μόνον εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀρετῇ διαφέρει, προσέκρουσεν αὐτῷ.  
 ὀργισθεὶς γὰρ εἶπεν 'οἱ λόγοι σου γεροντιῶσι,' καὶ ὅς 'σοῦ δέ γε τυραν-  
 νιῶσιν.' (19) ἐντεῦθεν ἀγανακτήσας ὁ τύραννος πρῶτον μὲν ἀνελεῖν  
 ὥρμησεν αὐτόν· εἶτα παρακληθεὶς ὑπὸ Δίωνος καὶ Ἀριστομένους  
 65 παρέδωκε Πόλιδι τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ κατὰ καιρὸν διὰ πρεσβείαν  
 ἀφιγμένῳ ὥστε ἀποδόσθαι. κάκεινος ἀγαγὼν εἰς Αἴγιναν ἐπίπρασεν·  
 ὅτε καὶ Χάρμανδρος Χαρμανδρίδου ἐγράψατο αὐτόν δίκην θανάτου  
 κατὰ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς τεθέντα νόμον, τὸν ἐπιβάντα Ἀθηναίων τῇ νήσῳ  
 ἄκριτον ἀποθνήσκειν. ἦν δ' αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς τὸν νόμον. εἰπόντος δὲ τινος,  
 70 ἀλλὰ κατὰ παιδιάν, φιλόσοφον εἶναι τὸν ἐπιβάντα, ἀπέλυσαν. ἔνιοι δὲ  
 φασὶ παραχθῆναι αὐτόν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τηρούμενον μηδ' ὀτιοῦν  
 φθέγγασθαι, ἐτοίμως δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὸ συμβαῖνον· οἱ δὲ ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν  
 αὐτόν οὐ διεγνώσαν, πωλεῖν δὲ ἔκριναν τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων.

61 σύμφεροι ba

li. 59-63. Il s'agit d'un passage corrompu à coup sûr dans toute la tradition des *Vies* de Diogène Laërce (y compris la VS). Dans mon édition, en tenant compte aussi d'une suggestion de R. Kassel, j'ai établi le texte suivant : ὁ δὲ διαλεγόμενος περὶ τυραννίδος καὶ φάσκων ὡς οὐκ ἔστι τὸ τοῦ κρεῖττονος συμφέρον αὐτῷ μόνον <συμφέρον> εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀρετῇ διαφέρει, προσέκρουσεν αὐτῷ. ὀργισθεὶς γὰρ 'οἱ λόγοι σου,' φησί, 'γεροντιῶσι,' καὶ ὅς 'σοῦ δέ γε τυραννιῶσιν'.

li. 65. Πόλιδι] lege Πόλλιδι. Voir aussi li. 79.

li. 72. ἐκδέξασθαι n'a pas de sens ; je l'ai donc corrigé en ἐκδέξασθαι comme tous les manuscrits de Diogène Laërce.

(20) λυτροῦται δὴ αὐτὸν κατὰ τύχην παρῶν Ἀννίκερις ὁ Κυρηναῖος  
 75 εἴκοσι μνῶν (οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα) καὶ ἀναπέμπει Ἀθήναζε πρὸς τοὺς  
 εταίρους. οἱ δ' εὐθύς ἀργύριον ἐξέπεμψαν· ὅπερ οὐ προσήκατο εἰπῶν  
 μὴ μόνους ἐκείνους ἀξίους εἶναι Πλάτωνος κήδεσθαι. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Δίωνα  
 ἀποστεῖλαι φασὶ τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸν προσέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κηπίδιον  
 αὐτῷ τὸ ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ πρίασθαι. τὸν μέντοι Πόλιν λόγος ὑπὸ τε Χαυρίου  
 80 ἠττηθῆναι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν Ἐλίκῃ καταποντωθῆναι τοῦ δαιμονίου  
 μηνίσαντος διὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον. (21) Διονύσιος δὲ οὐχ ἡσύχαζεν· μαθὼν  
 δὲ ἐπέστειλε Πλάτωνι μὴ κακῶς ἀγορεύειν αὐτόν. καὶ ὅς ἀντεπέστειλε  
 μὴ τοσαύτην αὐτῷ σχολὴν εἶναι, ὥστε Διονυσίου μεμνησθαι.

δεύτερον πρὸς νεώτερον ἦκε Διονύσιον αἰτῶν γῆν καὶ ἀνθρώπους  
 85 τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ ζησομένους· ὁ δὲ καίπερ ὑποσχόμενος  
 οὐκ ἐποίησεν. ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι αὐτόν ὡς ἀναπειθόντα  
 Δίωνα καὶ Θεώταν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς νήσου ἐλευθερίᾳ· ὅτε καὶ Ἀρχύτας αὐτόν ὁ  
 Πυθαγορικὸς γράψας ἐπιστολὴν Διονυσίῳ παρητήσατο καὶ διέσωσεν εἰς  
 Ἀθήνας. ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡδε·

90 Ἀρχύτας Διονυσίῳ ὑγιαίνειν. (22) ἀπεστάλκαμεν πάντες οἱ Πλάτωνος  
 φίλοι τὼς περὶ Λαμίσκόν τε καὶ Φωτίδαν ἀπολαμψοίμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα  
 κατὰ τὰν παρὰ τὴν γενομένην ὁμολογίαν. ὀρθῶς δὲ καὶ ποιεῖς ἀναμι-  
 νασκόμενος τήνας τὰς σπουδᾶς, ἠνίκα πάντας ἄμμε παρεκάλεῖς ποτὶ  
 τὰν Πλάτωνος ἄφιξιν ἀξίων προτρέπεσθαι τε αὐτόν καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι τὰ  
 95 τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν μένοντί τε καὶ ἀφορμῶντι. μέμνασο  
 δὲ καὶ τῆνο ὅτι περὶ πολλῶν ἐποίησω τὰν ἄφιξιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγάπης ἐκ  
 τήνω τῷ χρόνῳ ὡς οὐδένα τῶν παρ' ἐμὲ. αἱ δὲ τις γέγονε τραχύτας,  
 ἀνθρωπίζειν χρὴ κάποδιδόμεν ἄμμιν ἀβλαβῆ τὸν ἄνδρα. ταῦτα γὰρ  
 ποιῶν δίκαια πράξεις καὶ ἄμμιν χαριῆ'.

75 εἴκοι μνῶν om. ba

li. 78. L'omission de μή devant προσέσθαι (commune au groupe π) est peut-être intentionnelle. Dans ce cas, on peut traduire ce texte : « Certains racontent que Dion aussi envoya l'argent et qu'Annicius le garda, mais il acheta pour Platon un petit jardin qui se trouve dans l'Académie ».

li. 79. Χαυρίου] lege Χαβρίου. Voir aussi li. 105 et 107.

l. 87. Θεώταν (θεῶταν PF : θεῶταν B) est à corriger en Θεοδόταν avec Cobet.

li. 90-99. Je n'ai pas touché au texte transmis. Il s'agit d'un passage évidemment corrompu dans toute la tradition de Diogène Laërce. Vid. H. Thesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period*, dans *Acta Academiae Aboensis. Humaniora*, 30.1 (1965), p. 45. À la li. 99, Scholarios précède l'editio Frobeniana dans la correction χαριῆ'.

100 (23) τρίτον ἦλθε διαλλάξων Δίωνα Διονυσίω· καὶ οὐ τυχῶν ἄπρακτος ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. ἔνθα ἦψατο μὲν οὐδαμῶς πολιτείας, καίτοι πολιτικός ὢν ἐξ ὧν γέγραφε διὰ τὸ ἄλλοις ἐνειθίοθαι τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἔοικεν. φαοὶ δὲ ὡς Ἀρκάδες καὶ Θηβαῖοι Μεγάλην πόλιν οἰκίζοντες προσεκάλουν αὐτὸν νομοθέτην· ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἴσον ἔχειν οὐ θέλοντας οὐκ ἐπορεύθη. λόγος ὅτι καὶ Χαυρία συνείπετο τῷ στρατηγῷ φεύγοντι θανάτου μηδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦτο πράξαι βουλευθέντος. (24) ὅτε καὶ ἀνιόντι αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν σὺν τῷ Χαυρία Κρώκυλος ὁ συκοφάντης ἀπαντήσας φησὶν· 'ἄλλω συναγορεύων ἦκεις, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι καὶ σὲ τὸ Σωκράτους κώνειον ἀναμένει,' τὸν δὲ φάναι· 'καὶ ὅτε ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐστρατευόμην, ὑπέμενον τοὺς κινδύνους, καὶ νῦν ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθήκοντος διὰ φίλον ὑπομενῶ.'

οὗτος πρῶτος ἐν ἐρωτήσῃ λόγον παρήνεγκεν. καὶ πρῶτος τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀνάλυσιν τῆς ζητήσεως τρόπον εἰσηγήσατο Λεωδάμαντι τῷ Θασίω. καὶ πρῶτος ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἀντίποδα ὠνόμασε καὶ στοιχεῖον καὶ 115 διαλεκτικὴν καὶ ποιήματα καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τὸν προμήκη καὶ τῶν περάτων τὸ ἐπίπεδον ἐπιφάνειαν θεοῦ καὶ πρόοδον καὶ πρόνοιαν.

(25) καὶ πρῶτος τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀντεῖπε πρὸς λόγον τὸν Λυσίου τοῦ Κεφάλου ἐκθέμενος κατὰ λέξιν ἐν τῷ Φαίδρω. καὶ πρῶτος ἐθεώρησε τῆς γραμματικῆς τὴν δύναμιν. πρῶτός τε ἀντειρηκῶς σχεδὸν ἅπασιν τοῖς πρὸ 120 αὐτοῦ, ζητεῖται διὰ τί μὴ ἐμνημόνευσε Δημοκρίτου. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅτι Μιθριδάτης ὁ Πέρσης ἀνδριάντα Πλάτωνος ἀνέθετο εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν καὶ ἐπέγραψε· 'Μιθριδάτης ὁ Ῥοδοβάτου Πέρσης Μούσαις εἰκόνα ἀνέθηκε Πλάτωνος, ἦν Σιλανίων ἐποίησε.'

(26) νέος δ' ὢν οὕτως ἦν αἰδήμων καὶ κόσμιος ὥστε μηδέποτε 125 ὀφθῆναι γελῶν ὑπεράγαν. τοιοῦτος δ' ὢν ὄμως ἐοκώθη καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν κομικῶν.

(34) ἔοικε δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχειν οὐκ εὐμενῶς, ὥσπερ οὖν διαφιλονικοῦντες τὰ ὅμοια γεγράφασι, Συμπόσιον, Σωκράτους ἀπολογία, τὰ ἠθικὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα (εἰθ' ὁ μὲν Πολιτείαν, ὁ δὲ

li. 107. Κρώκυλος] *lege* Κρωβύλος.

li. 115. La VS partage avec toute la tradition de Diogène Laërce le faux ποιήματα, à corriger (avec Ménage) en ποιότητα.

li. 114-116. Encore une fois, ce passage devient clair si l'on revient au texte de Diogène Laërce : καὶ πρῶτος ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἀντίποδα ὠνόμασε καὶ στοιχεῖον καὶ διαλεκτικὴν καὶ ποιότητα καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τὸν προμήκη καὶ τῶν περάτων τὴν ἐπίπεδον ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν.

li. 117-118. *Vid.* Platon, *Phaedrus* 230 c-234 c.

130 Κύρου παιδεῖαν. καὶ ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις ὁ Πλάτων πλάσμα λέγει τὴν παιδεῖαν αὐτοῦ· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι Κύρον τοιοῦτον) ἀμφότεροί τε Σωκράτους μνημονεύοντες, ἀλλήλων οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν Ξενοφῶν Πλάτωνος ἅπαξ ἐν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων τρίτῳ. (35) λέγεται δ' ὅτι καὶ Ἀντισθένης μέλλων ἀναγινώσκειν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων αὐτῷ παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν 135 παρατυχεῖν. καὶ πυθομένῳ τί μέλλει ἀναγινώσκειν, εἶπεν ὅτι περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ἀντιλέγειν· τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος· 'πῶς οὖν οὐ περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου γράφεις;' καὶ διδάσκοντος ὅτι περιτρέπεται, ἔγραψε διάλογον κατὰ Πλάτωνος Σάθωνα ἐπιγράψας· ἐξ οὗ διετέλουν ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους. φαοὶ δὲ καὶ Σωκράτην ἀκούσαντα τὸν Λύσιον ἀναγι- 140 νώσκοντος Πλάτωνος, 'Ἡράκλεις,' εἶπεν, 'ὡς πολλά μου καταψεύδεθ' ὁ νεανίσκος.' οὐκ ὀλίγα γὰρ ὢν οὐκ εἶρηκε Σωκράτης γέγραφεν ἀνήρ.

(36) εἶχε δὲ φιλέθρως καὶ πρὸς Ἀρίστιππον καὶ πρὸς Αἰσχίνην δέ τινα φιλοτιμίαν εἶχεν.

(37) ἑαυτοῦ τε Πλάτων οὐδαμῶθι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συγγραμμάτων μνήμην 145 πεποιήται ὅτι μὴ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ τῇ Ἀπολογίᾳ. φηοὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης τὴν τῶν λόγων ιδέαν αὐτοῦ μεταξὺ ποιήματος εἶναι καὶ πεζοῦ λόγου. τοῦτον μόνον παραμεῖναι Πλάτωνι Φαβωρίνος πού φησιν ἀναγινώσκοντι τὸν Περὶ ψυχῆς, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀναοτῆναι πάντας. (38) λόγος δὲ πρῶτον γράψαι αὐτὸν τὸν Φαῖδρον· καὶ γὰρ ἔχειν τι 150 μειρακιῶδες τὸ πρόβλημα. Δικαίαρχος δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς γραφῆς ὅλον ἐπιμέμφεται ὡς φορτικόν.

ὁ γοῦν Πλάτων λέγεται θεασάμενός τινα κυβεύοντα αἰτιάσασθαι· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὡς ἐπὶ μικροῖς, 'ἀλλὰ τό γε ἔθος,' εἶπεν, 'οὐ μικρόν.' ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ ἀπομνημονεύματα αὐτοῦ ἔσται ὥσπερ τῶν προτέρων 155 ἀπεκρίνατο· 'ὀνόματος δεῖ τυχεῖν πρῶτον, εἶτα πολλά ἔσται.' εἰσελθόντος ποτὲ Ξενοκράτους εἶπε μαστιγῶσαι τὸν παῖδα· αὐτὸν γὰρ μὴ δύνασθαι διὰ τὸ ὠργίοθαι. (39) ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τινα τῶν παίδων, 'μεμαστιγῶσο ἄν,' εἶπεν, 'εἰ μὴ ὠργιζόμεν.' ἐφ' ἵππου καθίσας εὐθέως κατέβη φήσας εὐλαβεῖσθαι μὴ ἵπποτυφίᾳ ληφθῆ. τοῖς μεθούσοι 160 συνεβούλευε κατοπτρίζεσθαι· ἀποοτήεσθαι γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης

154 ὥσπερ τῶν προτέρων om. **ba**

156 μαστίγωσαι (*sic*) **p** : μαστίγωσον **ba**

li. 130. *Vid.* Platon, *Leges* III 694 c.

li. 132-133. *Vid.* Xénophon, *Memorabilia* III 6, 1.

li. 144-145. *Vid.* Platon, *Phaedo* 59 b et *Apologia* 34 a, 38 b.

ἀσημοσύνης. πίνειν δ' εἰς μέθην οὐδαμοῦ πρέπον ἔλεγε πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς τοῦ καὶ τὸν οἶνον δόντος θεοῦ. καὶ τὸ πολλὰ δὲ καθεύδειν ἀπήρεσκεν αὐτῷ. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς Νόμοις φησί· 'κοιμώμενος δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς ἄξιος.' εἶναι τε ἡδίων τῶν ἀκουσμάτων τὴν ἀλήθειαν· οἱ δὲ  
165 τάληθ' ἔλεγειν.

(40) ἔτελευτα δὲ Φιλίππου βασιλεύοντος ἔτος τρισκαίδέκατον καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημία ἐτάφη οὐ καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον ἐφιλοσόφει. (41) ὅθεν καὶ ἡ αἵρεσις Ἀκαδημαϊκή. καὶ παρεπέμφθη πρὸς τῶν αὐτόθι. διαθήκη δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐ γράφομεν συντομίας εἶνεκεν.

170 (46) ὀνόματα τε μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ πλὴν ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης Σταγειρίτης, καὶ Δίων Συρρακούσιος, Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός καὶ γυναῖκες Λασθένεια Μαντινική καὶ Ἀξιοθέα Φλιασία, ἡ καὶ ἀνδρεῖα ἡμίσχετο. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστον ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ φασί· καὶ Ὑπερίδην τὸν ῥήτορα οἱ δὲ καὶ Λυκοῦργον. Πολέμων δ' ἴστορεῖ καὶ Δημοσθένην.

175 (48) διαλόγους δὲ ἄλλοι μὲν λέγουσιν πρῶτον γράψαι Ζήνωννα τὸν Ἐλεάτην· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ ποιητῶν Ἀλεξαμένον Στυρέα ἢ Τήιον. τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ Πλάτων ἀκριβῶσας τὸ εἶδος τοῦ διαλόγου καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα ὡσπερ τοῦ καλοῦ οὕτω καὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως ἀποφέρειτ' ἄν. καὶ ἔστι δὲ διάλογος ἐξ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως συγκεῖμενος περὶ τινος  
180 τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ πολιτικῶν μετὰ τῆς πρεπούσης ἠθοποιίας τῶν παραλαμβανομένων προσώπων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν λέξιν κατασκευῆς. διαλεκτικὴ δ' ἐστὶ τέχνη λόγων, δι' ἧς ἀνασκευάζομεν τι ἢ κατασκευάζομεν ἐξ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως τῶν προσδιαλεγόμενων.

(49) τοῦ δὲ Πλατωνικοῦ λόγου δὴ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀνωτάτω χαρακτήρες, ὅ τε  
185 ὑψηγητικός καὶ ὁ ζητητικός. διαιρεῖται δὲ ὁ ὑψηγητικός εἰς ἄλλους δύο χαρακτήρας, θεωρηματικόν τε καὶ πρακτικόν. καὶ θεωρηματικὸς μὲν εἰς

161 πρέπειν βα

li. 163-164. Vid. Platon, *Leges* VII 808 b.

li. 170-174. Le texte résume de manière synthétique et en prenant plusieurs libertés la liste des disciples de Platon. Aux li. 173-174, Scholarios s'est complètement mépris, comme le montre le parallèle de la narration de Diogène Laërce : καὶ Ὑπερίδην τὸν ῥήτορα Χαμαιλέων φησί καὶ Λυκοῦργον. ὁμοίως Πολέμων ἴστορεῖ. καὶ Δημοσθένην.

li. 179. Après διάλογος, il faut réintégrer (à partir du témoignage de la *Souda*) λόγος, tombé accidentellement dans tous les manuscrits de Diogène Laërce.

li. 180. φιλοσόφων de la VS (et du groupe π) est à corriger en φιλοσοφουμένων (BP<sup>1</sup>, F). Vid. E. Martini, *Analecta Laertiana. Pars prima*, dans *Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie*, 19 (1899), pp. 159-160.

τὸν φυσικόν καὶ λογικόν, ὁ δὲ πρακτικὸς εἰς τὸν ἠθικόν καὶ πολιτικόν. καὶ ὁ ζητητικὸς αὖ εἰς γυμναστικόν καὶ ἀγωνιστικόν. καὶ γυμναστικὸς μὲν εἰς μαιευτικόν καὶ εἰς πειραστικόν, ἀγωνιστικὸς δὲ εἰς ἐνδεικτικόν  
190 καὶ ἀνατρεπτικόν.

(50) καὶ εἰσὶ φυσικοῦ μὲν ὁ Τίμαιος· λογικοῦ δὲ ὁ τε Πολιτικὸς καὶ ὁ Κρατύλος καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Σοφιστής· τοῦ δ' ἠθικοῦ ἢ τε Ἀπολογία καὶ Κρίτων καὶ Φαίδων καὶ Φαῖδρος καὶ Συμπόσιον Μενέξενος τε καὶ αἱ Ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ Κλειτοφῶν καὶ Φίληβος, Ἴππαρχος, Ἀντερασταί· τοῦ δὲ  
195 πολιτικοῦ ἢ τε Πολιτεία καὶ οἱ Νόμοι καὶ ὁ Μίνως καὶ Ἐπινομίς καὶ ὁ Ἀτλαντικός· (51) τοῦ δὲ μαιευτικοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδα, Θεάγης, Λύσις, Λάχης· τοῦ δὲ πειραστικοῦ Εὐθύφρων, Μένων, Ἴων, Χαρμίδης, Θεαίτητος· τοῦ δὲ ἐνδεικτικοῦ ὁ Πρωταγόρας· καὶ τοῦ ἀνατρεπτικοῦ Εὐθύδημος, Ἴππία δύο, Γοργίας.

200 (52) καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν αὐτῷ δοκούντων ἀποφαίνεται Πλάτων διὰ τεττάρων προσώπων, Σωκράτους, Τιμαίου, τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ξένου, τοῦ Ἐλεάτου ξένου· οἱ ξένοι δὲ πλάσματά εἰσιν ἀνώνυμα· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ψευδῆ δοξάζοντας ἐλέγχει ἢ διελεγομένους εἰσάγει.

(53) πλείστῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι ἀποδεικνύς τῷ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς τρόπῳ τῷ τε  
205 κατ' ἐναντίωσιν λεγομένῳ καὶ τῷ ἐξ ἀκολουθίας.

(56) ἦν δὲ φασὶν ὁ τῆς φιλοσοφίας λόγος πρῶτον μὲν φυσικός, δεύτερον δὲ Σωκράτης προσέθηκε τὸν ἠθικόν, τρίτον δὲ Πλάτων τὸν διαλεκτικόν καὶ ἐτελεσιούργησε τὴν φιλοσοφίαν.

(63) ὀνόμασι δὲ κέχρηται Πλάτων ποικίλοις ὥστε μὴ εὐσύνοπτον  
210 εἶναι τοῖς ἀμαθέσι τὴν πραγματείαν· ἰδιαίτατα μὲν σοφίαν ἠγεῖται εἶναι τὴν τῶν ὄντων καὶ ὄντως ὄντων ἐπιστήμην, ἣν φησι περὶ θεὸν καὶ ψυχὴν σώματος κειωρισμένην. ἰδίᾳ δὲ σοφίαν καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καλεῖ, ὄρεξιν οὖσαν τῆς θείας σοφίας. κοινῶς δὲ λέγεται παρ' αὐτῷ σοφία καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἐμπειρία, οἷον ὅταν σοφὸν λέγη τὸν δημιουργόν.

215 χρῆται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ διαφερόντως σημαινομένων τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν. ὡς φαῦλον ἔστι μὲν ὅτε τὸν ἀπλοῦν λέγει. (64) ἔστι δὲ ὅτε τὸν καλόν. ἐνίοτε δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ μικροῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφέρουσιν ὀνόμασιν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρῆται. τὴν γοῦν ἰδέαν καὶ εἶδος καὶ γένος ὀνομάζει καὶ παράδειγμα καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ αἴτιον. χρῆται δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐναντίαις φωναῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὡς

li. 211. ὄντων est incontestablement erroné par rapport à νοητῶν (voir le ὄντων qui suit).

li. 216. La VS partage avec tous les manuscrits de Diogène Laërce le faux καλόν. Il faut le corriger en κακόν (à partir de la conjecture de Casaubon).

li. 219-220. ὡς τὴν καὶ αἴσθησιν καὶ ὄν καὶ μὴ ὄν λέγει ἡ μάλλον est un ajout dont on ne trouve pas de traces ailleurs, et qui donne l'impression d'une glose



220 τὴν καὶ αἰσθησὶν καὶ ὄν καὶ μὴ ὄν λέγει ἢ μᾶλλον τὸ αἰσθητὸν ὄν τε καὶ μὴ ὄν, ὄν μὲν διὰ τὸ γένεσιν αὐτοῦ εἶναι, μὴ ὄν δὲ διὰ τὴν συνεχῆ μεταβολήν. καὶ τὴν ιδέαν οὔτε κινούμενον οὔτε μένον· καὶ ταῦτο ἔν καὶ πολλά.

(67) τὰ δὲ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῷ ταῦτα. ἀθάνατον ἔλεγε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ 225 πολλὰ σώματα μεταμφιεννυμένην, ἀρχὴν τε ἔχειν ἀριθμητικὴν, τὸ δὲ σῶμα γεωμετρικὴν· ὠρίζετο δὲ αὐτὴν ιδέαν τοῦ πάντη διεστῶτος πνεύματος, αὐτοκίνητον δὲ εἶναι καὶ τριμερῆ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς λογιωτικὸν μέρος περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καθιδρῦσθαι, τὸ δὲ θυμοειδὲς περὶ τῆ καρδία, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικὸν περὶ τὸν ὄμφαλὸν καὶ τὸ ἦπαρ συνί- 230 στασθαι.

(68) περιέχειν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου διὰ παντὸς κύκλῳ τὸ ὄμα καὶ συνε- 235 οτάναται ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων. διαιρεθεῖσάν τε κατὰ ἀρμονικὰ διαστήματα δύο κύκλους ποιεῖν συνημμένους, ὧν τὸν ἐντὸς κύκλον ἐξαχῆ τμηθέντα τοὺς ἅπαντας ἑπτὰ κύκλους ποιεῖν, καὶ τοῦτον μὲν κατὰ διάμετρον 235 κείσθαι ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ ἔσωθεν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά. διὸ καὶ κρατεῖν αὐτὸν ἕνα ὄντα· τὸν γὰρ ἕτερον ἔσωθεν διηρηθῆσθαι. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι ταύτου, τοὺς δὲ θατέρου, λέγων τὴν μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς κινήσιν εἶναι τὴν δὲ τοῦ ὄλου καὶ τὰς τῶν πλανωμένων φοράς.

(69) οὕτω δ' ἐχούσης τῆς ἐκ μέσου τομῆς αὐτῆ προσαρμοζομένης 240 πρὸς τὰ ἔσχατα γινώσκειν τε τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἐναρμόζειν διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ στοιχεῖα κατὰ ἀρμονίαν. καὶ γίνεσθαι δόξαν μὲν κατὰ τὸν θατέρου κύκλον, ἐπιότημην δὲ κατὰ τὸν ταύτου. δύο δὲ τῶν πάντων ἀπέφηνεν ἀρχάς, θεὸν καὶ ὕλην ἀσχημάτιστον καὶ ἀπειρον, ἐξ ἧς γίνεσθαι τὰ συγκρίματα. ἀτάκτως δὲ ποτε αὐτὴν κινουμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φησὶν εἰς 245 ἕνα συναχθῆναι τόπον, τάξιν ἀταξίας κρείττονα ἡγησάμενου. (70) τραπέσθαι δὲ τὴν οὐσίαν ταύτην εἰς τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, γῆν· ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸν τε τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ γεννάσθαι. μόνην δὲ τὴν γῆν ἀμετάβολον εἶναι φησὶ, νομίζων αἰτίαν τὴν τῶν οχημάτων

245 ταχθῆναι ba

maladroite à ce qui suit τὸ αἰσθητὸν ὄν τε καὶ μὴ ὄν, ὄν μὲν διὰ τὸ γένεσιν αὐτοῦ εἶναι, μὴ ὄν δὲ διὰ τὴν συνεχῆ μεταβολήν.

li. 243. La VS omet (avec le groupe π) les mots ὄν καὶ νοῦν προσαγορεύει καὶ αἴτιον. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ὕλην ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης. Il pourrait s'agir d'un saut du même au même, mais on ne peut pas exclure une omission volontaire de cette phrase qui pose effectivement beaucoup de problèmes. Vid. T. Dorandi, *Notes critiques et exégétiques aux livres III à V des Vies des philosophes de Diogène Laërce*, dans *Eikasmos*, 19 (2008), pp. 246-247.

250 διαφορὰν ἐξ ὧν σύγκειται. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ὁμογενῆ φησὶν εἶναι τὰ σχήματα (ἅπαντα γὰρ ἐξ ἐνὸς συγκεῖσθαι τοῦ προμήκουσ τριγώνου), τῆς δὲ γῆς ἴδιον εἶναι τὸ οχημα· πυρὸς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι στοιχεῖον πυραμίδα, ἀέρος τὸ ὀκτάεδρον, ὕδατος τὸ εἰκοσάεδρον, γῆς δὲ κύβον. ὅθεν μήτε γῆν εἰς ταῦτα μεταβάλλειν, μήτε ταῦτα εἰς γῆν.

(71) οὐ διακεκρίσθαι δ' εἰς τοὺς οἰκειοὺς τόπους ἕκαστον, ὅτι ἡ 255 περιφορὰ σφίγγουσα καὶ πρὸς τὸν μέσον συνάγουσα συγκρίνει τὰ μικρά, τὰ δὲ διακρίνει τὰ μεγάλα. διόπερ τὰ εἶδη μεταβάλλοντα καὶ τοὺς τόπους μεταβάλλειν. κόσμον τε εἶναι ἕνα γενητόν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἰσθητός ἐστὶν ὑπὸ θεοῦ κατεσκευασμένος· ἐμψυχόν τε εἶναι διὰ τὸ κρείττον εἶναι τοῦ ἀψύχου τὸ ἐμψυχον, τοῦτο δὲ δημιούργημα ὑποκεῖσθαι τοῦ βελτίστου 260 αἰτίου. ἕνα τε αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀπειρον κατεσκευάσθαι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ὑπόδειγμα ἐν ἧν ἀφ' οὗ αὐτὸν ἐδημιούργησε· (72) οφαιροειδῆ δὲ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν γενήσαντα τοιοῦτον ἔχειν οχημα. ἐκείνον μὲν γὰρ περιέχειν τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα, τοῦτον δὲ τὰ σχήματα πάντων. λεῖον δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν ὄργανον 265 ἄφθαρτον διαμένειν τὸν κόσμον διὰ τὸ μὴ διαλύεσθαι εἰς τὸν θεόν. καὶ τῆς μὲν ὄλης γενέσεως αἴτιον εἶναι τὸν θεόν, ὅτι πέφυκεν ἀγαθοποιὸν εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθόν. τοῦ δὲ οὐρανοῦ τῆς γενέσεως αἴτιον· τοῦ γὰρ καλλίστου τῶν γενητῶν τὸ ἄριστον εἶναι τῶν νοητῶν αἴτιον. ὥστε ἐπεὶ τοιοῦτος ὁ θεός, ὁμοιος δὲ τῷ ἀρίστῳ ὁ οὐρανὸς κάλλιστός γε ὧν, οὐδενὶ ἂν ὁμοιος 270 εἶη τῶν γενητῶν ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ θεῷ.

(73) συνεστάναι δὲ τὸν κόσμον ἐκ πυρός, ὕδατος, ἀέρος, γῆς, ἐκ πυρός μὲν, ὅπως ὄρατος ἦ· ἐκ γῆς δὲ, ὅπως στερεός· ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ καὶ ἀέρος, ὅπως ἀνάλογος (αἱ γὰρ τῶν στερεῶν δυνάμεις δύο μεοότητες ἀναλογουοῖν ὡς ἐν γενέσθαι τὸ πᾶν), ἐξ ἀπάντων δὲ, ἵνα τέλειος καὶ 275 ἀφθαρτος ἦ.

χρόνον τε γενέσθαι εἰκόνα τοῦ αἰδίου. κάκεινον μὲν αἰεὶ μένειν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φορὰν χρόνον εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα χρόνου μέρη εἶναι. διόπερ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ χρόνου φύσεως οὐκ εἶναι χρόνον· ἅμα γὰρ ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ καὶ χρόνον εἶναι.

251 στοιχεῖον p : σχήμα ba

259 δημιούργημα om. ba

li. 257. *Lege* γεννητόν. Vid. li. 262, 268, 270.

li. 266. αἴτιον est indubitablement corrompu dans toute la tradition de Diogène Laërce.



- 280 (74) πρὸς δὲ χρόνου γένεσιν ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ πλανώμενα γενέσθαι. ὅπως δὲ διάδηλος τῶν ὠρῶν ἢ ἀριθμὸς καὶ μετάσχοι τὰ ζῶα ἀριθμοῦ, τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς ἀνάσαι τὸν θεόν. εἶναι δὲ ὑπὲρ μὲν τὸν τῆς γῆς κύκλον σελήνην, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἥλιον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπάνω τοὺς πλανήτας. ἔμψυχον δὲ πάντως διὰ τὸ ἐμψύχῳ φορᾶ δεδέσθαι. ἵνα δὲ ὁ
- 285 κόσμος τελειωθῆ γενόμενος ὁμοῖος τῷ νοητῷ ζῶῳ, τὴν τῶν ἄλλων γενέσθαι φύσιν. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκεῖνος εἶχε, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν δεῖν ἔχειν. θεοὺς μὲν οὖν ἔχειν τὸ πολὺ πυρίνους· εἶναι δὲ τρία γένη τᾶλλα, πτηνόν, ἔνυδρον, πεζόν. (75) γῆν δὲ πρεσβυτάτην μὲν εἶναι τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ θεῶν· γενέσθαι δὲ δημιουργήματα ὡς νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ποιεῖν· οὕσαν δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ
- 290 μέσου κινεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον. ἐπεὶ δ' αἰτίαι εἰσὶ δύο, τὰ μὲν \*\*\* εἶναι, τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀναγκαίας αἰτίας, φησί, λεκτέον. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἀήρ, πῦρ, γῆ, ὕδωρ καὶ οὐκ ὄντα μὲν στοιχεῖα κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν, ἀλλὰ δεκτικά. ταῦτα δ' ἐκ τῶν τριγώνων εἶναι συντιθεμένων καὶ διαλύεσθαι εἰς ταῦτα· στοιχεῖα δ' αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ τε πρόμηκες τρίγωνον καὶ τὸ ἰσοσκελές.
- 295 (76) ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν εἶναι καὶ αἴτια τὰ λεχθέντα δύο, ὧν παράδειγμα τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν ὕλην· ὅπερ ἀνάγκη ἄμορφον εἶναι, ὡσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεκτικῶν. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶναι· δεχόμενον γὰρ πως τὰς ιδέας τὰς οὐσίας γεννᾶν, καὶ δι' ἀνομοιότητα δυνάμειως
- 300 κινεῖσθαι καὶ κινούμενον τὰ κινούμενα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀντικινεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ πρὶν μὲν ἀλόγως κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἀτάκτως, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο συνιστάναι τὸν κόσμον, ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμέτρως καὶ τεταγμένως γενέσθαι. (77) τὰς μὲν γὰρ αἰτίας καὶ πρὸ τῆς οὐρανοποιΐας δύο εἶναι καὶ τρίτην γένεσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ σαφεῖς, ἵχνη δὲ μόνον καὶ ἀτάκτους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ
- 305 κόσμος ἐγένετο, λαβεῖν καὶ ταύτας τάξιν. ἐξ ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σωμάτων γενέσθαι τὸν οὐρανόν. δοκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ὡς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσώματον εἶναι· οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα φθορᾶς καὶ πάθους ἀνεπίδεκτον ὑπάρχειν. τὰς δὲ ιδέας ὑφίσταται, καθὰ καὶ προεῖρηται, αἰτίας τινὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς τοῦ τοιαῦτ' εἶναι τὰ φύσει συνεστῶτα, οἷα περ
- 310 ἐστὶν αὐτά.

285 ὁμοῖος p<sup>ac</sup> (ut vid.), ba<sup>ac</sup> : ὁμοίως p<sup>ac</sup>, ba<sup>ac</sup>

290 περὶ p : δ' ἐπὶ ba

li. 290. La petite lacune correspond vraisemblablement au texte de tous les manuscrits (διαμονήν BPF: διὰ μονήν Φ). Dans mon édition j'ai accueilli la correction διὰ νοῦ des Basileenses (concl. Platon, *Timaeus* 47 e 4). Méric Casaubon dans ses notes à l'édition des *Écrits pour lui-même* de Marc Aurèle (Londres, 1643), p. 68 suggérait διὰ γνώμην.

- (78) περὶ δὲ ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε. τέλος μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἐξομοίωσιν τῷ θεῷ. τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν αὐτάρκη μὲν εἶναι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. ὀργάνων δὲ προσδεῖσθαι τῶν περὶ σῶμα πλεονεκτημάτων, ἰσχύος, υἰείας, εὐαισθησίας, τῶν ὁμοίων· καὶ τῶν ἐκτός, οἷον πλούτου καὶ
- 315 εὐγενείας καὶ δόξης. οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον εὐδαίμονα ἔσσεσθαι τὸν σοφόν, κὰν ταῦτα μὴ παρῆ. πολιτεύεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ γαμήσειν καὶ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους οὐ παραβήσεσθαι· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων καὶ νομοθετήσιν τῆ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι, ἐὰν μὴ τέλεον ἀπαραίτητα ὄρᾳ τὰ πράγματα ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ διαφορᾷ δήμου. (79) οἴεται δὲ καὶ θεοὺς ἐφορᾶν τὰ
- 320 ἀνθρώπινα καὶ δαίμονας εἶναι. ἔννοιάν τε καλοῦ πρῶτος ἀπεφήνατο τὴν ἐχομένην τοῦ ἐπαινετοῦ καὶ λογικοῦ καὶ χρησίμου καὶ πρέποντος καὶ ἀρμόττοντος ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ ὀρθῶς ἀποκρίνεσθαι καὶ ἐρωτᾶν πρῶτον αὐτὸν διασυστῆσαι κατακόρως χρησάμενον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς διαλόγοις καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην θεοῦ νόμον ὑπελάμβανεν ὡς ἰσχυρο-
- 325 τέραν προτρέψαι τὰ δίκαια πράττειν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον δίκας ὑπόσχοιεν οἱ κακοῦργοι. (80) ὅθεν καὶ μυθικώτερος ἐνίοις ὑπελήφθη τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἐγκαταμίξας τὰς τοιαύτας διηγήσεις, ὅπως διὰ τοῦ ἀδήλου τρόπου τοῦ ἔχειν τὰ μετὰ θάνατον οὕτως ἀπέχωνται τῶν ἀδικημάτων. τὰ μὲν ἀρέσκοντα Πλάτωνι τοιαῦτα.
- 330 τούτοις ἐπισυνάπτει ὁ Λαέρτιος καὶ ὡς διήρει τὰ τε ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνθρώπεια πράγματα, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ἀρκεῖ περὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν δοξάντων αὐτῷ εἶδέναι.
- (109) γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Πλάτων φιλόσοφος, μαθητὴς Παναϊτίου, 'Ρόδιος' καὶ ἄλλος, Περιπατητικὸς, μαθητὴς Ἀριστοτέλους· καὶ ἕτερος
- 335 Πραξιφάνους· καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας ποιητῆς.

κατὰ Πλάτωνα φιλοσοφία ἐστὶν ὄρεξις σοφίας, ἢ λύσις καὶ περιαγωγή ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος, ἐπὶ τὰ νοητὰ ἡμῶν προτρεπομένων καὶ κατὰ

li. 318. Scholarios précède Isaac Casaubon dans la correction d'εὐπαραίτητα en ἀπαραίτητα. Dans mon édition, j'ai accueilli cette proposition. Les Basileenses conseillent de garder le texte des manuscrits en l'interprétant dans le sens de 'quod quis libenter recuset'.

li. 322. L'omission de la phrase ὅπερ πάντα ἔχεσθαι τοῦ ἀκολουθοῦ τῆ φύσει καὶ ὁμολογουμένου. διελέξατο δὲ καὶ περὶ ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος après ἀρμόττοντος rend difficile la compréhension de ce passage.

li. 328. Le passage est sans doute corrompu. Dans mon édition, j'ai accueilli la correction τὸ ἀδελον τρόπον ἔχειν des Basileenses. D'autres propositions ont été faites par Cobet (τὸ ἀδελον τοῦ πῶς ἔχει) et Marcovich (τοῦ ἀδήλου τρόπου ὧν ἔχει).

ἀλήθειαν ὄντα· σοφία δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων  
340 πραγμάτων (152, 25 Hermann).

ἰδέα ἐστὶ παράδειγμα τῶν κατὰ φύσιν αἰώνιον. οὔτε γὰρ τῶν  
τεχνιτῶν ἐστὶν οἶον λύρας ἢ ἀσπίδος οὔτε τῶν παρὰ φύσιν, οἶον  
πυρετοῦ καὶ χολέρας, οὔτε τῶν κατὰ μέρος, οἶον Σωκράτους καὶ  
345 Πλάτωνος, οὔτε τῶν εὐτελῶν, οἶον ῥύπου καὶ κάρφους, οὔτε τῶν πρὸς  
τι, οἶον μείζωνος καὶ ὑπερέχοντος· εἶναι γὰρ τὰς ἰδέας νοήσεις θεοῦ  
αἰώνιους τε καὶ αὐτοτελεῖς (163, 20-27).

ἕλη δὲ ὀνομάζεται αὐτῷ ἐκμαγεῖον καὶ πανδεχὲς καὶ τιθήνη καὶ  
μητὴρ καὶ χώρα καὶ ὑποκείμενον ἄπτόν τε μετ' ἀναισθησίας καὶ νόθῳ  
λογισμῷ ληπτόν (162, 25-28).

350 ἄμορφος καθ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἄποιος καὶ ἀναίδεος (162, 30-31). ἵνα καὶ  
εἶδος καὶ ποιότητας δέχεται (162, 35-36).

τὴν ἰδέαν ὡς μὲν πρὸς θεὸν νοήσιν αὐτοῦ, ὡς δὲ πρὸς τὸν αἰσθητὸν  
κόσμον παράδειγμα, ὡς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐξεταζομένην οὐσίαν (163, 13, 14-  
16).

352 πρὸς<sup>i</sup> om. ba<sup>ac</sup> : πρὸς τὸν s.l. add. ba<sup>ac</sup>

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#### SUMMARY

This article presents the *editio princeps* of a *Life of Plato* modelled on Diogenes Laertius' third book which can be found in two fifteenth-century manuscripts. It consists of a presentation of the two manuscripts ; a discussion of their relationship ; a discussion of the author of the *Life*, which I argue was Georges Scholarios ; a presentation of the text, with a short critical apparatus, and a series of notes largely focused on indicating the parallels between Scholarios' *Life of Plato* and Diogenes' version.

## LUCIAN OF SAMOSATA IN THE CHRISTIAN MEMORY

Students of the pagan satirist Lucian of Samosata in the Byzantine world were not content to be scholars. On occasion they were also theologians who, in contrast to the ecclesiastical champions of their epoch, undertook to disarm not only those who believed in other deities, but those who made a profession of unbelief. In this they were precocious, since apologies for religion as a phenomenon were seldom advanced before the seventeenth century, when all claims to authority, in sacred and in secular matters, were suddenly discovered to be contingent and provincial. Before this age of dissolution, proofs of God's existence were devised by loyal sons of the Church, but these proofs always involved a demonstration that God is one and that he is omnipotent, since the great blasphemers in mediaeval Europe were the Manichees, who believed in God but denied that the world is a product of his will. The first Christian apologists likewise spoke for the God of the Decalogue against civic polytheism, against materialists who confounded the Creator with his handiwork, and against dualists who denied that the world is an object of solicitude to the gods. At first they were inclined to make common cause with the philosophers who opposed these errors, but after the civic cults had been extinguished, it was no longer clear that Christians had any need of pagan testimonies against paganism. Lucian's dialogues made it all too evident that a Greek could despise his own gods without acquiring any regard for the true religion. In ridiculing the civic cults he did not spare the philosophers who had exposed these follies before him, and when he mocked Christianity as the superstition of charlatans and beggars, he was treating it as one specimen of a universal conspiracy to deceive and be deceived. As we shall see, his Byzantine readers seldom praised him without reserve, and took up the pen against him even when he assailed their own enemies. We might rather say that in their eyes the enemy was no longer the pagan but the mere infidel who fancies that all revelations have been exploded if one is shown to be absurd.

All that we know of Lucian's life – if knowledge it is – is preserved in the *Suda*, a Byzantine lexicon, which makes no pretence of scholarly detachment (1):

Lucian. Samosatene, also nicknamed "the blasphemous" and the "impious" – rather one might say "the godless", because his dialogues make even sacred topics appear ridiculous. He lived under the Emperor Trajan and thereafter. He was first an advocate in Syrian Antioch, but, failing in that, he turned to literature, and his writings are innumerable. It is said that he was killed by dogs on account of his rabid enmity to truth. For in his life of Peregrinus this abominable fellow maligns Christianity, blaspheming Christ. And therefore in the present age he suffered a condign penalty for his madness, but in the age to come he will go to the eternal fire with Satan.

We need hardly say that no other source corroborates this obituary. As the dog is an emblem of heresy in the scriptures, the death ascribed to him here would be more explicable if he had been confused with Paul of Samosata, the putative source of all false teachings that divorced Christ from the Godhead, or with Lucian of Antioch, the teacher of Arius (2). Yet the church had reason enough for abhorring Lucian, the one Greek who is regularly amusing when he intends to be so, and who hits upon a peculiarly acidulous vein of humour in his strictures on Christianity. His writings suggest that he was a friend of Celsus, another incubus to the church of the second century, and like Porphyry, he was suspected of insidious satire even where he does not speak openly of the new religion. Porphyry's effusions against the Church have not survived, perhaps because they were of no literary value (3); Lucian, on the other hand, was a virtuoso in Attic Greek, whom Byzantine custodians of eloquence could not afford to bury. One expedient was to bell the cat, to crowd the margins of his text with expostulation where he fell short of the Christian standard of piety or virtue. Another was to create a second Lucian, who was no infidel but an unrelenting monotheist, enraged and not amused by the indiscretions of an imaginary pantheon.

(1) *Suda* 683, in vol. 3, ed. A. ADLER, Leipzig, 1933, p. 283.

(2) At *Suda* 685 (p. 283 ADLER), Lucian of Antioch is undoubtedly confused with the Samosatene.

(3) C. RIEDWEG, *Porphyrios über Christus und die Christen: De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda und Contra Christianos im Vergleich*, in *L'apologétique chrétienne gréco-latine à l'époque prénicéenne (Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt, 51)*, Genève, 2005, pp. 151-188.

The copious scholia on Lucian's work supply the matter for the first part of this paper; in the second we shall consider the *Philopatris*, a text which, while it never deserved a place in Lucian's corpus, is original enough to detain the literary historian, and intermittently skilful enough to be enjoyed as a rare example of Christian humour in the Byzantine world.

#### Lucian and his commentators

The scholia on Lucian are embedded in numerous manuscripts, which are divided into five classes in the introduction to Hugo Rabe's edition (4). The sole member of the first class, Vaticanus 90, is a repository of unattributed comments, many of which are purloined in later codices. The observations of a certain Arethas are collated from five manuscripts of Rabe's second class, though a handful of wordy animadversions by the same author are culled from manuscripts in classes 3 to 5, which Rabe holds to be of inferior authority. Arethas would appear to have been a ninth-century bishop of Caesarea who learnt the art of commentary from Photius (5), and of all the scholiasts he is the one most apt to pick a quarrel with the theology of Lucian's interlocutors. Yet in general he is more concerned to explain than to best his author, and the same appears to be true of all his anonymous coadjutors. How many of these there were and what each contributed we cannot hope to ascertain, because their interventions passed so easily from text to text. Such bold promiscuity is typical of the age in which an author relied on strangers to propagate his work, and was seldom in a position to supervise the multiplication of copies. That so many copies remain is sufficient evidence of Lucian's popularity among scholars who, at this period, could not have pursued their studies without some profession of Christianity. There was at least one cleric, a certain Bishop Alexander, who did not permit his cloth to stand between him and his favourite author, but desired the world to know that he had corrected the *Hermotimus* with his own hand (6).

(4) H. RABE, *Scholia in Lucianum* (BSGRT), Leipzig, 1906, pp. III-IX.

(5) See L. G. WESTERINK, *Marginalia by Arethas in Moscow Greek Ms 231*, in *Byz.*, 42 (1972), pp. 196-244; N. G. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium*, London, 1983, pp. 120-131.

(6) See p. 247.19-22 RABE. WESTERINK (n. 5), p. 201 observes with surprise that Lucian was a "favourite of the higher clergy" in the age of Arethas.

Nevertheless, whenever Lucian's character is the subject of a scholium, it is always pejorative, often scurrilous. Rabe has made an inventory of the epithets hurled at Lucian by this irascible breed of commentators (7). In their endeavours to pre-empt his influence on those whom they could not prevent from reading him, they prefer the club to the scalpel, and have evidently inherited all the humourless solemnity of the last pagans, even when they appear to fancy that they are confounding him with his own arts. Apart from the indiscriminate *bômolochos*, or "buffoo", their favourite terms are *goês* ("conjurer"), *kataratos* ("execrable"), and *miaros* ("filthy"), — all amenities that the pious were accustomed to bestow on those who defied or traduced the gods. In many cases, however, the assault is prompted not by any sacrilege on Lucian's part, but by the mere temerity and inconsequentiality of his humour. The *True History* is among the works most frequently vilified, sometimes because the censor finds him jesting (*paigniêmôn*) at the expense of Aaron (2.41; p. 24.19 Rabe) or prattling vainly (*kenologôn*) against the Mosaic cosmogony (2.43; p. 24.22-23), but often simply because of his "filthy" inclination to flippancy (1.29) or because he breaks the laws of verisimilitude with his "conjuring", or because he is both "conjurer" and "buffoon" enough to chide others (1.17; p. 19.19) for their mendacity without confessing his own (2.31; p. 23.12-14). Even when he attributes a chimerical eschatology to his own creatures, he is once again a "conjurer" for scoffing at them for what could he have in mind but the symbolic interpretation of Hebrew prophecy? No commentator on this work seems to have guessed that it was conceived as a playful fiction, or that Lucian's satire might have been aimed at his own contemporaries. Even when he is patently holding pagan usage up to ridicule he cannot please his calumniators: the scholiast's last word on *The Syrian Goddess* is that Lucian is a buffoon (p. 186.29), and doomed to fire, while the information that he was himself a Syrian is accompanied in a comment on the *Scythian* (p. 240.21) by the epithet *dussebês* ("impious"). A lampoon on the father of Zeus evokes the cry of "buffoon" again, and here even the term *gelôtopoios* ("comedian") becomes pejorative (*Regarding Cronus* 8; p. 232.20-21). A student of the *Alexander* is proud to unmask him as an "Epicurean" (*Alexander* 47; p. 185.4-6). In the eyes of his Christian readers, he is an "atheist" to the last in this work (*Alexander* 60; p. 185.18), and even when it exposes the religious follies

(7) RABE (n. 4), p. 336.

of his own compatriots it entitles him to no higher name than “conjurer” (*ibidem* 8 and 53 ; p. 187.9 and 182.9). It is not clear whether offence is taken because he impugns his own gods or because he does not do so more openly ; his glancing praise of Christians in the *Alexander* goes unremarked, perhaps because he commends them only for their incredulity.

Lucian has only to depict the vices of his contemporaries to be accused of conniving at them. At *Loves* 35 (p. 205.7), where he seems to encourage onanism, he is censured as a “filthy speaker” (*miarologos*) who fails to perceive that if no seed is implanted in women the human race will perish. His humour goes unsuspected here, as at *Parasite* 6 (p. 156.4), where his representation of parasitical conduct as an art obliges his critic to tell him at length that he is a “trifler” (*mataios*). He is “execrable” because he smiles on pederasty at *Lovers* 36 ; when the accusation recurs at *Lovers* 54 (p. 205.14, he is “filthy” and *eparatos*, “accursed”. The same transgression makes him a friend of demons at *Symposium* 39, to be contrasted with the adepts of the Word. *Paidophthoros* (“child-corruptor”) is another gleaming for Rabe’s index from the same passage, while at *Auction* 15 (p. 126.19) a flippant allusion to the same crime earns him the epithet *pambēbēle*, “jack-of-all-sins”. Lucian’s sustained burlesque on philosophy in this dialogue won him no allies in the church : to overturn all systems with such levity is “execrable” again (*Auction* 21 ; p. 128.18), and to question the philosopher’s view of providence is to prove oneself a “wretch” (*tristathlios*) who admits no law (*Auction* 17 ; p. 126.19). Lucian is “execrable” once more in the *Parasite* when he imputes cowardice to Socrates (p. 159.25) ; it is the act of a “trifler” (*mataios*) to ridicule Plato at *Fisherman* 22 (p. 134.22), and at *Runaways* 26 (p. 222.27) his calling of names is another symptom of his “filthiness”. We should be thankful that these commentators seldom aspire to anything more saline : the best that they can achieve in this vein is to tell him that when he taunts others he is speaking of himself. This sally is reinforced by the term *kakodaimōn* (“dastard” at *Twice Accused* 14 (p. 139.22), by *talaipōros* (“sniveller”) at *How to Write History* 26 (p. 228.25), and by *olethrios* (“toxic”) at *Hermotimus* 81 (p. 247.17). At *Icaromennipus* 27 (p. 108.25) he is styled “buffoon” and *psōmokōlax* (“mocking sycophant”) because he paints a character as deceitful as Homer and is himself as deceitful as that character. Parody of myth at *Charon* 4 (p. 120.22-25) provokes a string of objurgations (“buffoon”, “conjurer”, *plastographos*, or “counterfeiter”), while “conjurer” and

“buffoon” return at *Rhetorician* 17 (p. 179.6), as the author accuses Lucian of decrying other rhetoricians merely because they are not prone to his own vices. His *jeu d’esprit*, *The Fly*, inspired one reader to display his own brand of drollery : he cannot pass judgment on the “unholy opinions” (*athemitoi doxai*) of his author (p. 11-5-6) without maligning him (p. 11-3-8) as an “evil type” (*kakē kephalē*), a transgressor (*halitērios*) and a delirious booby (*phrenērēs kai êlithios*). At *Apology* 10 (p. 236.130-14) another catena — *lēros* (“babblers”), *philaitios* (“wangler”), *mempsimoiros* (“backbiter”), in addition to “buffoon” — is crowned by a sophomoric attempt to pay Lucian in his own coin by comparing him to a fly that mimics an eagle. Contumely outruns its provocation at *Eunuch* 12 (p. 203.2), where there is no clear occasion for the word “filth”, at *How to Write History* 15 (p. 227.28), where yet again his perennial flippancy is deemed to be “execrable”, at *Lexiphanes* 15 (p. 200.29), where to play with words is to be a “dastard”, at *Icaromennipus* 9 (p. 101.27), where an imagined sneer at Moses is deemed “shoddy” (*epitriptos*), and at *Menippus* 22 (p. 173.7), where the waggish pretence of pointing out a dark locality with the finger is, as ever, misunderstood and declared to be “toxic”. Elsewhere (*Loves* 41, *Slander* 10 ; pp. 206.1, 26.4) it suffices to apostrophise Lucian as *anthrōpe*, “fellow”, and on twelve occasions the vocative *Loukiane* has the force of a reprimand.

The two works that excite the most severe and prolonged recriminations are *Zeus Rants* and *The Death of Peregrinus*. The latter could not fail to engage the passions, as it purports to recount the suicide of a charlatanical Christian, and the indictment of the man does not spare the cult. A pagan’s skit on the superstitions of his fellow-pagans, on the other hand, would not have grieved his Christian amanuenses, were it not that the sceptic in *Zeus Rants* is an atheist, to whom providence is as mythical as Zeus. It is because he saw Lucian’s *Damis* as an infidel to all creeds that one remonstrant, who is named by a scribe as *Arethas*, undertakes a vindication of divine governance, extending for over two pages in Rabe’s edition, and commencing with a philippic against the “accursed, impious babblers and envier of God” (*Zeus Rants* 47 ; p. 78.27-28). As he grows into his subject, *Arethas* arraigns Lucian as a swinish man (p. 81.6) in need of hellebore (p. 80.2), a romancer (p. 81.10), a libertine (p. 81.18) and a despiser of God’s poor (p. 81.24). Less prolix but more incisive is the charge at *Zeus Rants* 41 (p. 75.26-27) that Lucian is putting on the mask of Euripides to purvey his own atheism ; at 28 he is



reverts to his familiar occupation as a “conjurer” (p. 68.9). No scholiast expressly takes Zeus or fate for the God of Moses in this dialogue, but we have seen how readily some discerned allusions to their own mysteries in his fictions. When Christ himself was thought to be the object of parody — when, for example, he was identified with the Syrian exorcist whom Lucian mocks in *Lover of Lies* 16 — the Christian response was etched in sulphur: “What then, was my Lord and God a sophist who took fees to heal the sick? You abomination, why has the earth not opened to devour you?” (p. 163.10-14). But this was only one chapter of a writing that was otherwise unexceptionable: in the *Death of Peregrinus* every chapter gave offence.

After dying on his own bonfire at the Olympic Games, *Peregrinus* was commemorated in statues, and, if Lucian can be credited, was revered as a god in the wake of an illusion which the satirist had contrived for his own entertainment<sup>(8)</sup>. Neither this apotheosis nor the crimes which Lucian lays at his door are verified by ancient witnesses. Christians could admire his fortitude, pagans deplored his bellicose encounters with other Cynics, but they are equally unaware of his brief flirtation with the church, which, in this narrative, is at once a testimony and a stimulus to his fatal appetite for notoriety. The scholiasts do not challenge Lucian’s history, except to pronounce him “toxic” and “filthy” when he intimates that the church has not disowned him (*Peregrinus* 11; p. 216.8). If we can wash out the taint of an Origen or a Porphyry, snarls the ecclesiastical litigant — clearly following the implausible tradition which makes Porphyry an apostate<sup>(9)</sup> — we know how to rid ourselves of a charlatan like *Peregrinus*. In the same chapter Lucian derides the “wondrous” faith of Christians: “wondrous indeed, you abomination, and beyond all wonder”, comes the reply, “that its beauty should be invisible and indiscernible even to such a blind swaggerer (*alazôn*) as yourself” (p. 216.4-7). In chapter 12 (p. 217.5-8) his statement that the Christians regarded *Peregrinus* as a new Socrates earns him the label “sniveller”, not (on this occasion) because the reputation of Socrates is imperilled, but because a greater man than Socrates is the pattern of

(8) See p. 216.15.

(9) W. KINZIG, *War der Neuplatoniker Porphyrios ursprünglich Christ?*, in M. BAUMBACH - H. KÖHLER - A. M. RITTER (eds), *Mousopolos Stephanos: Festschrift für H. Görge-manns (Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften, N.F., 2 Reihe, Band 102)*, Heidelberg, 1998, pp. 320-332.

wisdom for a Christian. Arethas, in a futile disquisition on chapter 13 (p. 220.13), informs this “shoddiest” (*epitriptotatos*) of infidels that his gods are guilty of more wrongdoing than he imputes to Christ. Lucian, of course, had often said as much, and a wiser assailant finds him “filthy” because, having scoffed at the Greeks for worshipping false gods, he now appears to regret their defection to the church (p. 218.11-16). In a comment on the same chapter Arethas styles him *mataiotatos*, the vainest of the vain (p. 218.22); an unnamed colleague avers that it is pitiable (*eleeinos*) and at odds with the philosophical tradition, to belittle the teaching that all men are brothers (p. 217.24). Other epithets include *talantate* (“reprobate”) at chapter 16 (p. 221.5) and *diaboleus* (“mudslinger”) at chapter 15 (p. 221.3-4) in company with “execrable” and “mocker of all the virtues”. Bigotry reaches its summit at chapter 41 (p. 222.3-5), where Lucian’s “execrable” love of imposture is alleged to be characteristic of all his countrymen. In a scholium to chapter 42 (p. 222.6-10) *Peregrinus* is called by his cognomen Proteus, which belonged also to the versatile god of the sea; Lucian is predictably judged to be the greater humbug, but it is possible that the annotator was learned enough to remember the closing words of Plato’s *Ion*, where it is Socrates who is likened to Proteus by his hapless interlocutor. If that is so, the Christian has turned this traditional persiflage into a lampoon, not only on Lucian, but on all Greeks.

These critics must be shooting for display, since in their own time it was hardly to be anticipated that anyone would be drawn into atheism by the perusal of Lucian’s works. Apologetic, however, could survive as an exercise in eloquence even after the goad of persecution had been withdrawn and even after the conversion or denudation of the last temple. It is Arethas who most often fans a note into a homily. When *Damis* in *Zeus Rants* attributes all things to necessity, he challenges him to explain how a mindless force could be responsible for the blending of disparate elements or the separation of mixtures, and to account for the creation of new entities in a world where nothing deviates from its type (p. 71.26-75.4). No great erudition is displayed here<sup>(10)</sup>, as he attributes to Democritus the saying of Anaxagoras that all things were together.

(10) WILSON (n. 5), pp. 121-125 notes that the marginalia to volumes from his own library are not always in his own hand, and are often purloined from other authors. At p. 130 he concludes that Marcus Aurelius is the only pagan author who owes his survival to Arethas.



He is somewhat more impressive, because less prolix, in a second dissertation on the same dialogue (p. 76.3-24), where he argues that the absurdities of Scythian cult do not, as the Epicurean implies, cast a stigma on all religions, any more than we mistake the incompetent servant for the master of a household, or deny that there is such an art as painting because we see amateurs who have not learned how to mix colours. Precursors to these arguments are not easily found, and it may be that Arethas has effected a novel synthesis of two passages from Xenophanes: Fragment 16 (as we call it) hints that the Greeks, no less the Thracians, have misrepresented the gods, while Fragment 15 contends that if oxen or horses were to hold the palette, they would also paint false deities in their own likeness<sup>(11)</sup>. Such juggling with the classics, though it may modify our estimate of his learning, is no proof of critical acumen. Arethas reserves his fiercest intervention for the *Peregrinus*, where he urges that even if the crucifixion deserved no reverence, it would not be so contemptible as the delinquencies imputed to the gods or the obscenities practised by their devotees (p. 218.20-220.21). This is of course an arrow of straw to fire at one who had denounced the myths and mysteries of his fellow-Greeks in dialogues which Arethas himself has annotated; we should not assume, however, that because he fails to shine he lacks aspiration. In the ancient as in the modern world, the greatest aims were not infrequently matched with the weakest talents.

Essays in theodicy were perhaps to be expected of Arethas<sup>(12)</sup>, who is a figure of some importance in the transmission of the first Christian apologists. An annotator of Clement<sup>(13)</sup>, Athenagoras and Tatian<sup>(14)</sup>, he seized the opportunity to say against Lucian what these precursors might have said had the fashion of their times allowed them to wrangle with a living adversary. Since, however, the cults and myths against they inveighed were obsolete in his time, he turned the weapons of nat-

(11) H. DIELS and W. KRANZ, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, I, reprint, Dublin, 1974, pp. 132-133.

(12) WILSON (n. 5), 123 surmises that endorsed the teaching of Plato on the ineradicability of evil, since he advises the reader to get by heart the whole of *Theaetetus* 172-186.

(13) See WILSON (n. 5), p. 125, citing O. STAEHLIN, *Untersuchungen über die Scholien zu Clemens Alexandrinus*, dissertation, Nürnberg, 1897, pp. 45-48, though this study affords little evidence of his originality.

(14) See O. VON GEBHARDT, *TU*, I, 3 (1883), pp. 154-196 for an edition of *Parisinus* gr. 451; E. SCHWARTZ, *TU*, IV, 1 (1888) on Athenagoras, *De resurrectione*.

ural theology against the common enemy of polytheists and monotheists, the despiser of all things holy. At the same time we should not suppose that he approached this task in an unaccustomed spirit of acrimony: he is just the same man in his notes to the *Amphilochia* of Photius<sup>(15)</sup>, of whom he was an encomiast, if not the besotted disciple that he is often thought to have been. It may be of interest to set his comments on Lucian against the more indulgent verdict of the patriarch<sup>(16)</sup>:

“Read Lucian’s declamation *On Phalaris* and his various *Dialogues of the Dead and Courtesans*, and other works on different subjects, in nearly all of which he ridicules, the ideas of the heathen. Thus he attacks their silly errors in the invention of gods; their brutal and ungovernable passions and lack of restraint; the monstrous fancies and fictions of their poets; their consequent errors in statesmanship; the irregular course and changes and chances of their life; the boastful behaviour of the philosophers, full of nothing but pretence and idle opinions; in a word, his aim is, as we have said, to hold up the heathen to ridicule in prose. He seems to be one of those persons who regard nothing seriously; ridiculing and mocking at the opinions of others, he does not state what opinions he himself holds, unless we may say that his opinion is that one can know nothing for certain. His style is excellent, his diction clear, suitable and expressive; he shows a special liking for distinctness and purity united with brilliancy and appropriate dignity. His composition is so well fitted together that the reader does not seem to be reading prose, but an agreeable song, whose nature is not too obtrusive, seems to drop into the listener’s ears. In a word, as already said, his style is charming, but not in keeping with the subjects which he himself has determined to ridicule”.

Photius, who could hardly deny that the errors, superstitions and pretensions of the Greeks were lawful subjects of derision, commends the perspicuity of Lucian’s style and does not concur with the scholiasts in perceiving a hidden design against Christianity in his satires. His one complaint is not that the Samosatene was an infidel or a blasphemer, but that he courts our laughter in his pursuit of topics which a good Christian would have treated with adipose solemnity. Arethas, we may say, is vindicated, but Lucian is not condemned.

(15) WESTERINK (n. 5), pp. 203-204 and 242-244. All his supplementary or combative sallies concern the necessity of the incarnation.

(16) PHOTIUS, *Bibliotheca* 128, trans. J. H. FRIESE, London, 1920.

Here and there a commentator acknowledges that a character does not always personify the true sentiments of his creator: it is Damis the Epicurean, and not Lucian, whom Arethas upbraids at *Zeus Rants* 38 as an enemy to providence (p. 71.26). For the most part, however, Lucian himself is the one who suffers the comminations that were always reserved for sceptics (*Hermotimus* 53; p. 242.26); there seems to be no awareness that his Cynicism is equally impatient of the zealot and of the urbane despiser of zealotry. Thus they are apt to belabour him with monomaniacal vigour of the theist who answers Damis in *Zeus Rants*, and many of their asperities appear to have been purloined from this character's lexicon. None, of course, is capable of a philippic to equal the string of pleasantries — "scavenger, filth, spittoon, catamite, pariah" — which follows the Epicurean from the stage in Lucian's dialogue (*Zeus Rants* 52). To discover a fertile instance of this trope of setting Lucian against Lucian, we must turn from the scholia to an apocryphal text in which the mimicry extends to more than the usurpation of an occasional word.

#### Lucian redivivus

The *Philopatris*, or *Patriot* (17), is a work of the Byzantine era, manifestly by a Christian, but in a Greek that is designed to be compared with that of Lucian, if not mistaken for it. It begins with an encounter between two friends, Triephon and Critias, the latter of whom is belabouring incontinently of hybrids, portents and hallucinations. How he fell into this carnival of quackery we do not yet learn, for Triephon interrupts to warn him not to be so reckless in his oaths. Imprecations by the name of Zeus seem powerful only to those who forget that the poets represent this king of the gods as a tyrant, a philanderer and a braggart (*Philopatris* 4). Critias proposes to swear by Apollo instead (5); no, replies Triephon, for he too is an infamous deflowerer of both sexes. The august Poseidon and the lubricious Hermes fare no better if we

(17) For the text see M. D. MACLEOD, *Luciani Opera (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis)*, IV, Oxford, 1987, pp. 367-389 and R. ANASTASI, *Incerti Auctoris Philopatris (Biblioteca di Helikon. Testi e Studi, 2)*, Messina, 1968. For a review of theories as to its provenance see A. KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature (850-1000) (National Hellenic Research Foundation. Institute for Byzantine Research, Research Series, 4)*, Athens, 2006, pp. 295-302.

judge them at their worst (6-7), and even Athena, the chaste virago and tutelary goddess of the Athenians, is reported to have strayed (8). By whom then can we swear, asks Critias? Only by the unknown god of Athens, says Triephon, thus betraying his own Christianity (18): inscriptions to the unknown gods — that is, to any deities who happen to be unknown to the Athenians — are attested, but only a reader of Acts 17 could imagine a dedication to a single God, unknown not because of any local accident, but because our human faculties are too weak to discover what he does not choose to proclaim.

Even in this dialogue the revelation is gradual. First we learn that Critias has received his intelligence from a Galilean (12), next that the object of his devotion is the incarnate Jesus — the very man, as any student of the true Lucian would remember, who was vilified as a "crucified sophist" in the *Peregrinus*. Triephon declares that the object of his devotion is the creator of heaven and earth (12): if the author has perused the Christian scholia, he may be inviting us to compare the passages in which Lucian was suspected of tacit sniggering at the cosmogony of Moses. This is the trick of subversion which we noticed in certain scholia: the satirist's devices are put at the service of the God whom he reviled, and who is now discovered to be the true palladium of the city which figures in his authentic works as a microcosm of the Greek world. The Galilean — bald, long-nosed and edified by a journey to the third heaven, may be the man of whom Paul speaks (perhaps Paul himself) in 2 *Corinthians* 13.1-4 (19): "Galilean" is here the persecutor's name for Christians, but in its literal sense it steals the clothes of Lucian, who is proud to be from Syria except when he is denigrating a Syrian exorcist (*Philopseudes* 16).

Half-convinced by his Christian mentor, Critias returns to his tale of sorrows (*Philopatris* 20-25). He was beguiled, it seems by a group of pessimists who took pleasure in foretelling a string of martial and meteorological catastrophes; even as he denounces them their jeremiads are shown to be lies by a newcomer who brings tidings of an imperial victory over the Persians (28). The pessimists have yet to be identified: they may be a group of diviners, like the Sabaeans, who were reputed to

(18) He utters the oath himself at *Philopatris* 9, and proclaims the triune character of the Unknown God at *Philopatris* 12. Cf. Acts 17.28.

(19) For the long nose see *Acts of Paul and Thecla* 3.

have survived the atrophy of paganism ; they may be one of the numerous sects who harnessed the idiom of biblical prophecy to seditious politics or unholy arts <sup>(20)</sup>. Since there is no reason to suppose that they existed outside the author's brain, the identification of them neither entails nor presupposes any date for the *Philopatris*, though some have detected allusions to the Arab conquest of Egypt, the establishment of the Caliphate <sup>(21)</sup> and even to the measures taken by Nicephorus Phocas in the tenth century to suppress contumacious monks <sup>(22)</sup>.

The object of this work is not perspicuous. Unless the first and most Lucianic part is a prodigal digression, can the glorification of a particular emperor or the sponsorship of one faction in the Church against another, be the author's chief concern. Apologetic in tenor, the *Philopatris* is none the less unlikely to have been written when there were pagans capable of reading Greek. It might be a circuitous manifesto on behalf the pagan classics, a demonstration that the dialogue was not in itself a pernicious form, atheistic poison. More probably, the *Patriot* is the showpiece of an author who hoped to imitate Lucian well enough to win the applause of the literate classes, but not well enough to deceive them. The theory that it is a clandestine polemic against the Christians, produced in the reign of Julian the Apostate <sup>(23)</sup>, has not commended itself to many readers in modern times <sup>(24)</sup>. When the attribution to Lucian was accepted, it was more reasonable to assume that the author

(20) The earliest dating is that of N. NONNEN, *Dissertatio Critica ex Haeresiologia de Luciano, sive quisque sit auctor dialogi Philopatris, Montanistas Traducente*, Bremen, 1743. The Montanists flourished in the second and third centuries of the Christian era. B. BALDWIN, *The Date and Purpose of the Philopatris*, in *Yale Classical Studies*, 27 (1982), pp. 321-344, notes on p. 321 that the work is a "cento" of passages from Lucian and alludes to officials known only in Byzantium.

(21) R. CRAMPE, *Philopatris. Ein heidnisches Konventikel des siebenten Jahrhunderts zu Constantinopel*, Halle, 1894. For a critical review see E. ROHDE, in *BZ*, 5 (1895), pp. 1-15 and 6 (1897), pp. 475-482.

(22) See R. G. NIEBUHR, *Über das Alter des Dialogs Philopatris*, Bonn, 1843 ; S. REINACH, *La question du Philopatris*, in *Revue Archéologique*, 40 (1902), pp. 79-110 ; S. REINACH, *Cultes, mythes et religions*, Paris, 1923, pp. 368-391. As BALDWIN (n. 19), p. 324, observes, however, the allusion is contestable, and would in any case provide no more than a *terminus post quem*. ANASTASI (n. 17) prefers a date in the mid-eleventh century.

(23) J. M. GESNER, *De aetate et auctore dialogi qui Philopatris inscribitur*, Jena, 1714.

is holding up the worshipper of the unknown god to ridicule along with his interlocutor. We have already seen that the scholiasts feel bound to deplore the atheism of Lucian even where he makes no allusion to Christianity. Long before whole churches turned to natural theology in the hope of restoring a fabric that had been torn apart by the zeal of popes and princes, there were Christians who believed that they were charged with the defence of all religions rather than with the advocacy of one against another. In Lucian they had seen something worse than paganism, a sceptical temper inimical to every creed, which could only become more virulent if its critics were rash enough to protest that most creeds are untrue.

Of course the author of the *Philopatris* lacked the vivacity, the cocksure ostentation, the incorrigible delight in playing the poltergeist, that sets Lucian apart from his fellow-sophists ; at the same time, we cannot deny that his Greek is pure and that his salvos against the pagan gods are prepared with some ingenuity, though his ammunition is cheap and second-hand. It is unlikely that Greek texts would have been transcribed from generation to generation had they not been required as models for such epigonal compositions ; this emulous piece, bound up with the works of Lucian and cited as his long after the renaissance, may have helped to keep fresh the laurel of an author who would gladly have given hemlock to the church in its precarious infancy.

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(24) The work was, however, considered inimical to Christianity by some scholars of the renaissance : see C. M. ROBINSON, *Lucian and his Influence in Europe*, London, 1979, pp. 97-98.

## SUMMARY

Scholia from the Byzantine era on Lucian of Samosata era are unusually abundant and unusually prodigal in invective. Hostility was inspired not only by the *Peregrinus*, in which Lucian ridicules the Church and its martyrs, but by dialogues which were read as oblique assaults on Christianity because they slighted all belief in providence and regard for things divine. Most assaults are bombastic rather than eloquent, and deaf to Lucian's humour; Arethas, a younger contemporary of Photius, attempts without success to outdo the satirist in wit and in philosophy. Photius himself, however, hints that his lampoons on pagan credulity might supply a Christian arsenal, and the author of the spurious *Philopseudes* comes closer to Lucian's manner than any of the scholiasts, initially in defence of monotheism, and then for some partisan object which continues to afford matter for debate.

## ASPEKTE DES WAREN- UND INFORMATIONSAUSTAUSCHES IN PERSONALEN NETZWERKEN (\*)

Dass die rhetorische Literatur auch wichtiges Material zu Geschichte, Alltagskultur und Vorstellungswelt einer Gesellschaft enthält, ist mittlerweile in der gesamten Mediävistik ein anerkannter Sachverhalt (1).

Im folgenden wird versucht, diese Quellengattung für die Wirtschafts- und Kommunikationsgeschichte auszuwerten. Die Analyse beschränkt sich insbesondere auf die Epistolographie, die in vielen Fällen unerwartet direkte Einblicke in die byzantinische Gegenwart zulässt. Diese Unmittelbarkeit erreichen andere schriftliche Quellen kaum; dazu kommt, dass sich briefliche Zeugnisse oft chronologisch ziemlich genau einordnen lassen (2).

Briefe transportieren Informationen zwischen zwei Personen, sie gelten als die schriftliche Form eines Gesprächs, und Briefe haben immer etwas mit Bewegung und mit der Überwindung von Raum zu

(\*) Druckfassung eines Referates gehalten im Rahmen der Konferenz „Handelsüter und Verkehrswege / Commodities and Traffic Routes - 4th to 15th centuries“ (Wien 19.-22. Oktober 2005).

(1) Eine Auswahl an Titeln mag genügen: H. WENZEL, *Höfische Repräsentation. Symbolische Kommunikation und Literatur im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt, 2005; W. HÖR-ANDNER, *Customs and Beliefs as Reflected in Occasional Poetry. Some Considerations*, in *BF*, 12 (1987), S. 235-252; P. MAGDALINO, *The Literary Perception of Everyday Life in Byzantium. Some General Considerations and the Case of John Apokaukos*, in *Bsl*, 48 (1987), S. 28-38 oder A. E. STONE, *Eustathian Panegyric as a Historical Source*, in *JÖB*, 51 (2001), S. 225-258.

(2) In den meisten Fällen lässt sich die Lebenszeit eines Briefschreibers sehr genau festmachen, und oft enthalten Briefe selbst datierbare Elemente. Zur Briefliteratur zusammenfassend zuletzt M. GRÜNBART, *L'epistolografia*, in G. CAVALLO (Hrsg.), *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo*, 3, *Le culture circostanti*, 1, *La cultura bizantina*, Rom, 2004, S. 345-378; DERS., *Byzantinische Briefkultur*, in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 47 (2007), S. 117-138.

tun<sup>(3)</sup>; durch die Fülle an involvierten Personen eignen sie sich besonders gut zur Rekonstruktion von privaten Netzwerken<sup>(4)</sup>.

Großes Augenmerk musste ein Briefschreiber auf die Übermittlung eines Briefes verwenden, d.h. ein zuverlässiger Bote musste gefunden werden, denn nur dieser konnte den Informationsfluss in Gang bringen und Kommunikation ermöglichen<sup>(5)</sup>. Botendienste konnte jeder, der sich von einem Ort zu einem anderen bewegte, übernehmen. Nicht nur privat Reisende, sondern auch Kaufleute oder in Staatsdiensten stehende Personen konnten Briefe (mit)transportieren<sup>(6)</sup>. So schreibt Michael Choniates im zwölften Jahrhundert an Georgios Padyates, der sich in Konstantinopel aufhält, mit einem Schuss Sarkasmus: Viele Personen kämen nach Athen, denen er Briefe mitgeben könne: „Katasterbeamte, Landvermesser, Steuereintreiber, Steuerbeamte (*dasmologoí* und *nautologoí*) und alle von dieser schrecklichen Bande, welche die Kaiserin der Städte überallhin schickt, besonders aber jedes Jahr nach Hellas (7)“.

(3) M. GRÜNBART, *Der byzantinische Brief und der Raum*, in E. VAVRA (Hrsg.), *Virtuelle Räume. Raumwahrnehmung und Raumvorstellung im Mittelalter. Akten des 10. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes, Krems, 24.-26. März 2003*, Berlin, 2005, S. 343-355.

(4) Siehe L. ELLIS & F. L. KIDNER (Hrsg.), *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity*, Aldershot, 2004 (in dem Band gibt es zahlreiche Beiträge, die sich auf epistolographische Netzwerke beziehen); M. MULLETT, *Power, Relations and Networks in Medieval Europe*, in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 83 (2005), S. 255-259; M. GRÜNBART, *'Tis love that has warm'd us - Reconstructing networks in 12th century Byzantium*, in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 83 (2005), S. 301-313.

(5) N. B. TOMADAKES, *Βυζαντινή ἐπιστολογραφία ἢτοι εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν βυζαντινὴν φιλολογοίαν*, Thessalonike, 1993, S. 68-71 (Begriffe, die den Briefträger bezeichnen). Ein Streiflicht hinsichtlich des Bemühens, einen Boten zu finden, etwa bei P. A. M. LEONE (Hrsg.), *Ioannes Tzetzes epistulae*, Leipzig, 1972, ep. 102 (149,5f.): οὐκ οἶδα δὲ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ Θηβαῖος ὁ τοῦτο μέλλων ἀποκομίζειν σοι ἢ πότε καὶ ποῖω καιρῷ. – Der Absender hat offensichtlich Tzetzes einen Mann aus Theben genannt, den dieser aber nicht kennt.

(6) Zum öffentlichen Postwesen in der Spätantike siehe P. STOFFEL, *Über die Staatspost, die Ochsespanne und die requirierten Ochsespanne. Eine Darstellung des römischen Postwesens auf Grund der Gesetze des Codex Theodosianus und des Codex Iustinianus* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 3, Geschichte und Hilfswissenschaften, 595), Frankfurt am Main, 1994.

(7) *Michaelis Choniatae epistulae* rec. F. KOLOVΟΥ (CFHB, 34), Berlin - New York, 2001, 64, 24-29: μή ποτε δὲ οἱ διακομιοῦντες σπάνιοι; ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι μυριοὶ καὶ ὄσα φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίνεται ὥρη, πράκτορες, πραιτώρες, ἀπογραφεῖς, ἀναγρα-

Der Vorteil der staatlichen Emissäre war, dass sie mit einer (hartnäckigen) Regelmäßigkeit wiederkehrten.

Mittels eines Boten eröffnen sich weitere Dimensionen des Kommunikationsaustausches: Zusätzlich zu seiner primären Aufgabe, einen Brief zu überbringen, können dem Boten mündliche Nachrichten mitgegeben werden bzw. kann dieser am Zielort über Zustände an seinem Ausgangsort oder über Neuigkeiten, die er auf seinem Weg aufgelesen hat, befragt werden. Oft gibt es in Briefen explizite Aufforderungen an den Briefempfänger, den Boten um weitere Auskünfte zu bitten<sup>(8)</sup>.

Und als dritte Komponente des Transfers – neben den Briefen und den mündlichen Nachrichten – können zu Lasten der Briefträger Gaben für den Empfänger mitgegeben werden.

Mit diesen sogenannten Briefbeigaben, griechisch ἀποτολαί, soll eine positive Stimmung erzeugt und die Wertschätzung des Korrespondenzpartners unterstrichen werden. Dass dies nicht immer uneigennützig geschah und man damit auch die Meinung des Gegenübers beeinflussen konnte und Gefälligkeiten zu erreichen trachtete, liegt auf der Hand, und lässt sich auch belegen<sup>(9)</sup>. Der Aspekt der symbolischen Befrachtung von Geschenken ist ebenfalls nicht zu unterschätzen<sup>(10)</sup>,

φεῖς, δασμολόγοι, ναυτολόγοι καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τοῦ πονηροῦ τοῦδε κόμματος, οὓς ἢ τῶν πόλεων βασιλὶς στέλλει πανταχόσε, μάλιστα δὲ εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἐτησίους.

(8) Etwa *Michaelis Choniatae epistulae* rec. Κολοῦου 7 (10,17), *Anonymi Professoris epistulae* rec. A. ΜΑΡΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ (CFHB, 37), Berlin - New York, 2000, ep. 106, 8-9: εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἡ ζῶσα φωνὴ τοῦ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἡμῖν ἐγχειρίζοντος ὑποτείνειν τὰ θέλητρα τῆς πρώτης ἐλπίδος ... oder *The Correspondance of Ignatius the Deacon, Text, Translation and Commentary* by C. MANGO & S. ΕΦΘΥΜΙΑΔΙΣ (CFHB, 39), Washington, D.C., 1997, 6,8f.: Ὁ γὰρ ἀποδιδούς τὸ γραμμάτιον <τοῦ> θεοφιλοῦς ἐπισκόπου Νικομηδείας (I. D. POLEMIS, in *Ἑλληνικά*, 48 [1998], S. 256: ἦκειν ὡς ἡμᾶς) ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξεν ὡς τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ποίμνην αὐτοῦ τελοῦντα εὐαγῆ μοναστήρια.

(9) Geschenke beeinflussten zu allen Zeiten Meinungen: zum Beispiel A.-M. MAFFRY TALBOT, *Athanasii I patriarchae Constantinopolitani epistulae CXV ad imperatorem Andronicum II eiusque propinquos necnon officiales missae* (CFHB, 7 = *Dumbarton Oaks Texts*, 3), Washington, D.C., 1975, ep. 48 (an den Kaiser gerichtet): Mit Melonen und Wein werden Teilnehmer bei den Synodalbeschlüssen bestochen (ep. 48, 14-15: εἰ δὲ γε καὶ περὶ ψήφων συνέλθωσιν, οὔποτε ἀποστή παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ οἴνου φροντίσας σὺν πέποσιν).

(10) Siehe jetzt G. ALGAZI (Hrsg.), *Negotiating the gift. Pre-modern figurations of exchange* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 188), Göttingen, 2003; F. A. BAUER, *Gabe und Person: Geschenke als Träger personaler Aura in der*



doch interessiert in diesem Zusammenhang mehr die materielle Komponente.

Die Briefbeigaben waren von unterschiedlichster Natur, wobei Nahrungsmittel eine besonders große Rolle spielten, und sie stammten – entsprechend den Aufenthaltsorten der Korrespondenzpartner – aus den verschiedensten Gegenden des byzantinischen Reiches, doch nur in seltenen Fällen wurden auch die Transportumstände mit angeführt<sup>(11)</sup>. Man findet für Regionen typische Produkte wie Käse aus Paphlagonien, Mastix und Wein aus Chios, gepökelte Süßwasserfische aus den Donaugebieten, etc.<sup>(12)</sup>.

Durch die Erwähnung von Nahrungsmitteln werden unsere Kenntnisse des Speiseplans bzw. der Ernährungsvielfalt der Byzantiner zwar bereichert, doch allgemeine Rückschlüsse auf Ernährungsgewohnheiten kann man daraus nur bedingt ziehen, da sie

1. nur ein schmales Segment der byzantinischen Gesellschaft betreffen und
2. die Wertschätzung einer Gabe individuell unterschiedlich und der Kontext immer ein anderer ist<sup>(13)</sup>.

*Spätantike* (Eichstätter Universitätsreden, 116), Eichstätt, 2009. – Zum Austausch und kulturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung von Geschenken siehe die Beiträge in den *Mitteilungen zur Spätantiken Archäologie und Byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, 4 (2005) und der Tagungsband (Münster 19.-20. November 2009) „Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft“ (in Vorbereitung).

(11) Ein Beispiel, bei dem die Briefübermittlung durch die ungünstigen Transportverhältnisse beinahe scheiterte, findet man unter den Schreiben Ioannes Tzetzes': Ein Brief wurde durch Wasser derart beschädigt, dass man den Inhalt beinahe nicht mehr lesen konnte, dazu GRÜNBART, *Der byzantinische Brief und der Raum*, S. 346 (zu Tzetzes Brief Nr. 102 LEONE).

(12) Siehe dazu die Arbeiten von A. KARPOZILOS, *Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X-XIIc.*, in *BZ*, 77 (1984), S. 20-37; DERS., *Realia in Byzantine Epistolography XIII-XVc.*, in *BZ*, 88 (1995), S. 68-84; DERS., *Books and Bookmen in the 14th Century. The Epistolographical Evidence*, in *JÖB*, 41 (1991), S. 255-276.

(13) Z.B. ein mit Mandeln gespicktes Huhn bei Eustathios von Thessalonike: F. KOLOVOU, *Die Briefe des Eustathios von Thessalonike. Einleitung, Regesten, Text, Indizes* (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 239), Leipzig, 2006, ep. 5, einen Hasen J. DARROUZÈS - L. G. WESTERINK (Hrsg.), *Théodore Daphnopatès. Correspondance éditée et traduite*, Paris, 1978, ep. 28, 2-4 oder einen Honigkuchen LEONE, *Ioannis Tzetzae epistulae*, ep. 68.

Ob man an der Art und Beschaffenheit der Beigaben eine Hierarchie ablesen kann – wie dies jüngst geschehen ist<sup>(14)</sup> –, muss offen bleiben, denn man müsste zunächst definieren, was in einer Beziehung als besonders wertvoll gilt, was unter Luxus (zu einer bestimmten Zeit) zu verstehen ist<sup>(15)</sup>. Ein Beispiel soll dies illustrieren: Es ist Fastenzeit. Theodoros von Kyzikos korrespondiert regelmäßig mit Kaiser Konstantin VII., dessen Lehrer er ist. (Dieser Briefwechsel gehört zu den längsten aus der byzantinischen Zeit erhalten gebliebenen.) Theodoros weilt am bithynischen Olymp, während Konstantinos in der Hauptstadt residiert. Zwischen den beiden Korrespondierenden werden auch Gaben ausgetauscht. Der Kaiser schickt als Stellvertreter Christi Brot und Wein und der Mönch Gemüse (θρίδαξ), um die Frömmigkeit des Souveräns zu unterstreichen. Theodoros lässt dem Kaiser auch einen (kostbaren) arabischen Kelch zukommen! Diese Gabe hatte sich im Laufe des schriftlichen Austausches schon länger angekündigt<sup>(16)</sup>.

Apostolos Karpozilos hat in mehreren Aufsätzen ein fast vollständiges Inventar zu Realien in Briefen erstellt, doch wird der Kontext, in dem ein Austausch von Gaben stattfindet, in den meisten Fällen nicht berücksichtigt (auch bei dem eben angeführten nicht)<sup>(17)</sup>.

Generell ist zu sagen, dass man das schickt, was jemandem zur Verfügung steht oder wovon man Überfluss hat. Besonders geschätzt sind etwa Produkte aus dem eigenen Garten. Eustathios Kataphloron, der spätere Erzbischof von Thessalonike, und Demetrios Kydones besitzen

(14) A. A. DEMOSTHENOUS, *The scholar and the partridge: Attitudes relating to nutritional goods in the twelfth century from the letters of the scholar John Tzetzes*, in W. MAYER - S. TRZCIONKA (Hrsg.), *Feast, fast or famine: Food and drink in Byzantium* (Byzantina Australiensia, 15), Brisbane, 2005, S. 25-31.

(15) Zu Luxusprodukten vgl. L. BRUBAKER, *Material culture and the myth of Byzantium, 750-950*, in G. ARNALDI - G. CAVALLO (Hrsg.), *Europa medievale e mondo bizantino. Contatti effettivi e possibilità di studi comparati* (Nuovi studi storici, 40), Rom, 1997, S. 33-41.

(16) S. dazu M. GRÜNBART, *Edelsteine der Freundschaft – der Briefwechsel zwischen Konstantinos VII. Porphyrogenetos und Theodoros von Kyzikos* (in Vorbereitung). – Der arabische Kelch zählte sicher zur Kategorie „Luxus“ und gerade aus dem zehnten Jahrhundert gibt es einige auch materielle Zeugnisse. Siehe A. CUTLER, *Uses of Luxury: On the Functions of Consumption and Symbolic Capital in Byzantine Culture*, in: A. GUILLOU & J. DURAND (Hrsg.), *Byzance et les images*, Paris, 1993, S. 289-327, bes. S. 312-313 und weiters Leslie BRUBAKER (vorangegangene Fußnote).

(17) Siehe Fn. 12.



Gärten in Konstantinopel, mit deren Ertrag – Äpfel, Pfirsiche und auch Rosen werden genannt – sie auch gerne Freunde und Bekannte bedenken. Bei Kydones kommt es sogar zu Engpässen<sup>(18)</sup>.

Eine Rolle spielte natürlich auch die Entfernung zwischen Korrespondenten, da mit zunehmender Distanz die Haltbarkeit von Gütern gefragt war.

Doch Briefe bewahren nicht nur Informationen zur Beschaffenheit und Vielfalt von ausgetauschten Gütern, sondern sie liefern auch Details zur Rekonstruktion und Dokumentation von Handelswegen. Spuren davon entdeckt man in vielfältiger Weise in den Briefen selbst. *En passant* erwähnt werden sollen die Briefe von Reisenden, in denen sich manchmal auch Angaben zu ihren Reiserouten finden. Reisebriefe gibt es seit dem Anfang der byzantinischen Epistolographie: Berühmt ist der 4. [5.] Brief des Synesios, in dem er von seiner Seereise berichtet<sup>(19)</sup>. Aus späterer Zeit ist Theodoros Studites zu nennen, der über den Weg in seine Verbannung schreibt (die Stationen seiner Reise sind Thessalonike, Prinzeninseln und Metopa in Bithynien)<sup>(20)</sup>. Leon von Synada (Ende 10. Jh.) verliert leider nur wenige Worte über seine Reise in den Westen (wie gerne hätten wir mehr Informationen über die Peterskirche in Rom!)<sup>(21)</sup>, Leons Korrespondenz enthält dafür aber kulturgeschichtliche und handelsgeschichtliche Details zu Kleinasien, wie eine Szene aus Pylai, dem wichtigsten kleinasiatischen Hafen Konstantinopel gegenüber, von wo aus Mensch und Tier in die Hauptstadt übersetzten<sup>(22)</sup>.

(18) R.-L. LOENERTZ, *Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance*, I-II (ST, 186 und 208), Città del Vaticano, 1956 und 1960, ep. 81.

(19) A. GARZYA, *Synesii Cyrenensis epistolae*, Rom, 1979; vgl. L. CASSON, *Bishop Synesios' voyage to Cyrene*, in *The American Neptune*, 12 (1952), S. 294-296.

(20) T. PRATSCH, *Theodoros Studites (759-826) – zwischen Dogma und Pragma. Der Abt des Studiosklosters in Konstantinopel im Spannungsfeld von Patriarch, Kaiser und eigenem Anspruch* (Berliner byzantinistische Studien, 4), Frankfurt am Main, 1998, S. 247f., 264f.

(21) M. POLLARD VINSON (ed.), *The Correspondance of Leo, Metropolitan of Synada and Syncellus* (CFHB, 23 – Series Washingtoniensis), Washington, D.C., 1985, ep. 7.

(22) Ep. 43; M. GRÜNBART, *Ferngespräche – zum Briefschreiben im ausgehenden zehnten Jahrhundert*, in *Βυζαντινά*, 22 (2001), S. 25-46, S. 28, L. ROBERT, *Les kordakia de Nicée, le combustible de Synnada et les poissons-sciés. Sur les lettres d'un métropolitte de Phrygie du x<sup>e</sup> siècle. Philologie et réalités*, in *Journal des Savants* (1961), S. 97-166, (1962), S. 5-74.

Weitere Quellentexte, die für das Thema Reise ergiebig sind, sind Nikolaos Mesarites' brieflicher Reisebericht<sup>(23)</sup>, die Reise des Georgios Oinaïotes von Konstantinopel nach Ganos<sup>(24)</sup>, oder die Korrespondenz Kaisers Manuels II.<sup>(25)</sup> Es ist dabei festzuhalten, dass derartige Briefe oft tagebuchartigen Charakter aufweisen und sich besonders in spätbyzantinischer Zeit häufen<sup>(26)</sup>. In solchen Dokumenten können und werden auch negative Eindrücke festgehalten, da der Briefstil nicht den Regeln der idealen Ortsbeschreibungen verpflichtet ist<sup>(27)</sup>.

Doch soll hier nicht mit der sicher reizvollen Fragestellung der Rezeption von Raum im Brief fortgesetzt werden<sup>(28)</sup>, sondern drei markante Beispiele vorgeführt werden, welche die Wichtigkeit der Quelle „Brief“ für die Handels- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte unterstreichen:

### 1. Bestellung einer Heilpflanze

Ioannes Tzetzes, der von etwa 1100 bis nach 1160 lebte, litt unter seiner Atemwegserkrankung (Orthopnoe), und in der zweiten Hälfte seiner Briefsammlung häufen sich Klagen darüber. Es handelt sich bei ihm nicht um den weit verbreiteten Topos des kranken und armen Dichters / Lehrers, sondern diese Krankheit dürfte letztendlich zu seinem Tod geführt haben<sup>(29)</sup>.

(23) A. HEISENBERG, *Reisebericht an die Mönche des Euergetidosklosters in Konstantinopel (a. 1208)*, in *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion II* (Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. 1923, 2), München, 1923, S. 35-46.

(24) H. AHRWEILER, *Le récit du voyage d'Oinaïôtès de Constantinople à Ganos* (Texte du lettre d'Oinaïôtès par G. Fatouros), in W. SEIBT (Hrsg.), *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit: Referate des Internationalen Symposiums zu Ehren von Herbert Hunger* (Wien 30. November bis 3. Dezember 1994), Wien, 1996, S. 9-27.

(25) G. T. DENNIS, *Manuelis II Palaeologi epistulae* (CFHB, 8 = Dumbarton Oaks Texts, 4), Washington, D.C., 1977.

(26) A. KARPOZILOS, *Ταξιδιωτικές περιγραφές και εντυπώσεις σε επιστολογραφικά κείμενα*, in N. G. MOSCHONAS (Hrsg.), *Η επικοινωνία στο Βυζάντιο*, Athen, 1993, S. 511-541. Zu Briefen von Personen, die fern der Hauptstadt weilen, s. M. MULLETT, *Originality in the Byzantine Letter: The Case of Exile*, in A. R. LITTLEWOOD (Hrsg.), *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music* (Oxbow Monograph, 50), Oxford, 1995, S. 39-58.

(27) Siehe dazu M. GRÜNBART, *Natürliche Eindrücke? Byzantinische Gelehrte auf Reisen* (in Vorbereitung).

(28) M. GRÜNBART, *Der byzantinische Brief und der Raum*, S. 343-355.

(29) Besonders ep. 95; dazu P. TIMPLALEXI, *Medizinisches in der byzantinischen Epistolographie (1100-1453)* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, 7 B 9), Frankfurt am

Der *grammatikos* Nikephoros war zusammen mit Ioannes II., dem Metropoliten von Amastris<sup>(30)</sup>, der an der Synode 1157 teilnahm, von Konstantinopel zu Schiff nach Amastris<sup>(31)</sup> am Schwarzen Meer gereist. Tzetzes bittet Nikephoros, ihm von dort eine heilkräftige Pflanze zu schicken, die in der Gegend des Ankunftsortes verfügbar sei<sup>(32)</sup>. Amastris, heute Samastrus, war ein wichtiger Stützpunkt für den Schwarzmeerhandel, lange Zeit in genuesischem Einflussbereich fiel es erst 1460 an die Osmanen.

Zunächst beschreibt Tzetzes die Pflanze genau, um dem Empfänger die Besorgung möglichst einfach zu gestalten. Von einem Baum, welcher der Tanne oder Fichte ähnlich sei, solle er ihm Samen schicken, und falls er diese nicht fände, möge er ihm Schösslinge davon zukommen lassen. Die jungen Pflanzen sollen – nachdem das Erdreich angefeuchtet worden ist – ausgegraben und zusammen mit der sie an den Wurzeln umgebenden Erde in einen Korb oder einen Topf gegeben wer-

Main, 2002, S. 52-54; M. GRÜNBART, *Byzantinisches Gelehrtenelend – oder wie meistert man seinen Alltag?*, in: L. M. HOFFMANN - A. MONCHIZADEH (Hrsg.), *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie: Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur* (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik, 7), Mainz, 2005, S. 413-426.

(30) J. SHEPARD, *Tzetzes' Letters to Leo at Dristra*, in *BF*, 6 (1979) S. 191-239, S. 214-215.

(31) K. BELKE, *Paphlagonien und Honorias* (TIB, 9), Wien, 1996, S. 161-170.

(32) LEONE, *Ioannes Tzetzes epistulae*, ep. 100 (S. 146-147), S. 146,8 - S. 147,4: ... λειοκύμοσιν αὔραις οὐριοδρομούση κάλλιστα τῇ νηὶ εἶθε σὺν τῷ ἀγίῳ δεσπότη κατάρειας ἐς τὴν Ἄμαστριν. μέμνησο γοῦν ἔχων καλῶς, ἐπὰν τὸν πλοῦν ἐκεῖσε ἀνύσειας, ὡς ἂν ἐκεῖθεν εὐτελές τι, ἡμῖν δὲ πάνυ λυσιτελέστατον στείλεις. παρὰ τὴν Ἄμαστριν, ὡς φασιν, ἐλάται πεφύκασι δένδρα, δενδρολιβάνω μὲν ἐμπερὲς φέρουσαι φύλλον, πυκνότερον δὲ καὶ εὐσυνθετώτερον· τὸ ξύλον δὲ αὐτῶν εἰκόσ ἐστι τῷ τῆς στροβίλου τοῦ δένδρου, ὑπιτενὲς δὲ πολὺ καὶ σταυροφυές, ὁδμήν δὲ τὸ φύλλον αὐτῶν ὁσφραίνόμενον ἔχει βαρεῖαν. τοῦτο τὸ δένδρον σπέρμα φασὶ φέρειν καρπῷ καννάβου παρεμπερὲς, ὃ τῆς ὀδυνώδους καθέστηκεν ἰαμα νόσου τῆς αἵμα τὸ ἐμὸν ἐκφορούσης. σπέρμα γοῦν τοιοῦτον διὰ τῆς καλλίστης ἀγάπης σου φρόντισον συναχθῆναι καὶ σταλῆναί μοι· εἰ δέ γε σπέρματος εὐρέσεως οὐκ ἔστιν εὐμάρεια, ἀλλ' οὖν φυτάρια τοιαῦτα νεαρὰ πάνυ ἐμβληθῆτωσαν εἰς καλαθίσκον εἶτε καὶ χύτραν, πλήν δικέλλη ἀνασπασθέντα μετὰ μεγαλοβώλου αὐτῶν γῆς, πρῶτον προβραχῆναι ὀφειλοῦσης τῆς γῆς, ἵν' οὕτω μεγαλόβωλος ἀνασπασθῆ, καὶ σταλήτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἀνήκοντα μισθὸν τῷ ἀποκομίσοντι δοίημεν. Vgl. M. GRÜNBART, *Prasopographische Beiträge zum Briefcorpus des Johannes Tzetzes*, in *JÖB*, 46 (1996), S. 175-226. – DEMOSTHENOUS, *The scholar and the partridge*, S. 25-31.

den, den er dann nach Konstantinopel – natürlich auf dem Seeweg – transportieren lassen sollte. Dem, der ihm die Pflanze aus Amastris mitbringt, verspricht Tzetzes angemessene Entlohnung.

Schwierigkeiten bereitete die Identifizierung der Pflanze<sup>(33)</sup>, doch dürfte mittlerweile klar sein, dass es sich um einen Myrtenstrauch handelt, der im mediterranen Raum weit verbreitet war und ist und der verschiedentlich genutzt wurde (μύρτος, μύρρινος). Schon Theophrast schreibt, dass die Myrte in den Gebieten an der Propontis und der Schwarzmeerküste häufig sei. Die augenfälligste Übereinstimmung der theophrastischen Beschreibung mit der von Tzetzes ist, dass auch der antike Schriftsteller den Myrtenstrauch mit der Tanne und der Fichte vergleicht. Und er schreibt auch, dass Myrte als Heilmittel bei Lungenkrankheiten eingesetzt wird<sup>(34)</sup>.

Der Brief gibt ein instruktives Beispiel für die Praxis privaten Güteraustausches/-bestellung.

Es zeigen sich in dieser Momentaufnahme sowohl die Regelmäßigkeit des Verkehrs zwischen Konstantinopel und Amastris (1. Nikephoros und der Metropolit reisen nach Amastris; 2. Tzetzes gibt den beiden einen Brief dorthin mit und 3. erwartet eine Lieferung von jungen Myrtenpflanzen /-samen) als auch die Organisation und die Praxis der Abwicklung eines privaten Geschäfts (Bestellung / Bitte – Freundschaftsdienst / Besorgung und Entlohnung des Transporteurs). Außerdem bewahrt diese Quelle einen seltenen (mittelalterlichen) Nachweis des Transportes lebender Pflanzen zur See, der seit der Antike bekannt ist<sup>(35)</sup>.

## 2. Ein Frachtbrief

Das nächste Beispiel stammt aus der Briefsammlung des Michael Choniates, der ab 1182 (bis 1204) Metropolit von Athen war und von dort rege Briefkontakte unterhielt.

(33) KARPOZILOS, *Realia* (1984), S. 28 meint, es handle sich um Rosmarin.

(34) Abbildung H. BAUMANN, *Die griechische Pflanzenwelt in Mythos, Kunst und Literatur*, München, 1993, S. 51, Abb. 82 (Blüte), Abb. 88 (Blatt); V. HEHN, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa*, Berlin, 1911, S. 238f.

(35) K. HORNIG, *Pflanzentransporte zu Wasser im antiken Mittelmeerraum*, in *Syllis. Zeitschrift für Unterwasserarchäologie*, 2 (1999), S. 126-137.

Von einem sonst nicht nachzuweisenden Esaias Antiochites <sup>(36)</sup> hatte Choniates in Athen Briefe erhalten. Michael antwortete ihm und wünschte sich, ihn zu treffen und mit ihm zu sprechen. Zusammen mit dem Brief, der zwischen 1202 und 1205 zu datieren ist <sup>(37)</sup>, übermittelte Michael Choniates ihm Folgendes :

„Deiner Heiligkeit werden Öl (ein voller Schlauch, der zwölf attische Xesten enthält) und Seife (vier Behälter, von denen einer kleiner als die übrigen ist) geschickt. Die Gewänder wurden gekauft und (in den Färberbottich) getreten <sup>(38)</sup>, vor dem Färben segelte aber der anwesende *naukleros* Kataris ab und nahm die vorhandenen Dinge mit ; wenn aber zu uns ein weiteres monembasiotisches Schiff kommt, werden Dir auch die Gewänder geschickt werden“ <sup>(39)</sup>.

Olivenöl wurde in Athen auch in byzantinischer Zeit in großer Menge produziert ; Choniates verwendete eine klassische Volumensangabe : die attische Xeste ist ein Maß für flüssige und trockene Dinge, à 0,564 l, insgesamt also etwa 6 l]). Die Seife wurde wahrscheinlich in trockener Form in Kisten geschickt (Belege dazu aus der spätbyzantinischen Zeit).

Dieser schriftliche Nachweis der Seifenproduktion in Athen bleibt nicht alleine stehen, da er sich mit dem archäologischen Befund deckt. Bei Ausgrabungen in Athen wurden byzantinische Werkstätten am Dipylon und am Olympieion gefunden. Darunter werden einige der

(36) In einem Brief richtet Michael Choniates Grüße seines *grammatikos* Nikolaos Antiochites an den Metropolit von Theben, Euthymios, aus (23, 35), der nach S. LAMPROS, *Μιχαήλ τοῦ Ἀκομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, Athen, 1880, II 601 ein Verwandter von Esaias sein könnte (diese Angabe übernimmt KOLOVOU 1999, S. 79 nicht) ; Träger des Namens Antiochites bei Ch. STAVRAKOS, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel mit Familiennamen aus der Sammlung des Numismatischen Museums Athen (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik, 4)*, Wiesbaden, 2000, Nr. 17-20 (alle aus dem letzten Drittel des 11. Jahrhunderts).

(37) Zum Brief und Adressaten s. Ph. Ch. KOLOVOU, *Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτης. Συμβολή στη μελέτη του βίου και του έργου του. Το corpus των επιστολών (Πονήματα, 2)*, Athen, 1999, S. 79-80.

(38) ἐμπατεῖσθαι bezeichnet auch das Treten von Weintrauben (οἶνον πατεῖν).

(39) KOLOVOU, *Michaelis Choniatae epistulae* 84, 14-19, ἀπεστάλη τῇ ἀγιωσύνῃ σου ἔλαιον (ἄσκος πλήρης χωρῶν δώδεκα ξέστας ἀττικούς) καὶ σάπων (βυτινάρια τέσσαρα, ὧν τὸ ἐν βραχύτερον τῶν λοιπῶν)· ῥάσα ἐξωνήθησαν καὶ ἐπατήθησαν, πρὶν δὲ καὶ βαφῆναι ἀπέπλευσεν ὁ παρῶν ναύκληρος ὁ Κάτζαρις καὶ ὁ παραλαβῶν τὰ παρόντα εἶδη· εἰ δὲ ἔλθῃ αὐτόθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔτερον πλοῖον μονεμβασιωτικόν, σταλήσεται καὶ τὰ ῥάσα.

Strukturen als Gerbereien, andere als Seifenproduktionsstätten interpretiert <sup>(40)</sup>.

Diese industriellen Anlagen dürfen aber nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, dass Athen zu dieser Zeit – wenn man den Aussagen Choniates Glauben schenken darf – an Facharbeitermangel litt. Es gäbe keine Schmiede <sup>(41)</sup> und sogar Wagenbauer <sup>(42)</sup> muss man aus dem entfernt liegenden Gardikion <sup>(43)</sup> kommen lassen.

Choniates verwendet für die zu übermittelnden Kleidungsstücke den Begriff τὰ ῥάσα, womit allgemein geistliche Gewandung, sei es für Priester, sei es für Mönche gemeint sein kann <sup>(44)</sup>.

(40) Ch. BOURAS, *City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture*, in XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Wien, 4.-9. Oktober 1981. Akten I/2 (= JÖB, 31/2), S. 611-653, 627: „Industry certainly developed amidst the residential areas, but in two places, both a good distance from the fortified heart of the city independent settlements sprang up at the Dipylon and the Olympieion for industries that needed an abundant water supply.“ – M. KAZANAKI-LAPPA, *Medieval Athens*, in A. E. LAIOU (Hrsg.), *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century* (DOS, 39), II, Washington, D.C., 2002, S. 639-646, 644f. darauf bezieht sich Ch. BOURAS, *Aspects of the Byzantine City. Eighth-Fifteenth Centuries*, in LAIOU, *The Economic History of Byzantium*, II, S. 497-528, 518 (jeweils mit weiterführender Literatur). Vgl. auch M. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204. A Political History*, Cambridge, 1997<sup>2</sup>, S. 281 (erwähnt Seifen und Purpurproduktion in Athen) ; A. KARPOZIOS - A.-M. TALBOT, *Soap*, in ODB, S. 1920-1921 ; KARPOZIOS, *Realia* (1984), geht auf diesen Austausch nicht ein. – Seife spielte auch im spätbyzantinischen Handel eine wichtige Rolle und ist auch in schriftlichen Quellen präsent ; sie wurde zumeist in Kisten transportiert, vgl. P. SCHREINER, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana* (ST, 344), Città del Vaticano, 1991, S. 369f.

(41) KOLOVOU, *Michaelis Choniatae epistulae* 8, 37-39 : κἀντεῦθεν ἡ μεγάλη πόλις ἐρείπιον μέγα καὶ ἄλλως θρυλλούμενον· ἐξέλιπε καὶ φουσητήρ, οὐ σιδηρεὺς παρ' ἡμῖν, οὐ χαλκεύς, οὐ μαχαιροποιός, ταῦτα δὲ τὰ χθὲς καὶ πρὸ τρίτης ἔτι σωζόμενα.

(42) KOLOVOU, *Michaelis Choniatae epistulae*, ep. 43,13.

(43) Gardikion liegt 14 km östlich von Trikala, s. J. KODER - F. HILD, *Hellas und Thessalien* (TIB, 1), Wien, 1976, S. 161.

(44) Die Bezeichnung der Kleidung hängt mit ihrer Machart zusammen (lat. rarus \*radere, „geschoren“, „glatt“). Ein Beleg aus dem 11. Jahrhundert bei Georgios Monachos, *Chronographie* PG 110, 1245 C : καὶ ἐφόρεσεν αὐτὴν ῥάσα, καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτὴν εἰς μοναστήρι. Michael VII. Parapinakes schickt seine Mutter Eudokia 1071 ins Kloster. – Siehe K. CZERWENKA-PAPADOPOULOS, *Rasson*, in H. KÜHNEL, *Bildwörterbuch der Kleidung und Rüstung vom Alten Orient bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1992, S. 204-205 (mit Abb. : Schaubild VII). In späteren Dokumenten der Wirtschaftsgeschichte bedeutet ῥάσον „Mönchskleidung“ s. SCHREINER, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, s.v.

In dieser Sequenz spiegelt sich ein alltäglicher Vorgang wieder: man gibt einem Schiffseigner Dinge mit, die der Adressat, nach dem er durch den Brief Verständigung erhalten hat, am Hafen abholt.

Die genaue Mengenangabe dient dazu, eventuellen Missverständnissen vorzubeugen. Choniates nennt auch den Namen des Schiffseigners und -kapitäns (*naukleros*)<sup>(45)</sup>, Katzaris, der auf dem Schiff anwesend ist (dass Choniates dies explizit anführt, ist wiederum eine Absicherung, denn damit kennt der Empfänger den für die Abwicklung des Transportes Verantwortlichen). Wahrscheinlich hat Michael Choniates die Transportkosten schon am Ausgangshafen Athen/Piräus beglichen.

Dieser Katzaris ist natürlich nur durch diese Briefstelle nachweisbar, den Familiennamen findet man später in Athosurkunden.

Welche Bedeutung haben nun diese Güter? Menge und Beschaffenheit lassen einen anderen Zweck vermuten als einen rein auf freundschaftlicher Zuneigung basierenden. Der Empfänger Esaias ist leider in keiner anderen Quelle nachzuweisen, und Choniates gibt auch keine näheren Angaben zu seiner Funktion. Doch lassen die Anredeformen *οσιώτατος* und *ἀγιωσύνη* an einen Mann aus geistlichem Milieu, wenn nicht sogar an einen Abt denken<sup>(46)</sup>.

Die Natur der Geschenke/Gaben könnte diese Annahme untermauern, denn in einem Kloster brauchte und schätzte man alle. In Klostertypika ist immer von der Zuteilung von Öl und auch Seife die Rede<sup>(47)</sup>. Die erwähnten Gewänder passen ebenso in diesen Kontext.

Doch gewinnt man aus der Stelle noch mehr: Michael Choniates will die Kleider, die bei der ersten Lieferung aufgrund ihres unfertigen Zu-

(45) Die Bedeutung des Wortes „*naukleros*“ ist in der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit nicht eng umrissen vgl. etwa A. LAIOU, *Exchange and Trade, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in LAIOU, *The Economic History of Byzantium*, II, S. 701f.

(46) S. dazu M. GRÜNBART, *Formen der Anrede im byzantinischen Brief vom 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert* (WBS, 25), Wien, 2005, s.v.

(47) Z.B. im Typikon des Pantokrator-Klosters gibt es die Angabe P. GAUTIER, *Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator*, in REB, 32 (1974), S. 1-145, 1147 *καὶ ἕκαστος τούτων κυριακῇ ὑπὲρ σαπωνίου λήφεται φύλλεις τρεῖς*: „... jeder (der Patienten) soll an jedem Sonntag drei *folleis* für Seife erhalten“. In den Klostertypika werden regelmäßig Angaben zu Seifenrationen gemacht, was gewissermaßen zur Grundausstattung eines Klosterbetriebes gehörte. Siehe generell J. THOMAS - A. CONSTANTINIDES HERO (Hrsg.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founder's Typika and Testaments*, V (DOS, 35), Washington, D.C., 2000, (General Index) s.v. *bathing articles*.

standes nicht mitgegeben werden konnten – sie müssen noch gefärbt und dementsprechend getrocknet werden –, mit dem nächsten monembasiotischen Schiff schicken. Die Angabe *ἕτερον μονεμβασιωτικὸν πλοῖον* ist einerseits eine Präzisierung für den Adressaten – er solle nach dem nächsten Schiff aus Monembasia Ausschau halten –, andererseits impliziert die Formulierung eine selbstverständliche Regelmäßigkeit von Schiffen aus Monembasia, die zwischen Athen und dem Aufenthaltsort des Empfängers verkehrten.

Athen galt zu dieser Zeit als durch den Seehandel begünstigter Ort und sei mit Konstantinopel vergleichbar, wie es in einem Brief des Michael Choniates heißt<sup>(48)</sup>. Und wo sitzt der Adressat? Spyridon Lampros und Foteini Kolovou meinen, der Empfänger halte sich in Monembasia oder in der Gegend von Monembasia auf<sup>(49)</sup>. Dagegen spricht meiner Meinung, dass ein Schiff das nach Monembasia fährt nicht als *μονεμβασιωτικὸν* bezeichnet wird, da den Empfänger doch vielmehr interessiert von woher das Schiff kommt. Wenn man *μονεμβασιωτικός* als Herkunftsangabe versteht, dann liegt der Aufenthaltsort von Esaias auf der Route eines monembasiotischen Schiffes: Choniates lässt in Athen die Güter zuladen und dann weitertransportieren – der Aufenthaltsort könnte dann zwischen Athen und Monembasia sein, oder zwischen Athen und anderswo. Vielleicht kann man sogar Konstantinopel als Zielort annehmen.

Dieses Beispiel zeigt, welche Vielfalt an Informationen zum Güterverkehr sich in einem Brief auf tun können<sup>(50)</sup>.

(48) Kolovou, *Michaelis Choniatae epistulae* 60. Ob das mit Blick auf die obigen Ausführungen Choniates' nicht auch euphemistisch zu verstehen ist, scheint zumindest erwägenswert; Athen als Freihandelsort, s. R.-J. LILIE, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen*, Amsterdam, 1984, S. 53.

(49) Kolovou, *Michaelis Choniatae epistulae*, S. 100\* führt im Kommentar die Interpretation von Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Ἀκομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, II, S. 601 an, der meinte, der Adressat des Briefes, Esaias Antiocheites, wohnte in Monembasia; aber auch die Ausweitung des Aufenthaltsortes „auf die weitere Umgebung von Monemvasia“ (Kolovou, *Michaelis Choniatae epistulae*, S. 100\*, Fn. 254) überzeugt nicht.

(50) Auf die Stelle bezieht sich schon W. MILLER, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, London, 1921 (= Amsterdam, 1964), S. 232; H. A. KALLIGAS, *Byzantine Monemvasia, Monemvasia*, 1990, S. 69f.: „Merchant ships from Monemvasia seem frequently to have visited the port of Piraeus, as the Metropolitan of Athens Michael

## 3. Nachrichtenaustausch

Mit dem folgenden kurzen Beispiel, das aus der spätbyzantinischen Zeit stammt, kann ein wenig Licht auf den Ablauf des Informationsaustausches geworfen werden. Wichtigster Umschlagplatz für Güter und Neuigkeiten war der Hafen<sup>(51)</sup> und mitunter kann ein Brief unsere Kenntnisse vom dortigen Treiben ergänzen<sup>(52)</sup>.

Demetrios Kydones erwartet seinen Freund Ioannes Asanes, der aus Euböia kommen sollte, in Konstantinopel, und er reitet zusammen mit dem Onkel des Asanes zum Hafen, um ihn dort persönlich abzuholen (der Brief lässt sich in das Jahr 1383 datieren). Doch kann man ihn nirgends entdecken, und der erste Passagier, der von der venezianischen Galeere ἡ τῶν Βενετῶν τριήρης, steigt, gibt ihnen die Auskunft, dass Asanes Euböia nicht verlassen hätte, sondern entschlossen war, in die Peloponnes zu reisen. Sie glauben es nicht, fragen mehrere Personen, erhalten immer dieselbe Auskunft (wie gut alle informiert sind!), bis sie von ihren Pferden absitzen und selbst das Schiff betreten. Dort begegnen sie dem kaiserlichen Gesandten Sebastopoulos<sup>(53)</sup>, der dem Kaiser

Choniates observes in one of his letters." Eine weitere Belegstelle zum Handelsverkehr zwischen Monembasia und Konstantinopel im 12. Jahrhundert bei I. A. VAN DIETEN (Hrsg.), *Nicetae Choniatae historia* (CFHB, 11/1-2 – Series Berolinensis), Berlin – New York, 1975, S. 442, 54-58: ἡ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου σπουδὴ, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς νῦν λεγομένης Μονεμβασίας ἀνακομίσειε τὸν ἐπὶ σταυρὸν ἐλκόμενον Χριστὸν ὡς ἔργον ἀξιάγαστον καὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὴν χάριν, οὐδὲν ἀπελείπετο τῶν ἐμμανεστάτων παθῶν. Isaakios Komnenos möchte eine Ikone des Christos Helkomenos aus Monemvasia bekommen. – P. SCHREINER, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken, I, Einleitung und Text* (CFHB, 12/1), Wien, 1975, S. 319 (Nr. 41/3); II 178 – Epigramm von Ioannes Apokaukos, in *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 15 (1903), nr. 14; zu Monemvasia siehe zuletzt H. KALLIGAS, *Monemvasia, Seventh-fifteenth centuries*, in: LAIOU, *The Economic History of Byzantium*, II, S. 879-897.

(51) Nicht nur der Besuch von Freudenhäusern, M. McCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce A.D. 30 – 900*, Cambridge, 2001, S. 425f. "they loaded and unloaded cargo. Transacted business (about which we have little data)."

(52) LOENERTZ, *Démétrius Cydonès*, ep. 267, Übersetzung und Kommentar bei F. TINNEFELD, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe* (112 Briefe, Register) (Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, 50, Abteilung Byzantinistik), Stuttgart, 1999, Nr. 257; zu Chalkis s. J. KODER, *Negroponte. Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euböia während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Tabula Imperii Byzantini, 1), Wien, 1973, S. 69ff.

(53) PLP, Nr. 25080.

eine Antwort von den Venezianern zu übermitteln hatte. Sebastopoulos war im ersten Halbjahr des Jahres 1383 in Venedig, um über die Insel Tenedos zu verhandeln<sup>(54)</sup>. Dieser Gesandte kann ihnen mehr berichten: Als man Chalkis verlassen wollte, sei Ioannes Asanes<sup>(55)</sup> nirgends zu sehen gewesen. Auf der Hafenterrasse wimmelte es von Leuten, die einen einem kaiserlichen Gesandten zustehenden festlichen Abschied bereiteten. Es kam das Gerücht auf, dass Asanes gestorben sein könnte, denn man hätte es als Affront gegen den Kaiser gewertet, wenn er nicht bei der Abschiedszeremonie dabei gewesen wäre. Und „Alle waren unterwegs, sie gingen oder kehrten zurück, man begrüßte und verabschiedete sich, brachte Geschenke, erhielt Briefe von Freunden, schickte Briefe an Freunde“<sup>(56)</sup>. Dieser Beleg ist meines Wissens nach der einzige aus der byzantinischen Zeit für diesen alltäglichen, häufig stattfindenden Vorgang.

Auch von Kaiser Ioannes V., dem Sebastopoulos Bericht erstattet, wird Ioannes Asanes getadelt, dass er nicht einmal einen Brief geschickt habe. Kurz darauf hat sich ein Schreiben von Demetrios Kydones an Ioannes Asanes erhalten, in dem er sich für einen Brief von ihm bedankt, den jemand aus Euböia mitgebracht hatte.

Diese Schilderung macht deutlich, welche eminent wichtige Funktion Handelsschiffe hatten, da sie neben dem Gütertransport auch für den Informationsaustausch unerlässlich waren.

## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

In den angeführten Beispielen wird die Multifunktionalität von Briefen deutlich.

(54) Beim Frieden von Turin im Jahre 1381 wurde die Entmilitarisierung und Entvölkerung der Insel beschlossen, die 1385 abgeschlossen war (KODER, *Negroponte*, S. 54f.).

(55) Asanes war von 1383 bis zu seinem Tod 1386 auf Euböia; er war mit Sebastopoulos zerstritten.

(56) LOENERTZ, *Démétrius Cydonès*, 267,4-6: Πρὶν ἢ τοῦς ναύτας ἐρέττοντας παύσασθαι ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ σὸς θεῖος χαίροντες ἐθέομεν ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα, ὡς αὐτίκα σε ὀψόμεθα πεπεισμένοι. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδεπώποτ' ᾤθηται λοιπὸν σε διατρίψειν ἐκεῖ, τῆς τῶν Βενετῶν τριήρους λαβόμενον ... 31-34: ἀλλ' ὅτε κατήραμεν ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸν πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν Εὐριπὸν ἐμιμεῖτο, πάντων ἰόντων, ἐπανιόντων, ἀσπαζομένων, δῶρα φερόντων, γράμματα τὰ μὲν παρὰ φίλων δεχομένων τὰ δὲ φίλοις πεμπόντων, πάντων ὡσπερ σηῖνος περὶ ἡμᾶς κεχυμένων.



1) Briefbeigaben können klarerweise etwas über eine Region aussagen, müssen aber immer im Kontext, d.h. in der Relation in einem personalen Netzwerk, betrachtet werden.

2) Deutlich wird, wie Individuen Verkehrswege und Handelsrouten zum privaten Güter- und Informationsaustausch benutzen können, wobei es keine strikte Trennung zwischen staatlich und privat zu geben scheint. Briefe folgten den Handelswegen und sie enthalten auch für die byzantinische Handelsgeschichte relevante Informationen<sup>(57)</sup>, beim Fehlen anderer Handelsaufzeichnungen oder Kontobüchern ist das eine nützliche Quelle. Die Regelmäßigkeit der Verbindungen zwischen einzelnen Punkten wird deutlich, die üblichen Verkehrsrouten werden bestätigt (Monembasia) und fügen sich als Mosaiksteinchen in das Netz maritimer Seeverbindungen.

3) Mechanismen des Sicherns und Kontrollierens bei Transporten durch Frachtbriefe werden sichtbar (Nennung von Schiffseignern, Mengenangaben).

4) Letztendlich können die Angaben in Briefen auch die (byzantinische) Unterwasserarchäologie unterstützen, diese steckt allerdings erst in den Kinderschuhen; man ist aber überrascht über die Fülle der nachweisbaren Schiffsbeladungen<sup>(58)</sup>.

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#### SUMMARY

Byzantine letters reflect relations and networks of individuals. In a few cases letters add to the knowledge of economy, because they follow routes of trade (especially via ships) often accompanied by goods (gifts or ordered items). The examples taken from the Middle and Late Byzantine period provide detailed information on certain products (plants, clothes, soap) as well.

(57) McCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy*; G. MAKRI, *Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Schifffahrt (Collana storica di fonti e studi, 52)*, Genua, 1988.

(58) Gerade die Ausgrabungen des Theodosioshafens in der letzten Zeit können die Kenntnisse um Seetransporte erweitern und bestenfalls die Angaben in den Briefen ergänzen. Jedenfalls lässt sich durch die Funde belegen, dass Handelsschiffe gemischte Ladungen an Bord hatten; vgl. U. KOCABAŞ (Hrsg.), *The „old ships“ of the „New Gate“*, Istanbul, 2008.

## WHEN DID LASKARIS KANANOS TRAVEL IN THE BALTIC LANDS ? (\*)

Geography and travel writing cannot be said to have been flourishing genres in Middle and Late Byzantium. On the rare occasions when Byzantine authors discussed lands beyond their own borders, they often relied on classical authors for information and tended to avoid concrete facts, personal experience and contemporary reality<sup>(1)</sup>. One exception, however, is a short account in Greek of a voyage made through Scandinavia and the Baltic lands written by an individual called Laskaris Kananos. The author describes how he visited Bergen, Stockholm, Riga, Danzig, Lübeck and Copenhagen before moving on to England and Iceland. His account is clearly the result of first hand observation, rather than classical mimesis, and it includes a number of verifiable details such as distances, climate and the diet of the locals.

The Greek text of the travelogue was first published by Spyridon Lambros (1851-1919) in 1881 from a unique sixteenth-century manuscript in what is now the Austrian National Library<sup>(2)</sup>. Since then it has

(\*) I am indebted to Michael Carr, Charalambos Dendrinis, Janus Møller Jensen and Eugenia Russell for their assistance with the research for this article and to an anonymous reviewer for suggesting numerous improvements.

(1) C. GALATARIOU, *Travel and Perception in Byzantium*, in *DOP*, 47 (1993), pp. 221-241; A. M. CAMERON, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, London, 1985, pp. 207-222; C. MANGO, *Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror*, Oxford, 1975, pp. 14-16, reprinted in C. MANGO, *Byzantium and its Image (Variorum Reprints. Collected Studies, 191)*, London, 1984, No. II; D. M. NICOL, *The Byzantine View of Western Europe*, in *GRBS*, 8 (1967), pp. 315-339, at pp. 315-316; C. N. CONSTANTINIDES, *A Marginal Note on Britain and the Britons in an Athonite Manuscript of Michael Glykas*, in Chr. STAVRAKOS, A.-K. WASSILIOU and M. K. KRİKORIAN (eds.), *Hypermachos. Studien zu Byzantinistik, Armenologie und Georgistik. Festschrift für Werner Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, 2008, pp. 16-22.

(2) *Historicus* gr. 113, ff. 174-175; Sp. P. LAMBROS, *Κανάνος Λάσκαρις και Βασιλείος Βατάτζης δύο Έλληνες περιηγηταί του 16<sup>ου</sup> και 17<sup>ου</sup> αιώνος*, in *Παρνασσός*, 5 (1881), pt. 1, pp. 705-719, at pp. 706-707.



been twice re-edited and published, translated into numerous languages and subjected to thorough analysis, particularly by scholars from Baltic countries for whom it naturally holds a special interest<sup>(3)</sup>. Not surprisingly, over the years attempts have been made to establish the identity of the author. Lambros suggested that he might be the same man as John Kananos, an equally obscure figure who wrote a short account of the Ottoman siege of Constantinople in 1422. There is, however, nothing to connect the two apart from the surname and there is no agreement among scholars as to whether their literary styles tally or not<sup>(4)</sup>. Consequently, the editors of the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* wisely categorised the two Kananoi as separate individuals<sup>(5)</sup>.

While little progress has been made in establishing *who* Laskaris Kananos was, a convincing theory has been put forward with regard to *when* he might have made his journey. As long ago as 1904, Nicolaus Busch who was the town librarian of Riga, pointed out that in his travelogue Kananos mentions that Livonia was ruled 'by a duke of the grand master' (ὕπὸ τοῦ δουκὸς μεγάλου μαΐτοπος). Normally the area was ruled by a regional master of the Teutonic Knights. It so happened during the years 1438-1439, however, that there was no regional master and so his functions were exercised by a governor on behalf of the Grand Master of the order in Marienburg until a new incumbent could be appointed. Busch therefore suggested that this must have been exactly

(3) The two most recent contributions to the literature are T. HÄGG, *A Byzantine Visit to Bergen: Laskaris Kananos and his Description of the Baltic and North Sea Region*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, 9-10 (2004), pp. 183-197 with an English translation at pp. 185-186; J. BLOMQUIST, *The Geography of the Baltic in Greek Eyes - from Ptolemy to Laskaris Kananos*, in ed. B. AMDEN, P. FLENSTED-JENSEN, Th. H. NIELSEN, A. SCHWARTZ and Chr. G. TORTZEN (eds.), *Noctes Atticae: 34 Articles on Graeco-Roman Antiquity and its Nachleben*, Copenhagen, 2002, pp. 36-51, with an edition of the text at pp. 45-47 and a list of previous literature to date at pp. 48-49. For a short discussion see: Kl.-P. MATSCHKE, *Commerce, Trade, Markets and Money: Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries*, in A. E. LAIOU (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, 3 vols, Washington DC, 2002, II, pp. 771-806, at p. 799.

(4) LAMBROS, *Καννάνος Λάσκαρις*, p. 708 but see the comments of HÄGG, p. 184. The description of the siege is published as JOHN KANANOS, *De Constantinopoli Anno 1422 Oppugnata Narratio*, in I. BEKKER, *Georgius Phrantzes, Ioannes Cananus, Ioannes Anagnostes (CSHB)*, Bonn, 1838, pp. 457-479.

(5) PLP, 10891 and 10892.

the time when Kananos was there. The theory is all the more plausible in that the date coincides with the time when large numbers of Byzantine Greeks were in western Europe in connection with the council of Ferrara-Florence. Kananos, Busch suggested, may even have been part of the delegation of ecclesiastical dignitaries who travelled from Russia to Italy via the Baltic to attend the council<sup>(6)</sup>.

Plausible though Busch's theory is, it contains a number of flaws. 'Kananos's' words ὑπὸ τοῦ δουκὸς μεγάλου μαΐτοπος could be interpreted as referring the governor who administered Livonia temporarily in 1438-9 but they could equally well mean the usual regional master of Livonia who likewise reported to the Grand Master<sup>(7)</sup>. More importantly, if Kananos was travelling to the Council of Ferrara, then why did he take the route he apparently did? He seems to have travelled in a circular direction to Bergen, over to Lübeck and then on to Riga and Reval before heading for England and Iceland? As has already been pointed out, this would be a most peculiar route to choose if travelling from Russia to Italy<sup>(8)</sup>.

#### *An Alternative Date: 1402-1403*

Given the weaknesses in Busch's thesis, the possibility remains that the journey was undertaken at some other time. One period that might be proposed instead is the very early years of the fifteenth century. In 1399, the Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425) travelled to western Europe to seek help against the Ottoman sultan who was then besieging the Byzantine capital. While he was staying in Paris, Manuel sent gifts of holy relics to various Christian monarchs in the

(6) N. BUSCH, *Wann war Laskaris Kananos in Livland?*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Rußlands* 1903, Riga, 1904, pp. 230-233; HÄGG, pp. 186-187; BLOMQUIST, pp. 36-37, 46. On the journey of the Russian delegation to Ferrara, see G. STÖKL, *Reisebericht eines unbekanntenen Russen (1437-1440)*, in E. VON IVÁNKA (ed.), *Europa im XV. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern gesehen (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, 2)*, Graz, 1954, pp. 151-189; J. GILL, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge, 1959, p. 124.

(7) On the regional master of Livonia, see E. CHRISTIANSEN, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525*, London, 1980, p. 199.

(8) E. KURTZ, review of BUSCH, *Wann war Laskaris*, in *BZ*, 13 (1904), p. 586; F. GRÄBLER, *Die Nordlandreise des Kananos Laskaris*, in E. VON IVÁNKA, *Europa im XV. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern gesehen*, Graz, 1954, pp. 101-105, at pp. 101-102.

hope of enlisting their aid. One portion of the tunic of Christ, which had allegedly healed the woman with an issue of blood, was despatched on 20 November 1402 to Margaret, Queen of Denmark, Sweden and Norway (1375-1412) (9). The names of the individuals who carried the relic to Margaret's court are not recorded but it is known that Manuel II and his brother Theodore had in their service an individual called Kananos. In 1390, this Kananos had travelled from the Peloponnese to Constantinople apparently to help Manuel to suppress the revolt of his nephew John (10). It could have been that he was later a member of the delegation that carried this gift and visited Queen Margaret's court and the lands round about. That might explain why the Baltic traveller then went to England, since Manuel himself had visited London in 1400-1401 and it would seem that he maintained contact with King Henry IV (1399-1413) after his departure (11).

Once again, the theory has many weaknesses. There is nothing whatsoever to connect the Kananos of 1390 with the embassy to Denmark in 1402. Moreover, if the task of the embassy was to carry the relic from Paris, where Manuel II was, to Scandinavia, it would not explain the long itinerary through Riga and Lübeck. At best it is a plausible speculation and in the absence of further evidence, any proposed dates for Laskaris's journey would have to remain just that.

#### *A Second Possibility : Kananos Laskaris as Refugee*

There is, however, one neglected piece of evidence which may throw light on the question. Among the documents from the Venetian state

(9) G. T. DENNIS, *Two Unknown Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus*, in *TM*, 3 (1968), pp. 397-404 at pp. 398-401; S. MERGIALI-SAHAS, *An Ultimate Wealth for Inauspicious Times : Holy Relics in Rescue of Manuel II Palaiologos' Reign*, in *Byz.*, 76 (2006), pp. 265-275, at p. 271.

(10) MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS, *Letters*, ed. G. T. DENNIS (*CFHB*, 8), Washington DC, 1977, pp. LVII, 34-7; *PLP*, 10889. The Kananos family is mentioned in a late Byzantine epic poem alongside other illustrious clans such as the Palaiologoi and the Kantakouzenoi, suggesting that it might have been more influential than is apparent from the little we know about it: *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βελισσαρίου*, ed. W. F. BAKKER and A. F. VAN GEMERT, Athens, 1988, p. 188.

(11) D. M. NICOL, *A Byzantine Emperor in England : Manuel II's Visit to London in 1400-1401*, in *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 12 (1969-70), pp. 204-225, at p. 224 and reprinted in D. M. NICOL, *Byzantium : its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World (Variorum Reprints. Collected Studies, 12)*, London, 1972, No. X.

archives calendared by Freddy Thiriet is a letter of the Venetian Battista Gritti dated 15 May 1454. Gritti was in Pera at the time where he was acting as vice-bailey and attending to Venetian interests in the wake of the fall of Constantinople one year previously. His letter was an affidavit in favour of a certain Michael 'Catacoxino' (presumably Kantakouzenos), stating that Michael had proved himself to be a friend of Venice in the past and that all Venetian officers and officials on the island of Crete were to aid and assist him (12). Thiriet's summary of the letter is of interest in this context because mention was also made of Kantakouzenos's 'associate', called 'Laskaris Canani' who was to accompany him. The exact match of name raises the possibility that this is the Baltic traveller.

Unfortunately, the evidence of Gritti's letter is rather problematic. The full text of the letter was published in 1902 by Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940) but his edition makes no mention of 'Laskaris Canani' only of Michael Kantakouzenos (13). Indeed Thiriet himself discussed the letter in an earlier work but referred only to Kantakouzenos and not to any Kananos (14). Kantakouzenos's associate is only included in Thiriet's later summary of the document. A search was made for the letter in the State Archives of Venice under the reference given by both Iorga and Thiriet: *Archivio di Candia, Ducali e Lettere Ricevute, Quaderno 26*. Unfortunately it proved impossible to locate the letter under that reference.

We are therefore dependent on Thiriet's summary for evidence of Kananos's presence in Pera in 1454. It is possible that the mention of Kananos was in a marginal note in the copy of Gritti's letter and this was why Iorga did not include it in his edition. Iorga was, after all, interested in the history of the Kantakouzenos family and so any peripheral mention of anyone else may not have seemed worth including. If

(12) F. THIRIET, *Délibérations des assemblées vénitienes concernant la Roumanie*, 2 vols (*Documents et recherches sur l'économie des pays byzantins, islamiques et slaves et leurs relations commerciales au Moyen Âge*, 11), Paris, 1966-1971, II, p. 198 (no. 1488).

(13) N. IORGA, *Documente privatoare la familia Cantacuzino scoase în cea mai mare parte din archiva d-lui G. Gr. Cantacuzino*, Bucharest, 1902, p. 2 (no. II).

(14) F. THIRIET, *La Roumanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge. Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 193), Paris, 1959, p. 432 and note 3.

Thiriet's summary is accepted, however, it does provide some interesting information. It is clear, for example, that Kantakouzenos was the senior of the pair, since Kananos was described as his associate. It is also plain from its wording that Kantakouzenos and Kananos planned to travel since it had the effect of a safe conduct through Venetian territory. In the case of Kantakouzenos, it would seem that he did travel to Italy. Certainly someone of the same name was to be found a few years later enjoying a pension at the court of Naples<sup>(15)</sup>. The letter may therefore raise the possibility that Kantakouzenos and Kananos may have been among the refugees who headed for western Europe after Constantinople was captured by the Turks and their presence in Pera may mark the beginning of a journey that took Kananos first from Pera to Crete, from Crete to Italy and then to northern Europe. It is to this possibility that the discussion will now turn.

When Mehmed II took the Byzantine capital on 29 May 1453, a large proportion of the inhabitants of the city were taken prisoner. The wealthier ones were released if their families and friends could come up with an appropriate ransom. The courtier George Sphrantzes, for example, was ransomed in September after only four months of captivity and was able to secure the release of his wife a year later<sup>(16)</sup>. Not everyone was so lucky. Others, unable to raise the necessary ransoms, travelled to Italy where the pope issued them with letters of indulgence promising remission of penance to those who contributed to the ransom money. During the second half of the fifteenth century, wandering Byzantines bearing such letters and collecting alms for ransoms were to be found all over Europe<sup>(17)</sup>.

Was Laskaris Kananos among them? We do hear of an *archon* called Kananos acting as an intermediary between a refugee and an Ottoman judge in Thrace in July 1453<sup>(18)</sup>. Another is mentioned as a refugee in the correspondence of Francesco Filelfo (1389-1481), the prominent

(15) F. FORCELLINI, *Strane peripazie d'un bastardo di casa di Aragona*, in *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, 39 (1914), pp. 172-214, 268-298, 459-494, 767-787, at p. 195.

(16) GEORGE SPHRANTZES, *Cronaca*, ed. R. MAISANO (CFHB, 29), Rome, 1990, pp. 134-135, 144-145 (XXXV. 11, XXXVII. 6).

(17) J. HARRIS, *Greek Émigrés in the West, 1400 - 1520*, Camberley, 1995, pp. 12-21.

(18) J. DARROUZÈS, *Lettres de 1453*, in *REB*, 22 (1964), pp. 72-127, at p. 90; *PLP*, 10890.

humanist and protégé of the Milanese Sforza family. Filelfo had good reason to be sympathetic to Constantinopolitan exiles. He himself had lived in Constantinople from 1420 to 1427 and while there he had married the daughter of John Chrysoloras. Following the Ottoman capture of the city, his mother-in-law and other members of his wife's family had been taken prisoner and Filelfo had written to the sultan to ask for their release<sup>(19)</sup>. Consequently, there are numerous letters among his correspondence recommending luckless Byzantine nobles to various individuals in positions of power. One such letter is that dispatched to the chancellor of France, Guillaume des Ursins, on 24 July 1455. In it Filelfo recommends Nicholas 'Trachaniotes' (more properly Tarchaniotes) and Alexander 'Cananus' (or Kananos), two nobles of Constantinople who had recently arrived in Milan and who planned to set out for France bearing Filelfo's letter. They had lost everything in the fall of Constantinople and although Tarchaniotes had succeeded in bringing with him a reliquary containing a fragment of the True Cross that potential source of money had subsequently been stolen<sup>(20)</sup>. Ursins was asked to treat Tarchaniotes and Kananos well and Filelfo provided them with a similar letter addressed to one Thomas Frank. Thomas was a Greek, who originally came from the Venetian colony of Coron in the Peloponnese and, as personal physician to King Charles VII (1422-61), he would have been an influential voice at the French court<sup>(21)</sup>.

At first sight there is little to connect the Laskaris Kananos of Gritti's letter with the Alexander Kananos of Filelfo's, apart from the surname. Nevertheless, there is one striking parallel: Kananos is clearly the

(19) FRANCESCO FILELFO, *Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe*, ed. E. LEGRAND (*Publications de l'École des langues orientales vivantes*. Série 3, 12), Paris, 1892, pp. 63-68; K. M. SETTON, *The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance*, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 100 (1956), pp. 1-76, at pp. 72-73 and reprinted in K. M. SETTON, *Europe and the Levant in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (Variorum Reprints. Collected Studies, 29)*, London, 1974, no. 1.

(20) FRANCESCO FILELFO, *Epistolarum Familiarum Libri XXXVI*, Venice, 1502, ff. 89r-v: 'Nicolaus Trachaniotes et Alexander Cananus qui tibi meas litteras reddiderunt, viri sunt et Constantinopolitani et nobiles quorum condicio eadem est, quae reliquorum Graecorum, qui Turcis impurissimis, Christi hostibus, querum nosissime serviunt. Hos igitur tibi plurimum commendo ut caeteros consuevi, qui in eadem positi sunt miseria'.

(21) *Ibidem*, f. 89. On Thomas Frank or Le Franc, whose name may originally have been 'Frangos', see HARRIS, *Greek Émigrés*, pp. 60-61, 90-93, 135-136, 164-168.

junior partner in both letters. His name is given second in both and in Gritti's he is the 'associate' of Kantakouzenos. In Filelfo's it is explicitly stated that it was Tarchaniotes who had with him the valuable relic which he had no doubt hoped to sell, suggesting that he was the man of wealth and position<sup>(22)</sup>. In all probability, Kananos in both cases was either a social inferior or a younger man.

This parallel between the two Kananoi raises the question of whether they could be the same person. It is a possibility that cannot be ruled out in view of the fondness of the late Byzantine aristocracy for multiple names. Individuals were often known by both their father's and mother's surname and in some cases they added the name of some illustrious marriage alliance in the distant past. That of Laskaris, a family that had provided a number of emperors during the thirteenth century, was particularly popular. Thus we find Alexios Philanthropenos Laskaris who held the office of Grand Stratopedarch in the 1430s and 1440s and Demetrius Laskaris Leontaris who governed Thessalonica between 1403 and 1421<sup>(23)</sup>. To make matters more confusing, these individuals were not always referred to by their full composite name, especially when non-Byzantines were involved. Manuel Laskaris Asanes who governed the Byzantine island of Imbros between 1442 and 1444 appears in a surviving inscription under his full name but the Anconitan traveller, Cyriac of Ancona calls him simply 'Manuel Asan'<sup>(24)</sup>. It is therefore quite possible that similar contraction of names has occurred in Gritti's and Filelfo's letters and that they both referred to the same individual, Alexander (or Alexios) Laskaris Kananos.

The question is further complicated when the subsequent movements of Tarchaniotes and Kananos are traced. By the end of December 1455 they were back in Milan, bringing Filelfo news of the Greek Physician, Thomas Frank<sup>(25)</sup>. Some years later, in 1459, they appear to have been again in France where they received a number of gifts of money. In the surviving records of those gifts, however, Tarchaniotes's

(22) For other examples of refugees selling relics, see: HARRIS, *Greek Émigrés*, pp. 81-83.

(23) *PLP*, 14676 and 29753.

(24) *CIG*, IV, p. 499 (no. 9444); CYRIAC OF ANCONA, *Later Travels*, ed. E. W. BODNAR, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2003, pp. 92-93, 96-97, 99; *PLP*, 1507.

(25) FILELFO, *Epistolarum*, f. 91<sup>v</sup>: 'Nicolaus Trachaniotes et Alexander Cananus a vobis in Italiam redeuntes ...'.

companion's name has changed. For example, in the accounts of the French treasury for 1458-1459, recording a gift of 15 Ecus, 61 livres and 17 sous, they are described as 'Nicolas Trazanioti' and 'Jehan Alexander'<sup>(26)</sup>. In the accounts of the city of Paris for the same period they are called 'Nicolas Traghanot' and 'Jehan Alexandre'<sup>(27)</sup>. In August 1459 they were in Brussels in the Duchy of Burgundy. This time the document recording the twenty livres that they were given by the duke of Burgundy calls them 'Nicolas de Tartanoty' and 'Jehan Miles'<sup>(28)</sup>.

It is not difficult to recognise Nicholas Tarchaniotes here. His long Greek name seems to have given the French scribes some trouble but the result, mangled though it is, clearly refers to the same man as the bearer of Filelfo's letter of 1455. In the case of his companion, on the other hand, the name has undergone a complete transformation with the name Kananos being replaced by 'Jehan', a medieval spelling for 'Jean'. Even so, once again there is common ground. As in the Gritti and Filelfo letters, we are clearly dealing with a junior partner here. Jehan Alexandre's name appears after that of the aristocratic Tarchaniotes in all three French documents and, in the Brussels one, the former is designated by the relatively humble rank of *miles* or knight. This could, therefore, simply be another case of the name being garbled. To the hard pressed scribes who wrote these documents, 'Alexander' or even 'Alexios' would have been familiar enough for them to insert 'Alexandre' as an equivalent of the Byzantine first name. On the other hand, they might have had trouble with the difficult and exotic 'Kananos'. It would only be natural to replace it with a more homely 'John' with the word 'Laskaris' being dropped altogether.

(26) *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. français 32511, f. 209<sup>v</sup>*, accounts for the year ending in September 1459. These accounts survive only in a seventeenth-century copy included in the so-called Cabinet de Titres, a vast collection of documents gathered to provide genealogical information on the French nobility.

(27) *Comptes du domaine de la ville de Paris*, ed. A. VIDIER, L. LE GRAND, P. DUPIEUX and J. MONICAT, 2 vols, Paris, 1948-1958, II, p. 177.

(28) *Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord*, B2034, ff. 193<sup>v</sup>-194 (Chambre des Comptes de Lille, Recette Générale des Finances, January-September 1459); A. LE GLAY et al., *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790 (Nord)*, series B, 10 vols, Lille, 1863-1906, IV, p. 208.

*Can the Refugee Kananos be Linked to the Baltic Lands?*

To recap on the argument so far : surviving letters and records give us a number of examples of an individual or individuals bearing the name Kananos moving west in the wake of the fall of Constantinople. The identification of the Laskaris Kananos of the Gritti letter with the Alexander Kananos and Jehan Alexandre of the Filelfo letter and the French archival documents is tentative at best but there remains the possibility that these are all one man whose name was Alexios or Alexander Laskaris Kananos.

This leads to the next point : whether this tentative Kananos can be linked in any way with a journey through the Baltic lands. The copies of the French treasury accounts for 1459 in the Bibliothèque Nationale which record the gift mentioned above connect Tarchaniotes and Kananos with a third individual called 'Mons. Demetrius Paleologus'. The gift was apparently to be shared between the three of them<sup>(29)</sup>. Like them, this Demetrius Palaiologos had been wandering around Europe gathering alms for ransoms for some time. He had been in France first in 1454 before moving on in late 1455 to London where he received a gift of ten pounds from the king of England and a letter of indulgence from the bishop of Salisbury. November 1456 found him back in Italy, receiving charity from the commune of Genoa. In June 1459 he was in Milan, where, like Tarchaniotes and Kananos before him, he was given a letter by Francesco Filelfo recommending him to John, Marquis of Montferrat, before evidently returning to France where he fell in with Tarchaniotes and Kananos<sup>(30)</sup>.

The identity of this Demetrius Palaiologos is again problematic. He was certainly not the most famous Demetrius Palaiologos of the period,

(29) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. français 32511, f. 209v.

(30) London, National Archives, E403/806, dated 5 December 1455 ; Trowbridge, Wiltshire County Record Office, Register of Richard Beauchamp, vol. 1, 2nd series, ff. 43v-44, dated 20 March 1456 ; Ch. DU FRESNE DU CANGE, *Historia Byzantina*, Paris, 1682, p. 255 ; H. DE L'ÉPINOIS, *Notes extraites des Archives Communales de Compiègne*, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 4 (1863), pp. 471-499, at p. 498 ; L. BALLETO, *Greci a Genova dopo la conquista Turca di Costantinopoli*, in ed. S. KOLDITZ and R. C. MÜLLER (eds.), *Geschehenes und Geschriebenes: Studien zu Ehren von Günther S. Heinrich und Klaus-Peter Matschke*, Leipzig, 2005, pp. 351-365, at pp. 360-361 ; FILELFO, *Epistolarum*, f. 107.

the brother of the emperor Constantine XI who ruled as despot at Mistra until 1460<sup>(31)</sup>. The Demetrius who was wandering around Europe was clearly of much lower rank, being described in the records simply as 'miles'. Besides, his peregrinations coincide with a period when the Despot Demetrius is known to have been in the Peloponnese<sup>(32)</sup>. In all probability he was someone who had a remote connection with the Byzantine ruling family and so according to common practice added the name Palaiologos to his own. Matthew Palaiologos Asanes, brother-in-law of the Despot Demetrius, did so as did Andronicus Palaiologos Iagaris whose links with the imperial family were probably much more tenuous<sup>(33)</sup>. When minor nobles like this became refugees in the west, they appear to have dropped their family name and kept only the Palaiologos, no doubt in the hope of advancing their importance in the eyes of their hosts. Anna Notaras, daughter of the Byzantine grand duke Loukas Notaras, who lived in Italy from about 1450 until 1507, often described herself as Anna Palaiologina, apparently on the basis of her mother's connection with the imperial house<sup>(34)</sup>. So the refugee Demetrius Palaiologos might have been Demetrius Palaiologos Dermokaites who is attested in the Peloponnese in 1450<sup>(35)</sup> or the Demetrius Palaiologos who is known to have escaped from Constantinople in May 1453

(31) PLP, 21454.

(32) For a discussion of his identity, see H. L. GRAY, *Greek Visitors to England in 1455-6*, in C. H. TAYLOR (ed.), *Anniversary Essays in Medieval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins*, Boston, 1929, pp. 81-116, at pp. 86-87. For discussions of various individuals with similar names see : D. M. NICOL, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus), c. 1100-1460. A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study (DOS, 11)*, Washington DC, 1968, no. 75, pp. 192-195 ; A. T. PAPADOPOULOS, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen 1259-1453*, Munich, 1938, no. 170, p. 90 ; E. BRAYER, P. LEMERLE and V. LAURENT, *Le Vaticanus Latinus 4789 : histoire et alliances des Cantacuzènes aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in *REB*, 9 (1951), pp. 47-105, at p. 99 ; D. M. NICOL, *The Byzantine Family of Dermokaites, c. 940-1453*, in *Bsl*, 35 (1974), pp. 1-11 at no. 21, p. 9.

(33) PLP, 1508, 7808.

(34) G. CECCHINI, *Anna Notara Paleologa - una principessa greca in Italia e la politica senese di ripopolamento della Maremma*, in *Bollettino Senese di Storia Patria*, 9 (1938), pp. 1-41, at p. 34 ; D. M. NICOL, *The Byzantine Lady : Ten Portraits, 1250-1500*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 97.

(35) *MM*, III, p. 258 ; Sp. P. LAMBROS, *Παλαιολόγεια και Πελοποννησιακά*, 4 vols, Athens, 1912-1930, IV, p. 231 ; NICOL, *Byzantine family of Dermokaites*, no. 21, p. 9 ; PLP, 5207.



in a Genoese ship even as the victorious Turks swept into the city<sup>(36)</sup>. Beyond that it is impossible to tell.

As far as this article is concerned, however, Demetrius Palaiologos's importance lies not in his identity but in his connection with Laskaris Kananos. We have already seen that Nicholas Tarchaniotes and 'Jehan Alexandre', who may be the same man as Laskaris Kananos, were associated with Demetrius Palaiologos in Paris in 1459. Perhaps the three had decided to travel together for greater safety and to pool their resources. While there is no further indication of their being connected, there is one significant piece of evidence which may throw light on the Baltic journey. In June 1468, Demetrius Palaiologos was in Copenhagen. Described as a knight and count of Constantinople (*miles et comes Constantinopolitanus*) he received a letter from King Christian I of Denmark (1448-1481) giving him permission to gather alms for the redemption of his family<sup>(37)</sup>.

One might wonder why Demetrius should choose to move away from Italy, France and England and try his luck in Denmark. One likely reason may be found in the fact that his presence there coincided with that of Ludovico da Bologna, a Franciscan friar, who styled himself as patriarch of Antioch and papal legate to the East<sup>(38)</sup>. Ludovico's claim to these grandiose titles was somewhat dubious. He had been sent as legate to the East by Pope Pius II in October 1458 and was appointed patriarch of Antioch but he later fell out of favour in Rome when he had returned from his legatine mission with a group of spurious ambassadors<sup>(39)</sup>. Nevertheless, he continued to travel widely in Europe and the East, sup-

(36) K. D. MERTZIOS, *Περὶ τῶν ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως διαφυγόντων τὸ 1453 Παλαιολόγων*, in *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*. Ochrid, 10-16 sept. 1961, 3 vols, Belgrade, 1963-1964, II, pp. 171-176, at p. 172.

(37) *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Aevi*, ed. J. LANGEBEK and P. F. SUHM, 9 vols, Copenhagen, 1772-1878, VIII, p. 443; A. HUITFELDT, *Danmarks Riges Krønike: Christian I's Historie*, Copenhagen, 1599, p. 178; J. M. JENSEN, *Denmark and the Crusades, 1400-1650*, Leiden, 2007, p. 113.

(38) O. DALIN, *Geschichte des Reiches Schweden*, trans. J. K. DÄHERT, 4 vols, Leipzig, 1756-1763, II, p. 592; M. LANDWEHR VON PRAGENAU, *Ludwig von Bologna, patriarch von Antiochien*, in *Mittheilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 22 (1901), pp. 288-296, at pp. 293-294; A. B. SEVERI, *Nuovi documenti su Fr. Ludovico da Bologna, al secolo Lodovico Severi, nunzio apostolico in Oriente*, in *Archivum Franciscum Historicum*, 69 (1976), pp. 3-22, at p. 9.

(39) Pius II, *Commentaries*, trans. F. A. GRAGG and L. C. GABEL (*Smith College Studies in History*, 22, 25, 30, 35, 43), Northampton, Massachusetts, 1936-1957,

posedly as the ambassador of the pope. In 1465 he was in Poland and in 1475 he was encountered in Persia<sup>(40)</sup>. Ludovico seems to have been invited to Denmark to act as a mediator in the war between Christian I and the Swedish king, Karl Knutson.

It seems very likely that the journeys of Demetrius Palaiologos and Ludovico da Bologna to Denmark were connected. Ludovico's life mission was to highlight the plight of the Christians of the East. Consequently it would seem that refugees from Constantinople attached themselves to him during his travels. While Ludovico and his companions were in France in 1460-1461, for example, another Byzantine nobleman called Isaac Palaiologos had been there too. Isaac had travelled from Italy with his son Alexios and was collecting alms for the ransoms of his daughters<sup>(41)</sup>. Isaac and Ludovico's movements ran remarkably parallel. During the summer of 1461, Isaac had visited the duke of Burgundy at St. Omer and so had Ludovico and his companions. In August 1461, when Philip the Good had travelled from St. Omer to Reims to attend the coronation of the new king of France, Louis XI, both Isaac and Alexios and Ludovico and his party had followed him<sup>(42)</sup>. Consequently, it seems likely that Isaac and Ludovico were travelling together.

pp. 371-374, 790-792; Fr. BABINGER, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*, ed. W. C. HICKMAN, trans. R. MANHEIM, Princeton, New Jersey, 1978, pp. 186-189; A. A. M. BRYER, *Ludovico da Bologna and the Georgian-Anatolian Embassy of 1460-1*, in *Bedi Kartlisa: Revue de Kartvélogie*, 19-20 (1965), pp. 178-198, reprinted in A. A. M. BRYER, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos (Variorum Reprints. Collected Studies, 117)*, London, 1980, no. X.

(40) M. CROMER, *De Origine et Rebus Gestis Polonorum Libri XXX*, Basel, 1558, pp. 584-585; BRYER, *Ludovico da Bologna*, p. 19.

(41) *Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 503*, ff. 239<sup>v</sup>-240, dated 6 September 1460; DE L'ÉPINOIS, *Notes extraites*, p. 498.

(42) Lille, *Archives Départementales du Nord*, B2040, ff. 241<sup>v</sup>, 249<sup>v</sup> (Chambre des Comptes de Lille, Recette Générale des Finances, October 1460-September 1461); LE GLAY, *Inventaire-sommaire*, IV, pp. 211-212 where it is noted that Isaac and Alexios Palaiologos 'sont venus après monseigneur (the duke of Burgundy), de Saint-Omer en la ville de Paris où monseigneur estoit lors alé au couronnement du Roy nostre sire'. For Ludovico and his companions, see J. DU CLERCO, *Mémoires*, in *Collection des chroniques nationales françaises*, ed. J.-A. BUCHON, 47 vols, Paris, 1826-1828, XXXIX, pp. 142, 145; BRYER, *Ludovico da Bologna*, p. 192. Philip the Good was at St Omer for much of May and early June 1461 before travelling to Reims in August: H. VAN DER LINDEN, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne et Charles, comte de Charolais*, Brussels, 1940, pp. 427-429, 431.



The same pattern could have repeated itself in Denmark in 1468 with Demetrius Palaiologos travelling there in company with Ludovico da Bologna. Demetrius may not have been the only Byzantine in the company for while in France he had had two companions, Tarchaniotes and 'Jehan Alexandre' who may have been Kananos. Once in Denmark, Demetrius and his companions may have travelled around the Baltic gathering alms. Kananos's description, therefore, may belong to this context. It would certainly explain why he travelled in a circle around the Baltic rather than simply passed through as he would have done had he been en route to Italy in 1438. It might also explain why Kananos then went to England. By 1468, a number of Byzantine Greeks had settled in London, some working as merchants and craftsmen, some as scribes<sup>(43)</sup>. Indeed, Kananos's possible connection with this group might explain a peculiar feature of his text that has been pointed out by its German translator. Although written in Greek, the account often uses Italian or Latin versions of place names such as 'Inghilterra' for England and 'Datia' or 'Dacia' for Denmark. It is clear from surviving records that those Greeks who settled in London during the fifteenth century lived in the Italian quarter of the city, conducted their business in collaboration with Venetian and Genoese merchants and even witnessed their wills. Probably travelling on Italian vessels, Kananos would have heard places that he was encountering for the first time described in this way and would naturally have adopted those forms rather than ones adapted from ancient Greek literature<sup>(44)</sup>.

In the final analysis, any link between the author of the travelogue and the other bearers of the name Kananos discussed in this article must remain speculative until further evidence emerges. The notion of him as a wandering refugee, on the other hand, rather than a diplomat or merchant has a great deal to recommend it. It provides a reason for

(43) HARRIS, *Greek Émigrés*, pp. 34-38 ; IDEM, *Two Byzantine Craftsmen in Fifteenth Century London*, in *Journal of Medieval History*, 21 (1995), pp. 387-403 ; IDEM, *Greek scribes in England: the Evidence of Episcopal Registers*, in R. Cormack and E. Jeffreys (eds.), *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes* (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. Publications, 7), Aldershot, 2000, pp. 121-126.

(44) STÖKL, *Reisebericht*, p. 102. On the close ties between Italian merchants and Byzantines in fifteenth-century London, see HARRIS, *Greek Émigrés*, pp. 60-62.

his journey to the Baltic lands and a context in which he might have undertaken it in or around the year 1468.

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#### SUMMARY

Laskaris Kananos's Greek description of a journey around the Baltic was first published in 1881. Nicolaus Busch argued that the journey was probably made in 1438 and that Kananos might have been connected to the Russian delegation that travelled to the Council of Ferrara. On the basis of neglected literary and archival evidence, this article proposes a later date of around 1468 and suggests that Kananos may not have been a merchant or diplomat as has been supposed but a refugee who was gathering alms to pay ransoms.

STUDENTS OF PINDAR AND READERS OF MITYLENAIOS  
ALLUSIONS IN CHRISTOPHER MITYLENAIOS 6 KURTZ

The Byzantines read Pindar for pleasure. It has been too easy to claim that they simply transmitted his poetry but did not appreciate it. J. Irigoín has claimed that the lyric poet was studied for his language and metre and this is certainly the case for some of the first manuscript editions of Pindar which survive. Thomas Magister and Demetrius Triclinius were fascinated by reconstituting a correct text of Pindar<sup>(1)</sup>, but one should not confound the philologist with a reader or even with a writer. The different objectives of the three can lead them to find distinct, even if overlapping, interests in a poet such as Pindar. W. Hörandner proposes that the difficulty of the poet's text did not make him accessible enough to be truly interesting<sup>(2)</sup> and that would seem the obvious solution since even the classical Athenian comedian Eupolis claimed that few people read him, because of the difficulty of his style<sup>(3)</sup>. It is remarkable that so many of his poems have survived at all and that he still attracted readers in antiquity and the Byzantine Empire. In the eleventh century one has clear evidence of an interested readership since Christopher Mitylenaios wrote a poem which could

Thanks go to Professor Van Deun who has once more offered his invaluable help in improving this manuscript.

(1) J. IRIGOÍN, *Histoire du texte de Pindare (Études et commentaires, 13)*, Paris, 1952, pp. 135-136.

(2) W. HÖRANDNER, *La poésie profane au XIe siècle et la connaissance des auteurs anciens*, in *TM*, 6 (1976), p. 260.

(3) πάντα δὲ ταῦτα μόνον ἐξευρεῖν ἐκ παλαιῶν ψηφισμάτων καὶ δογμάτων τηρήσεως, ἔτι δὲ νόμων συναγωγῆς οὐς ἔτι διδάσκουσιν, ὡς τὰ Πινδάρου <δ> κωμωδιοποιὸς Εὐπολὶς φησιν ἤδη κατασεισιασμένα ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ἀφιλοκαλίας (*fragm. 366* ed. KASSEL and AUSTIN) (quoted in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 1.4.22-26 ed. KAIBEL).

only be understood if his readers were familiar with Pindar. Poem six tells the story of a charioteer who had fallen down during a race :

Εἰς τὸν ἠνίοχον Ἰεφθάε, πεσόντα εἰς τὸν Χρυσόν.

Σὸν ἄρμα χάρμα καὶ γέλωσ, Ἰεφθάε,  
κεῖται πρὸ χρυσῶν ὀργάνων ἐρριμμένον,  
ἀ θαυμάσαιμ' ἂν ὀρφικῆς λύρας πλέον  
καὶ γὰρ σιγῶντα καὶ μέλους πεπαυμένα  
ἵππους δύνανται καὶ τροχοὺς ἔλκειν ἄμα, 5  
ναὶ μὴν σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἀρματηλάτην.  
οὐ ταῦτα κρείττω καὶ λύρας τῆς Ὀρφέως;  
ἢ μὲν γὰρ εἶλκε πάντα κρούμασι ξένοις,  
τῶν δ' ὀργάνων νῦν ἢ δυὰς τῶν χρυσέων  
τέθριππον ἔλκει τοῦτο κρουμάτων δίχα. 10  
πλὴν εἴ τι πείθη τοῖς ἔμοις αὐτὸς λόγοις,  
ταῦς σοὺς χαλινούς τοῖς στρέφουσιν εὖ πάρες,  
σαυτῷ δὲ τέχνην εἰς ἀφορμὴν τοῦ βίου  
ζήτησον ἄλλην, ἵππικῶ χαίρειν φράσας;  
κἂν τέσσαρας γὰρ Πηγάσους ζεύξης ἄμα, 15  
ὁποῖος ἵππος ἦν ὁ Βελλεροφόντου,  
πρὸς τοὺς Πρασίνων ἀρματοτροχηλάτας  
πεζὸς παρ' ἄρμα λύδιον, φασί, δράμης<sup>(4)</sup>.

Your chariot is pleasant and amusing, Jephthah,  
It lies upside down in front of those gold organs,  
which I would admire more than Orpheus' lyre;  
Even when silent and after the song is finished  
they can drag horses and wheels, 5  
and the very charioteer with them.

Are they not greater than Orpheus' lyre?  
It used to attract everything with strange notes,  
But now the two gold organs  
Drag a quadriga without any sounds. 10

But if you listen briefly to my words,  
Let go of your reins to those who can do the curve,  
Look for another job for yourself  
as a goal in life, even though you said you enjoy racing;  
Even if you yoked four Pegasus, 15  
Such as was Bellerophon's horse,

(4) Poem 6, ed. E. KURTZ, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 3-4.

*In comparison to the Green charioteers  
You would be running on foot beside a Lydian chariot.*

The references to Pindar are manifest in a number of ways. The last line is actually a quotation from a lost work of Pindar :

παρὰ Λύδιον ἄρμα πεζὸς οἰχνέων (*Fragm. Incert.* 206.1 ed. MAEHLER)  
*going on foot beside the Lydian chariot*

The presence of a line of Pindar is an appropriate quotation for a poem about chariot racing, since the ancient writer was a specialist on this subject<sup>(5)</sup>. At least it might impress that Christopher had adapted it to make it fit into a Byzantine iambic trimetre with strict requirements of stress accents.

The content of Christopher's poem reveals direct references to Pindar. The myth of Bellerophon and his horse Pegasus are not directly connected with the Olympic games but had been employed by Pindar in *Olympian ode* 13 in order to create a parallel with the famous chariot race of Oenomaus and Pelops which was commemorated in the games. The reference to Orpheus' lyre suits well Pindar's only reference to him as the famous father of the odes with the lyre<sup>(6)</sup>. References to the lyre in general are frequent and one may think of *Olympian ode* one where the poem refers to the lyre of Apollo<sup>(7)</sup>.

The allusions to Pindar are not limited to a quotation and a reference to a myth, or even to Orpheus' lyre. Christopher Mitylenaios employs a characteristic technique of a Pindaric ode to his iambic poem: he begins to narrate and when he reaches a particular event or object, he alters the path of the narrative by discussing the object in new terms. Jephthah falls before the organs which mark the beginning of the race and Christopher uses the reference to the trumpets to talk about Orpheus' music and the fact it enchanted and attracted great following.

(5) LAUXTERMANN has pointed out that poems dedicated to chariot racing were popular in Byzantium at this time. See M. LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Charioteer Epigrams*, in his book *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts* (*Wiener Byzantinistische Studien*, 24, 1), Vienna, 2003, pp. 173-180.

(6) ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ φορμιγκτὰς αἰοιδᾶν πατήρ | ἔμολεν, εὐαίνητος Ὀρφεύς (PINDAR, *Pythian odes* 4.175-176 ed. MAEHLER).

(7) ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου | λάμβαν', εἴ τί τοι Πίσας τε καὶ Φερενίκου χάρις | νόον ὑπὸ γλυκυτάταις ἔθηκε φροντίσιν, | ὅτε παρ' Ἀλφεῶ σῦτο δέμας | ἀκέντητον ἐν δρόμοισι παρέχων, | κράτει δὲ προσέμειξε δεσπότην, | Συρακόσιον ἵπποχάρμαν βασιλῆα (PINDAR, *Olympian odes* 1.17-23 ed. MAEHLER).

The poet returns to trumpets which are apparently still inspiring the horses though they have left the charioteer behind. Thus the *organa* have become the subject of lines 3-10. The transition to the rest of the poem is by the poet presenting his words are the ones which should persuade Jephthah in lines 11-18. The advice is to leave chariot races, since he was not capable of competing. Again the Pindaric spirit has been reinforced by making the absurd comparison, that even if four Pegasus were yoked together, he would still lose against the team of the Greens. The idea echoes a passage in Pindar which points out that Bellerophon could not yoke Pegasus without the help of Athena<sup>(8)</sup>. It is Pindar who has the idea to focus on Bellerophon's chariot race in order to create a parallel with the race of Heracles and Pelops. It was in commemoration of this very race that Pindar wrote his *Olympian odes*<sup>(9)</sup>.

Christopher's poem requires his readership to have knowledge of Pindaric style and to know about the myth behind the *Olympian odes*. In this context one must not forget that Pindar and Theognis are the main lyric poets from ancient Greece transmitted extensively in manuscript form, a clear sign that they were read and appreciated. Part of the problem of identifying readership of Pindar in the eleventh century is that the earliest dated manuscript belongs to the period after the Latin conquest of 1204. Earlier versions do survive but their date has been established on stylistic analysis of the handwriting and therefore one cannot detect a precise literary context. Thus one has no concrete and substantial evidence that he was not simply excerpted rather than read during the eleventh century. However, since Christopher's poem six requires readers to have read some Pindaric poetry, one may turn to the direct references to Pindar in the eleventh century in order to find such potential readers.

Psellos refers to Pindar in two panegyrics recited before the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos between the years 1050-1054. The first reference is quite general<sup>(10)</sup>, but the second actually contains a quotation :

(8) δὲ τὰς δριώδεος υἱὸν ποτε Γοργόνος ἢ πόλλ' ἀμφὶ κρουνοῖς Πάγασον ζεῦξαι ποθέων ἔπαθεν ἔριν γέ οἱ χρυσάμπυκα κούρα χαλινὸν Παλλὰς ἤνεγκ' (PINDAR, *Olympian odes* 13.63-66 ed. MAEHLER).

(9) ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγῶνα, ὃν Ἡρακλῆς ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ Πέλοπι, ἔτη τρία (CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Stromata* 1.21.137.2 ed. FRÜCHTEL, STÄHLIN, TREU).

(10) βαβαὶ τῶν ἰγγων τῶν θελκτριῶν τῆς Πινδαρικῆς ὥδης, τῆς Σαπφικῆς λῦρας, τῆς Ὀρφικῆς πειθοῦς, τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς Καλλιόπης, τῆς Ἀνακρέοντος

πάλιν γοῦν δικαστήριον καὶ γραφαὶ καὶ γλώτται ρητόρων βοηθοῦσαι τῷ κινδυνεύοντι καὶ χεῖρες κλέπτουσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ἀλλὰ τί πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Πολέμωνος ροίζον καὶ τὴν Δημοσθένους δεινότητα Αἰσχίνης καὶ Φιλοκράτης καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος φωνεῖ πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον, ὃ φησι Πίνδαρος; (Psellos, *Orationes panegyricae* 4.354-359 ed. DENNIS).

*Again the tribunal, accusations and the orators' voices help the prosecuted and the hands steal the truth. However, what is Eschines and Philocrates before the impetus of Polemon and the power of Demosthenes or someone else who speaks in front of the divine bird, as Pindar says?*

The reference clearly indicates that Psellos knew the passage from Pindar *Olympian odes* 2.86-88 where the poet criticizes those who have learned but who are not naturally wise or gifted intellectually:

[...] σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾶ·  
μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι  
παγγλωσσία κόρακες ὡς ἄκραντα γαρυέτων  
Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον·  
(Pindar, *Olympian odes* 2.86-88 ed. MAEHLER)

[...] *Wise is he who knows much by nature ;  
Those who have learned are impetuous  
In their eloquence as crows they pointlessly chatter*

That Psellos knew the passage is also indicated from *Oratoria Minora* 9.26:

ὑμεῖς δὲ κατόπιν ἐμοῦ ἐπιόντες κεκράγατε μὲν ὅποσα πάγγλωσσοι.  
κόρακες, τὸ τοῦ Πινδάρου φάναι (Psellos, *Oratoria minora* 9.25-26 ed. LITTLEWOOD)

*You attacked me from behind and cried out like garrulous crows, as Pindar says.*

Both passages criticize rhetoricians who had attacked either the emperor or Psellos himself. Thus Pindar's images are used in a contemporary debate on style, and Psellos employs the poet's image of the crows against those who had criticized him. The choice of Pindar is not accidental, since a rhetorician had attacked Pindar's bold imaged as overblown, John Sikeliotēs:

<Ἐκτραχηλίζουσι.> Τροπικὴ καὶ αὕτη ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποπιπτόντων λεγομένη τῶν ἵππων· καὶ μικροῦ ὃ ἵππος τὸν κέλητα ἐξετραχίλισε, Ξενοφῶν· ἢ ἀπλῶς

γλώττης, τῆς ὀργανικῆς μούσης, ὄσης πληροῦμαι τῆς χάριτος (PSELLOS, *Orationes panegyricae* 1.157-160 ed. DENNIS).

καταβαλὼν ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου, ἢ τὸν τράχηλον συντρίψας ἔχουσι γὰρ ταῦτα οὐ μόνον κωμικοὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τραγικοὶ, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης τὸν οὐρανὸν λέγων κρίβανον ἡμᾶς δ' ἄνθρακας. Ἄδειαν γὰρ ἔχουσιν οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγειν, ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἔσπειρ' ὄφρωσ ἐν γαίᾳ θέρος. περὶ ὀδόντων λέγων, καὶ Πίνδαρος ἔρημον τὸν αἰθέρα διὰ τὸ μὴ τρέφειν ζῶα· καὶ πῦρ καίον τὸν χρυσόν (Commentarium in Hermogenem περὶ ἰδεῶν 6.228.30-229.8 ed. WALZ).

*They throw over. Also this expression is figurative for the horses who make one fall; and the horse nearly threw off the rider, Xenophon; or simply pushed down or from the neck, or broke the neck; for not only comedians use this expression, but also tragedians, as Aristophanes says that the sky is a covered oven and that we are the embers. Poets have the license to use such expressions, as Euripides; 'he sowed heat in the earth of the snake'. And Pindar, referring to teeth, says that 'the heaven is desert' since it does not rear animals; and that gold is 'burning fire'.*

The passages referred to are from the beginning of Pindar's first *Olympian ode*. Further on in his discussion Sikeliotēs accuses such images of being frigid (ὑπόψυχρον) <sup>(11)</sup>. Sikeliotēs is very keen on metre as is clear from his commentary on Hermogenes, where he describes different types of classical metre and therefore must have appreciated the metrical variety of Pindar, though he does not say so and has doubts about the more radical images proposed by the poet.

Psellos' reference to the attack of rhetors in the years 1050-1054 is also echoed in his earlier panegyrics from the period 1047-1050 <sup>(12)</sup>, where he claims he is breaking the rules of rhetoric in his composition. Indeed Psellos' choice of bringing up Pindar's view that genius cannot be taught is part of a larger debate between technical rhetoricians and naturally gifted writers such as Psellos.

Eleventh century epistolography also reveals that the more sophisticated were expected to have read Pindar. Psellos occasionally employs expressions taken from the lyric poet which may have come from dictionaries (συνὲς ὅτι λέγω <sup>(13)</sup> or Ἡρακλεῖται στῆλαι <sup>(14)</sup> or Ἄλφειός <sup>(15)</sup>) as

(11) τάχα δέ τις ἐρεῖ καὶ τὸ, ἠνίκα εἶδον δενδρουμένην τὴν θάλασσαν, αὐτῷ πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους κείμενον τοιοῦτον εἶναι ὑπόψυχρον τε καὶ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς οὐ φορητόν (JOHN SIKELIOTES, *Commentarium in Hermogenis περὶ ἰδεῶν* 6.229.10-13 ed. WALZ).

(12) The second period of panegyrics dedicated to Constantine IX Monomachos see F. LAURITZEN, *Sul nesso tra stile e contenuti negli encomi di Psello (per una datazione dell'Or. Paneg. 3 Dennis)*, in *Medioevo Greco*, 7 (2007), pp. 149-158.

(13) KD = E. KURTZ and F. DREXL *Michaelis Pselli Scripta Minora*, II, Milan, 1941; KD, letter 18, p. 23 l. 12. And KD, letter 145, p. 171 l. 3.

does Mauroπους (οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε) <sup>(16)</sup>. Both writers employ specific passages within the context of their letters, as if the passages were well known or should have been well known to the recipient <sup>(17)</sup>. For example Psellos refers to the famous golden columns of Pindar :

Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἔχοντος καὶ δὴ οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς κρηπιδωθείσης καὶ ἐρεισθείσης τοῖς τοῦ Πινδάρου χρυσεῖς κίονες τῆς ἡμετέρας φιλίας ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι καὶ γράφειν ἀλλήλοις καὶ τὰ εἰκότα προσαγορεύειν καὶ κατασπάζεσθαι (KD, letter 11, p. 12 l. 6-10).

*Since this is the situation, and our friendship is so steadfastly supported and established by the golden columns of Pindar, it follows that we write, speak and greet each other.*

The reference to the golden columns of Pindar is from the beginning of *Olympian ode* 6 <sup>(18)</sup>.

An even more important and conclusive reference to Pindar confirms that his poetry was read with an eye to chariot racing. It is a letter of Psellos which reveals the common connection of Pindaric expressions within contexts referring to racing :

ἔστι τις καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἡλίας τῷ μεταρσίῳ ἀντίθετος. Πρόσγειος γὰρ καὶ ὑπεραναπτῆναι τῆς γῆς μὴ δυνάμενος, καίτοι γε πολλὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις διφρηλάταις ἐπόμενος καὶ συναναβῆναι τούτοις ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τετολημκῶς ἄρματος, ἵνα ἐκμελετηθεῖ αὐτῷ ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἄερα πῆσις καὶ κίνησις. Τρέχει δὲ ἔτι παρὰ Λύδιον ἄρμα τὸ τοῦ Θεσβίτου καὶ τὴν ἄμιλλαν οὐ πάνυ θαρρεῖ (KD, letter 93, p. 121 l. 1-8).

*There is a certain Elias equal to an elevated spirit. For he is earthly and incapable of soaring above the earth, even though he often follows the charioteers in the stadia and he dares to ride with them on the chariot in order that he experience for himself the flight and motion. He also runs beside a Lydian chariot of Thesbites and is cowardly in disputes.*

(14) KD, p. 217 l. 12 quoting PINDAR, *Isthmian odes* 3.30.

(15) KD p. 220 l. 15 quoting PINDAR, *Nemean odes* 1.3 scholia.

(16) JOHN MAUROΠΟΥΣ, letter 9.18 ed. KARPOZILOS quoting PINDAR, *Olympian odes* 6.99 and 7.4.

(17) Θαμίξεις, ἀγλαΐζη μοι δὲ καὶ μουσικῆς ἐν ἄώτῳ (τὸ Πινδαρικὸν πάλιν τοῦτο) : JOHN MAUROΠΟΥΣ, letter 23.13-14 quoting PINDAR, *Olympian odes* 1.14-15 ; ὅπερ ὡς αἰθόμενον πῦρ, Πινδαρικῶς εἰπεῖν : JOHN MAUROΠΟΥΣ, letter 51.27 KARPOZILOS quoting PINDAR, *Olympian odes* 1.1.

(18) Χρυσέας ὑποστάσαντες εὐτειχεῖ προθύρῳ θαλάμου | κίονας ὡς ὅτε θαιητὸν μέγαρον | πάζομεν (PINDAR, *Olympian odes* 6.1-3 MAEHLER).

The passage contrasts the Elias of the Old Testament who had ascended the sky in a chariot <sup>(19)</sup> with the monk who was fond of chariot racing. Psellos claims that he was like Bellerophon running beside the chariot of Pelops in order to point out how the monk could not compete with the Old Testament prophet. The expression used is the same found in the last line of Christopher Mitylenaios' poem and is a quotation from Pindar.

Thus there appears to be certain readers who are well aware of Pindaric poetry. Of course it is difficult to understand who they might be, though one may establish a list of writers and recipients of letters in order to have a minimal list :

Gregory (Maur., Ep. 17 KARPOZILOS)  
 Judge of Katotikon (Psell., Ep. 93 KD)  
 Patriarch (Psell., Ep. 145 KD)  
 Psellos (Maur., Ep. 23, 51 KARPOZILOS)  
 Student (Psell., Ep. 11 KD)  
 Xiphilinos (Psell., Ep. 191 KD)  
 unknown (Maur., Ep. 9 KARPOZILOS)  
 unknown (Psell., Ep. 18 KD)  
 unknown (Psell., Ep. 193 KD)

The fact that one can create even a short list of at least eight individuals who were meant to know their Pindar is impressive and reflects well the idea that he was better known than what was thought until now. It is clear that someone who has read Pindar will not necessarily quote him and therefore the list of eight implies a larger readership.

One may conclude Pindar was well known probably in a small circle of readers. Christopher's poem six clearly quotes, alludes to and echoes ancient Greek lyric poet. Among those in the audience who could have clearly understood the allusion may have been such writers as Psellos and Sikeliotēs. They give clear evidence of direct knowledge of the text. It seems that *Olympian odes* 1, 2, 6 and 13 were definitively known, while echoes of other works may be possible. Whatever the precise reading was, it seems as though Christopher Mitylenaios not only read, but also understood some of the composition techniques employed by Pindar.

One should add a further point and a possible explanation for his popularity in Byzantium. Pindar's poetry is today considered difficult

(19) Cf. IV Reg. 2.

and foreign to a standard poetic sensibility<sup>(20)</sup>. In Byzantium the technique employed by Pindar in his victory odes was rather more familiar. The recent introduction of the canon among the hymns of the church facilitated the comprehension of such an author. A canon is profoundly structured. It has 9 odes, each one of which must refer to a specific passage of the bible. By the eleventh century, allusion to such biblical passages was extremely sophisticated. The canon was so well appreciated that Psellos wrote one as a satire, shortly after 1056, against a monk who was constantly drunk<sup>(21)</sup>. Christopher Mitylenaios also composed canons, notably as metrical calendars<sup>(22)</sup>. Thus most Byzantine readers were familiar with an allusive form of poetry based on odes. Moreover, the fact that Pindar's victory odes were actually poetic encomia, made them even easier to appreciate since encomia were a typically Byzantine literary genre. Thus, while the mythology, references and metres were complex and difficult for readers, the composition techniques were easily appreciated in Byzantium. Christopher Mitylenaios' poem six furthermore demonstrates that his readers were familiar with Pindar's odes and knew the texts themselves, while Psellos, Mauropous and Sikeliotes provide examples of possible readers of Christopher's poem on the charioteer.

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#### SUMMARY

Pindar was read and appreciated in Byzantium, as one may detect from an analysis of poem 6 by Christopher Mitylenaios. This short text contains many references to the lyric poet both in structure and content, revealing that whoever read it needed to have studied Pindar in order to understand the parody and description of the chariot race. Thus the poem brings forward the question of readership and proposes a short list of people who definitely had read Pindar in the middle eleventh century.

(20) Abraham Cowley (1618-1667) in his introduction to *Pindarique Odes* of 1656 said: "If a man should undertake to translate Pindar word for word, it would be thought that one Mad-man had translated another".

(21) MICHAEL PSELLOS, *Poema 21* ed. WESTERINK.

(22) E. FOLLIERI, *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo* (SH, 63), Brussels, 1980.

## THE HOLY SPIRIT AS LIFE AND ENERGY. THE TREATMENT OF ATHANASIUS' AD SERAPIONEM I, 20-21 IN THE LATE THIRTEENTH CENTURY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE HESYCHAST CONTROVERSY (1)

### 1. The Problem

The *Letters to Serapion* of St Athanasius the Great represent the first patristic attempt at elaborating the doctrine on the Divinity of the Holy Spirit (2). Their reception among traditionally minded Byzantine Orthodox theologians, as well as the so-called Latinophrones of the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. the epoch of the Second Council of Lyons (1274), has not been a subject of particular scholarly attention until recently (3). X. Morales in a recent study on the Trinitarian doctrine of

(1) The author considers it his pleasant duty to thank all those colleagues from the Institute of Paleo-Christian and Byzantine Studies of the Leuven Catholic University, as well as from the Theological Faculty of the same University, who have in any way contributed to the completion of this paper and with whom he had the possibility to consult during his short stay in Leuven in December 2007, especially Prof. Peter Van Deun, Prof. Jacques Noret, Prof. Basile Markesinis, and Dr. Taras Khomych. Special thanks also to Vladimir Baranov and Sergei Akishin, as well as to Lisa-Marie Baranov for her careful revision of the English text.

(2) J. MEYENDORFF, *O Bozhestvennom dostoinstve Sv. Dukha* [the Russian translation of a 1974 article: *The Holy Spirit, as God*, in *The Holy Spirit*, ed. D. KIRKPATRICK, Nashville, TN, 1974, pp. 76-89], in *Svidetel' Istiny. Pamyati protopresvitera Ioanna Meyendorffa*, Yekaterinburg, 2003, p. 105, cf. p. 106; cf. also: IDEM, *Byzantine Theology. Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, New York, 1979, pp. 91-94; A. PAPADAKIS, *A Crisis in Byzantium. The Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-1289)*, New York, 1983, pp. 63-65.

(3) In 1997 J. VAN ROSSUM has published an article with a similar caption: *Athanasius and the Filioque: Ad Serapionem I, 20 in Nikephoros Blemmydes and Gregory of Cyprus*, in E. A. LIVINGSTONE (ed.), *Studia Patristica*, XXXII, Leuven, 1997, pp. 53-58.



St Athanasius includes his observations on the issue (4) but his findings can also be enlarged and complemented.

This issue can be seen from a number of standpoints, including *philological, historical and doctrinal* points of view. The quotation which we are interested in was of paramount importance for the theology of Gregory of Cyprus (1283-1289), in which the intertwining of the triadology centered around the criticism of the *Filioque* (5), and the doctrine of salvation (soteriology), which is a characteristic trait of Orthodox thought in general (6), makes itself especially manifest.

That *eternal manifestation* of the Spirit which is one of the most intriguing subjects of St Gregory of Cyprus' writings, including the Tome of the Second Council of Blachernae of 1285 (7), is, according to the Patriarch's thought, not only an unveiling of the eternal way of life and communication of the Divine Persons, but also a basis for the Spirit's appearance in the world (8). The 1285 Tome, in its turn, "... may well be the most important contribution of the Byzantine Church to the *Filioque* debate", being a foreshadowing of the dogmatic provisions of the

(4) X. MORALES, *La théologie trinitaire d'Athanase d'Alexandrie* (Collection des études augustiniennes. Série Antiquité, 180), Paris, 2006, pp. 150-153: "Athanase dans la controverse filioquiste".

(5) PAPAĐAKIS, *A Crisis*, p. 147; cf. Ch. SAVVATOS, *Il Patriarca Gregorio II il Cipriota ed il Problema del "Filioque"*, in *Κληρονομία*, 19 (1987), pp. 205-206: Gregory of Cyprus is "una figura di grande rilievo e di notevole importanza religiosa", whereas his triadology is a connecting-link between Photius and Gregory Palamas; see also the recent book of P. GEMEINHARDT, *Die Filioque-Kontroverse zwischen Ost- und Westkirche im Frühmittelalter* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, 82), Berlin, 2002.

(6) D. STÁNILOAE, *The Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and His Relation to the Son, as the Basis of Our Deification and Adoption*, in L. VISCHER (ed.), *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ. Ecumenical Reflections on the "Filioque" Controversy* (Faith and Order Paper, Serie 2, 103), London, 1981, p. 178. Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 178-183 and 185-186; St J. POPOVIĆ, *Dogmatika Pravoslavnoj Cerkvi. Feclesiologija*, Moscow, 2005, pp. 9, 11 et passim.

(7) Cf. for example: "Εκθεσις τοῦ Τόμου τῆς Πίστεως κατὰ τοῦ Βέγκου, in PG 142, 241A (τὴν αἰδίον ἔκφανσιν); cf. *ibidem*, 242B; *Contra Marcum*, *ibidem*, 250BC.

(8) STÁNILOAE, *The Procession*, p. 183; Ch. SAVVATOS, *Ἡ θεολογικὴ παράδοσις τῆς Πνευματολογικῆς σκέψεως τοῦ Πατριάρχου Γρηγορίου Β' τοῦ Κυπρίου* (1282-1289), in *Πρακτικὰ θεολογικοῦ συνεδρίου με θέμα "Τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα"* (11-14 Νοεμβρίου 1991), Thessalonica, 1992, p. 576.

Constantinopolitan local councils of 1341, 1347, and 1351 (9). On the other hand, as a number of scholars have established, the opponents of Gregory of Cyprus, with John XI Beccus (1275-1282) at their head, turned out to be the precursors of the mid-fourteenth century anti-Palamites, whereas Gregory of Cyprus himself was a forerunner of Gregory Palamas (10). In his groundbreaking article J. Meyendorff argued that John XI Beccus and Gregory of Cyprus are to be seen as the two main Greek protagonists of the XIII<sup>th</sup> century in the debate over the *Filioque* (11). It was not only Beccus, but also subsequent anti-Palamites,

(9) PAPAĐAKIS, *A Crisis*, p. 149.

(10) *Ibidem*, pp. 149-150; on Gregory of Cyprus as a forerunner St Gregory Palamas, see M. JUGIE, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium ab Ecclesia Catholica dissidentium*, I, Paris, 1926, p. 430; J. MEYENDORFF, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas*, Paris, 1959, p. 25 (the valuable Russian translation is: I. F. MEYENDORFF, *Žizn' i trudy sv. Grigorija Palamy. Vvedenie v izuchenie*, St Petersburg, 1997, pp. 5-6; see also the comments by V. M. LUR'E on the pp. 373 and 444-446); O. CLÉMENT, *Grégoire de Chypre, De l'ekporèse du Saint Esprit*, in *Istina*, 17 (1972), p. 455; A. RADOVIĆ, *Τὸ μυστήριον τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον Γρηγόριον Παλαμῶν*, Thessalonica, 1973, p. 160; G. PATACSI, *Palamism before Palamas*, in *Eastern Churches Review*, 9 (1977), p. 70; A. J. SOPKO, *Palamism Before Palamas and the Theology of Gregory of Cyprus*, in *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 23/2 (1979), pp. 143-144 and 146; SAVVATOS, *Il Patriarca*, pp. 205-206 and p. 212, n. 42; IDEM, *Ἡ θεολογικὴ παράδοσις*, p. 579; J. LISON, *L'Esprit répandu. La pneumatologie de Grégoire Palamas*, Paris, 1994, p. 95; R. FLOGAUS, *Die Theologie des Gregorios Palamas-Hindernis oder Hilfe für die ökumenische Verständigung?*, in *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 47/1 (1998), p. 113; M. STAVROU, *Le théologien Nicéphore Blemmydès, figure de contradiction entre Orthodoxes et Latinophrones*, in *Proceedings of the 21<sup>st</sup> International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (London, 21-26 August 2006), *Abstracts of Communications*, vol. III, Aldershot, 2006, p. 233; HILARION, bp. of Vienna and Austria [now of Volokolamsk], *Ferraro-Florentijskij sobor i spor o Filioque*, in *Cerkov' i vremya*, 1 (38) (2007), p. 30 and n. 30-31, and p. 35; P. J. BAJOR, *La processione dello Spirito Santo. La dottrina di Gregorio Palamas in relazione a quella di Agostino e Tommaso d'Aquino*, Roma - Tárnovo, 2007, p. 98; the opposite view see: M. CANDAL, *Nueva interpretación del "per Filium" de los Padres Griegos?*, in *OCP*, 31/1 (1965), p. 20; J. VAN ROSSUM, *Gregory of Cyprus and Palamism*, in M. F. WILES and E. J. YARNOLD (eds.), *Studia Patristica*, XXXVII, Leuven, 2001, pp. 626-630, esp. 628-629 (cf. his earlier position, quite in accord with Jugie et al.: VAN ROSSUM, *Athanasius*, p. 58); Bernhard SCHULTZE seems to have expressed a compromise view: *Patriarch Gregorios II. von Cypern über das Filioque*, in *OCP*, 51 (1985), p. 187.

(11) J. MEYENDORFF, *Theology in the Thirteenth Century: Methodological Contrasts, Καθηγήτρια. Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for Her 80<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, Camberley, Surrey, 1988, pp. 395-407. We used a recent Russian translation: IDEM, *Bogoslovie*

like John Cyparissiotēs, who held St Athanasius to be one of the most important patristic authorities, whose writings used to be interpreted and reinterpreted by them, but could not escape their notice<sup>(12)</sup>. Thereby Beccus tried to present things as if it were Gregory of Cyprus who introduced new dogmas into the Church whereas he himself was a champion (or even *the* champion) of the true and *ancient* doctrine<sup>(13)</sup>.

A closer look at the quotations from Athanasius in Gregory of Cyprus and his opponents will bring us to a better understanding of the Patriarch's anchorage within the tradition of the Fathers of the Golden Age<sup>(14)</sup>, as well as among his contemporaries, of which the most prominent figure was undoubtedly Nicephorus Blemmydes<sup>(15)</sup>. In identifying some allusions and juxtaposing textual extracts from Blemmydes and his contemporary theologians, we will put forward some additional arguments supporting the view that Blemmydes is one of the most

*v trinadcatom stoletii. Metodologicheskie contrasty, in Rim-Constantinopol'-Moskva. Istoricheskie i bogoslovskie issledovanija*, Moscow, 2005, p. 117; cf. M. STAVROU, *Introduction générale*, in M. STAVROU (ed.), *Nicéphore Blemmydès, Œuvres théologiques* (SC, 518), Paris, 2007, p. 51, 119-120; IDEM, *Le théologien Nicéphore Blemmydès (1197 - v. 1269), figure de contradiction entre Orthodoxes et Latinophrones*, in OCP, 74/1 (2008), pp. 174-178.

(12) See, e.g., JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri a Photio contra Latinos ad philosophum quemdam Eusebium conscripti, cui titulus: De sacra Sanctissimi Spiritus doctrina*, in PG 141, 821B; cf. IDEM, *De unione ecclesiarum veteris et novae Romae*, PG 141, 137AB; IDEM, *Refutatio libri Gregorii Cyprii*, PG 141, 900A; etc. As for Cyparissiotēs, a cursory look at the critical apparatus in the Candal's edition of his treatise on triadology will suffice: M. CANDAL, *Juan Cyparisiota y el problema trinitario palamítico*, in OCP, 25 (1959), pp. 127-164.

(13) JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 896B; cf. *ibidem*, 889D; etc.

(14) As Archim. Chrysostom puts it, "Le sue fonti sono i padri cappadoci, sant'Atanasio (italics mine.-D.M.) e tutta la tradizione alessandrina, Massimo il Confessore e san Giovanni Damasceno" (SAVVATOS, *Il Patriarca*, p. 206). Cf. IDEM, *Ἡ θεολογικὴ παράδοσις*, p. 554, where the role of the Alexandrians and the Cappadocians is especially singled out, and pp. 569-570. To those passages of Gregory Palamas' writings indicated in the n. 124 (p. 570) one should add, to my mind, a similar extract from the Seventeenth homily: GREGORY PALAMAS, *Homilia XVII*, PG 151, 228A.

(15) Gregory of Cyprus has himself witnessed in his *Autobiography* that he had in his early years come to Ephesus to become Blemmydes' student, but, due to the inaccessibility of the latter, he was bound to go to Nicaea (GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *Particularis historiae sermo res suas continens*, PG 142, 24B; G. PODSKALSKY,

important forerunners of Palamism<sup>(16)</sup>. Both Gregories – the Cypriote and Palamas – quoted his texts and called him a Saint. Nevertheless, some unusual traits in his triadology will be also revealed. All this, taken together, will bear out an assertion pronounced long ago: "... 'Palamism' was always inherent in the Tradition of the Church. Although latent in the writings of the early Fathers, its concepts were gradually clarified as the centuries passed. Much study remains to be done concerning this process of clarification, particularly during the thirteenth century (italics are mine. – D.M.)" (17). The same holds true for the notion of *energy* which is one of the most striking designations of the Holy Spirit in Athanasius' passage; it is just its treatment in Blemmydes that remains highly controversial and needs additional clarification. Our scarce remarks on the issue will point to several possible methods for solving this problem.

From the *philological* and *hermeneutical* viewpoint, a typology of specifically Byzantine modes of quoting has been proffered by A. Alexakis: "In every theological dispute after the fourth century AD, the biblical tradition supplemented by patristic authority was one of the basic weapons in the hands of both opposing parties. If Scripture had nothing concrete to offer for the solution of a dogmatic problem, then patristic evidence together was invoked. If this too failed to provide an answer, then interpretation of the Scriptural and patristic evidence was the next step" (18).

*Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz. Der Streit um die theologische Methodik in der spätbyzantinischen Geistesgeschichte (14./15. Jahrhundert), seine systematischen Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung* (Byzantinisches Archiv, 15), München, 1977, p. 58 and p. 59, n. 211). Blemmydes is called by GREGORY OF CYPRUS πάντων ἀνδρῶν σοφώτατος (*Particularis historiae sermo*, PG 142, 24B).

(16) V. M. LUR'Ė, *Vzaimosvjaz' problemy Filioque s ucheniem ob obozhenii u pravoslavnykh bogoslovov posle sv. Photija*, in *Trudy Vysshej Religiozno-filosofskoj shkoly*, St Petersburg, 1992, pp. 1-20; I. D. POLEMIS, *Nikephoros Blemmydes and Gregory Palamas*, in A. RIGO (ed.), *Gregorio Palamas e oltre. Studi e documenti sulle controversie teologiche del XIV secolo bizantino*, Firenze, 2004, pp. 179-189, esp. 180, 182-186.

(17) SOPKO, *Palamism*, p. 147. According to J.-F. COLOSIMO (*Gregory Palamas*, in J.-Y. LACOSTE (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Christian Theology*, II, New York - London, 2005, p. 661), the subject of the "Palamism before Palamas" seems to have been exhausted, because it is self-evident that Palamas elaborated those ideas and concepts which had been deeply rooted in the tradition of patristic theology.

(18) A. ALEXAKIS, *The Greek Patristic Testimonia Presented at the Council of Florence (1439) in Support of the Filioque Reconsidered*, in REB, 58 (2000), p. 150.

Our case of the excerpt from *Ad Serapionem* I, 20-21, a part of which (I, 21) was to be cited three times by the Latins at the Council of Florence in defence of the Filioque<sup>(19)</sup>, fits well into the last type singled out by Alexakis.

So the task of the present article is to clear up :

- (a) the modes and nuances of interpretation which were put into use by the thirteenth-century theologians when they interpreted this particular phrase from St Athanasius ;
- (b) possible philological and theological reasons for the use of those modes, i.e. of the alterations of this quotation and of those connected with it ;
- (c) the importance of all this for that dogmatic struggle which marked the history of the Byzantine Church in the late 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Our basic assumption is the existence of an ongoing conflict between what can be called a 'Proto-scholasticism' (embodied by Beccus and the people of his circle), and the more or less traditional approach to the problems of triadology and deification by most of the Eastern Fathers of the Church (represented by Gregory of Cyprus). As for Blemmydes, he might have been the 'meeting point' of both traditions, or perhaps, of the 'proto-Palamite' one (A. Sopko et al.) with the alternative method of describing God's appearance to the just in terms of essence (as, e.g., in Symeon the New Theologian).

'Scholasticism', like 'humanism', is a rather vague notion. If we are permitted to paraphrase an expression from P. J. Alexander's excellent study on Nicephorus of Constantinople, we will say about Beccus that, "this was not the last time that scholasticism had invaded the discussion of theological problems"<sup>(20)</sup>. But which Scholasticism? We use the term in the meaning of a philosophico-theological system which is a pure intellectual effort of its creator and has no direct keeping with the living apostolic Tradition of the Church or represents a misconstruction of the ecclesial dogma on matter. It is evident that such a treatment of Scholasticism is quite different from that of P. J. Alexander ; we are far from dubbing Nicephorus' views as scholastic *strictu sensu*, even though the latter really had some traits of logical and scholastical categoriza-

(19) *Ibidem*, p. 155.

(20) P. J. ALEXANDER, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople. Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford, 1958, p. 212.

tion of the living faith. Being an Aristotelic<sup>(21)</sup>, Nicephorus remained an Orthodox Christian in the full sense, unlike some John Cyparissiotēs who seriously misconceived the Trinitarian dogma.

Alexakis was not the first scholar to observe the significance of late Byzantine theological *interpretations* of patristic texts which dealt with triadology. In a similar way, Fr. Manuel Candal, SJ (1897-1967) characterized Gregory of Cyprus' reasoning on the basis of the latter's wide knowledge and careful treatment of the Fathers' writings where the mode of the Holy Spirit's appearance in the world was described with such verbs as *ἐκλάμπει*, *πέφηνε* and their cognates<sup>(22)</sup>. We can now add that similar expressions are frequent in Blemmydes whereas in a number of cases Nicephorus took as his starting point that very excerpt from Athanasius. In my view, therefore, a detailed analysis of Blemmydes', Beccus', and Gregory's handling of the quotation in question will bring us to a better understanding of how one or another interpretation of the Fathers, being exactly an *interpretation* of their words, turns into the factor of a *Weltanschauung* and gives an impetus for new ideas, which would be typical for the late thirteenth - early fourteenth centuries in general. I believe that such an analysis, carried out within a broad historico-theological context, will shed some new light on the debated issue of the character and extent of Blemmydes' influence on the triadology of Gregory of Cyprus as well as on the triadology of Beccus. To get an idea of how far that influence had gone is a necessary prerequisite for a proper understanding of the centuries-long pre-history of the Hesychast controversy, i.e., not only of the 'Palamism before Palamas', but also of an 'anti-Palamism before the anti-Palamites'.

## 2. Two different readings of *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 vs. two slight modifications of *Ad Serapionem* I, 21 : a unity in pluriformity?

To begin with, let us compare the original texts of these two excerpts from Athanasius with the same texts as they are cited in quotations in Blemmydes (who cited *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 in the *First oration on the procession of the Holy Spirit*, and *Ad Serapionem* I, 21 in the *Second one*), and in

(21) *Ibidem*, pp. 189-213, *passim*.

(22) CANDAL, *Nueva interpretación*, pp. 10-11. See also, e.g., in the 38<sup>th</sup> letter of St Basil (now attributed by the majority of scholars to St Gregory of Nyssa) about the Son, "who has shone forth (*ἐκλάμπας*) from the Light non-begotten ..." (ed. Y. COURTONNE, *Saint Basile, Lettres*, I, Paris, 1957, p. 85.4.31-32).

Gregory of Cyprus (*Ad Serapionem I*, 20 in *On the procession of the Holy Spirit* and in *The most irrefutable defense in reply on the accusation against the Tome*).

Table 1.

*Ad Serapionem I*, 20 in *Nicephorus Blemmydes* (Letter to James of Bulgaria, 7)

*Ad Serapionem I*, 20 (23)

Καὶ γὰρ ὡσπερ μονογενῆς ὁ Υἱὸς ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ διδόμενον καὶ πεμπόμενον, καὶ αὐτὸ ἓν ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ πολλὰ, οὐδὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐν, ἀλλὰ μόνον αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα. Ἐνὸς γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τοῦ ζῶντος Λόγου, μίαν εἶναι δεῖ τελείαν καὶ πλήρη τὴν ἀγιαστικὴν καὶ φωτιστικὴν ζῴσαν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δωρεάν, ἥτις ἐκ Πατρὸς λέγεται ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ ἐκ Πατρὸς ὁμολογουμένου ἐκλάμπει, καὶ ἀποστέλλεται, καὶ δίδοται.

"For just as the Son is the Only-Begotten, in like fashion the Spirit which is bestowed and sent forth by the Son, is also one Spirit, and not many. He is not one [composed] of many either, but it alone is Spirit. For insofar as the Son and the living Word is one, His sanctifying and illumining living energy and gift, which is said to proceed from the Father, must also be [necessarily] one, perfect and complete. For it shines forth, together with being sent and bestowed, on the part of the Word who is [generally] confessed to come into being from the Father".

(23) PG 26, 577C-580A.

(24) M. STAVROU, *Le premier traité sur la procession du Saint-Esprit de Nicéphore Blemmydès*, in *OCP*, 67 (2001), p. 88.7.6-12.

*Nicephorus Blemmydes* (Letter to James of Bulgaria, 7) (24)

Ὡσπερ γέννημα μονογενῆς ὁ Υἱὸς ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ διδόμενον καὶ πεμπόμενον, καὶ αὐτὸ ἐν καὶ οὐ πολλὰ, οὐδὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐν, ἀλλὰ μόνον αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα. Ἐνὸς γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τοῦ ζῶντος Λόγου, μίαν εἶναι δεῖ τελείαν καὶ πλήρη τὴν ἀγιαστικὴν καὶ φωτιστικὴν ζῴην, οὐσαν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δωρεάν, ἥτις γὲ ἐκ Πατρὸς λέγεται ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ ἐκ Πατρὸς ὁμολογουμένου ἐκλάμπει καὶ ἀποστέλλεται καὶ δίδοται.

"For just as the Son is the Only-Begotten Offspring, in like fashion the Spirit which is bestowed and sent forth by the Son, is also one Spirit, and not many. He is not one [composed] of many either, but it alone is Spirit. For insofar as the Son and the living Word is one, that sanctifying and illumining Life, which is His energy and gift and which is indeed said to proceed from the Father, must also be [necessarily] one, perfect and complete. For it shines forth, together with being sent and bestowed, on the part of the Word who is [generally] confessed to come into being from the Father".

The most important alteration inserted in Athanasius' text by Blemmydes is stressed with bold type (25). Taken together with the latter's addition of the word *γέννημα* as a designation of God the Son, it can be treated as a sign of Nicephorus' inclination to certainly *elaborate* and *interpret* the patristic source. The notion of *γέννημα* was one of the most important designations of the Son in Athanasius' *Orations against the Arians* (see below, ch. 3.2). Its using in Blemmydes might have been a sign of his attempt at rebuking the pro-Filioque interpretations of Athanasius and to stress once more that the Son in no way projects the Spirit (one has only to remember Nicephorus' role in the discussions with the Latins in 1234 and later on, in the 50's of the 12<sup>th</sup> century).

Let us also note in passing a probable trace of an influence that might have been exerted by *Ad Serapionem I*, 20 upon Photius. As the patriarch tells us, if the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father is *perfect* (*τελεία*), "being perfect for the reason that it is God the perfect who [proceeds] from (*ἐκ*, like in Athanasius. D.M.) God the perfect", how can this procession be in any way complemented with a second one, i.e., with what is effectuated from the Son (26) ?

We will be able to obtain somehow more complete data if we compare the citation of Athanasius in Blemmydes with the quotation of the same passage made by Gregory of Cyprus :

Table 2. *Ad Serapionem I*, 20 in *Gregory of Cyprus* (On the procession of the Holy Spirit ; The most irrefutable defense).

The quotation in the treatise *On the procession of the Holy Spirit* (27)

... ὁ πρὸς Σεραπίωνα γράφων ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Ἀθανάσιος, τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐν ἁγίοις Ἀθανάσιος, τὸ Πνεῦμα, παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ διδόμενον καὶ πεμπόμενον, καὶ αὐτὸ ἓν ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ πολλὰ, οὐδὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐν,

The quotation in the treatise *The most irrefutable defense...* (28)

Ἀθανάσιος δὲ ... τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πρὸς Σεραπίωνα γράφων, ... τὸ Πνεῦμα, φησὶ, παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ διδόμενον καὶ πεμπόμενον, αὐτὸ ἓν ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ πολλὰ, οὐδὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐν,

(25) Cf. an analogous case with the alteration of a text from Ps.-Athanasius (probably, Marcellus of Ancyra) in Blemmydes : STAVROU, *Le premier*, p. 106.14.8 (the text), p. 107, n. 69 (a comment by the editor).

(26) PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti mystagogia liber*, PG 102, 312C.

(27) GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *De processionem Spiritus Sancti*, PG 142, 288AB.

(28) IDEM, *Apologia pro tomo suo*, PG 142, 260AB. This place has escaped VAN ROSSUM's notice (*Athanasius*, p. 53, n. 2).

ἀλλὰ μόνον αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα. Ἐνὸς γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ ζώντος Λόγου, μίαν εἶναι δεῖ τελείαν καὶ πλήρη τὴν ἀμαστικήν καὶ φωτιστικήν ζωὴν, οὐσαν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δωρεάν, ἥτις γ' ἐκ Πατρὸς λέγεται ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁμολογουμένως ἐκλάμπει, καὶ ἀποστέλλεται, καὶ δίδοται.

"... This is what our Father among the Saints Athanasius affirms when he writes to Serapion that the Spirit, who is bestowed and sent forth on the part of the Son, is at the same time one and not many. He is not one [composed] of many either, but [He] is the only Spirit. For insofar as the Son and the living Word is one, that sanctifying and illumining Life, which is His energy and gift and which is [indeed] said to proceed from the Father, must also be [necessarily] one, perfect and complete. For it shines forth, together with being sent and bestowed, from the Word who confessedly comes into being on the part of the Father".

If we now look at Tables 1 and 2, we will take notice of several obvious facts.

To begin with, the main alteration in Athanasius' text, i.e. *ζῶσαν ἐνέργειαν* → *ζωὴν, οὐσαν ἐνέργειαν*, is identical both in Blemmydes and in Gregory of Cyprus. Having appeared in the treatise of the former<sup>(29)</sup>, it was most likely borrowed from there by the latter. It is,

(29) Without conducting a special codicological research it is impossible to say with certainty whether Blemmydes owed that alteration to those scribes who had transmitted Athanasius' text to him or brought about the change of the text himself. Some considerations will follow which favor the second version, i.e. about a *purposeful* alteration of the source quoted.

ἀλλὰ μένον (sic edition) τὸ Πνεῦμα. Ἐνὸς γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ ζώντος Λόγου, μίαν εἶναι δεῖ τελείαν καὶ πλήρη τὴν ἀμαστικήν καὶ φωτιστικήν ζωὴν, οὐσαν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δωρεάν, ἥτις γ' ἐκ Πατρὸς λέγεται ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ παρὰ Πατρὸς ὁμολογουμένως ἐκλάμπει, καὶ ἀποστέλλεται καὶ δίδοται.

"But Athanasius, ...when he writes this to Serapion as well, ... affirms that the Spirit, who is bestowed and sent forth on the part of the Son, is at the same time one and not many. He is not one [composed] of many either, but remains the Spirit. For insofar as the Son, who is the living Word, is one, that sanctifying and illumining Life, which is His energy and gift and which is [indeed] said to proceed from the Father, must also be [necessarily] one, perfect and complete. For it shines forth, together with being sent and bestowed, from the Word who confessedly comes into being on the part of the Father".

nevertheless, very remarkable that J. van Rossum in his article keeps total silence on the subject of the alteration of Athanasius' text in Blemmydes!<sup>(30)</sup> In his turn, X. Morales makes in this regard the following note: "Or ces deux théologiens ont eux aussi éprouvé ce besoin de modifier le texte d'Athanase pour lui faire dire quelque chose de plus technique"<sup>(31)</sup>. However, the question remains the same: what were their objectives for acting in this way and was it a "quelque chose" or, maybe, it would be more appropriate in this case to speak about "quelques choses"?

Second, it is easy to find several changes in Athanasius' text quoted by Gregory of Cyprus as compared with that cited in Blemmydes' *Letter to James of Bulgaria*. X. Morales has also pointed this out: "... pour Nicéphore comme pour Grégoire ὁμολογουμένου devient ὁμολογουμένου"<sup>(32)</sup>. Le texte de Grégoire échange même les prépositions entre le Verbe et le Père: *ἐκ τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς*. La préposition *παρὰ*, trop floue pour indiquer rigoureusement l'origine de l'Esprit, est donc remplacée par *ἐκ*, que la tradition théologique, depuis Nicée, a consacrée dans la confession de l'origine du Fils"<sup>(33)</sup>.

The first thing which can be added to these observations of X. Morales is that *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 where the Holy Spirit is called the Energy of the Son gave Blemmydes, together with *Gal 4,6*; *Mk 2, 8*; and *Rom 8, 9*, an excellent opportunity for substantiating his own doctrine on the Spirit's eternal illumination through the Son (see (n. 87)), and St Gregory of Cyprus and later on St Gregory Palamas took up his lead and developed this idea further by strictly distinguishing the Person and energy of the Spirit. This last aspect was lacking in Blemmydes himself. Our article will be mostly dedicated to the substantiation of this basic assertion.

Second, in his substitution of the preposition *παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς* for *ἐκ* in Athanasius' *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 Gregory of Cyprus get closer to late Blemmydes, i.e., to his *Second oration on the procession of the Holy Spirit*<sup>(33a)</sup>. Here we are told that the true solution of the Trinitarian problem lies in

(30) VAN ROSSUM, *Athanasius*, p. 55.

(31) MORALES, *La théologie*, p. 151.

(32) Is this perhaps an inaccuracy? Cf. our Table 1, the right column (Blemmydes): ὁμολογουμένου.

(33) MORALES, *La théologie*, p. 151.

(33a) Composed, in all probability, in 1255 (STAVROU, *Introduction*, p. 288, cf. p. 285).



our recognition and confession of the fact that "... the Spirit has made Himself manifest (*πεφηνέναι*) from (*παρά*) the Father *through the Son* (*δι' Υἱοῦ*)" (34).

One can also note a slight discrepancy in the two authors' citing the period beginning with *ἦτις* : *ἦτις* (Athanasius) ; *ἦτις γε* (Blemmydes) ; *ἦτις γ'* (Gregory of Cyprus in both cases). Unlike the semantically overburdened prepositions, this small exchange does not seem to have any profound impact on the meaning of the phrase. What is more essential concerns the reasons for the three principal modifications of the text of *Ad Serapionem*, that is the Spirit being dubbed life and energy, the change of prepositions and the appearance of the adverb *ὁμολογουμένως* in Gregory of Cyprus.

Trying to explain the reasons, both van Rossum and Morales follow the Cypriote concerning the impreciseness of Athanasius' theological language in which no clear demarcation is drawn between the intra-Trinitarian and economic levels (35). In his pointing out the necessity to distinguish between *the principles* (*logoi*) of energy, of essence (directly mentioned) and *that of hypostasis* (which is only implied) Gregory of Cyprus (36) was followed by van Rossum, and it would be reasonable to follow the Patriarch's advice.

Indeed, in his *Second apodeictic treatise against the Latins* Palamas tells us that even the *Filioque* could be theologically admitted and justified, provided we agree in confessing that the Holy Spirit proceeds *hypostatically* from the Father, whereas *energetically* He proceeds from the Son (37). In my view, this demarcation strictly corresponds to that which was drawn by Gregory of Cyprus between *ὑπαρξιν ἔχειν* and *ὑπό-*

(34) NICEPHORUS BLEMMYDES, *Oratio secunda de nonnullis dogmaticis quaestionibus*, PG 142, 573B (STAVROU, *Nicéphore Blemmydès, Œuvres théologiques*, pp. 322.6.4-324.6.1).

(35) GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *De processione*, PG 142, 289C ; VAN ROSSUM, *Athanasius*, pp. 56 and 58 ; MORALES, *La théologie*, p. 153.

(36) GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *De processione*, PG 142, 289D ; VAN ROSSUM, *Athanasius*, pp. 56 and 57. One of the sources of this idea is to be found in the 181st *Question and answer to Amphilochius* by Photius (see below).

(37) Λόγος ἀποδεικτικός II, 30, in P. C. CHRESTOU et al., *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα*, I, Thessalonica, 1962, p. 105.18-21. A certain closeness of this idea to Blemmydes' *Autobiography* was stressed by I. D. Polemis. See J. A. MUNITZ, *Nicephori Blemmydae Autobiographia sive Curriculum vitae necnon Epistula universalior* (CCSG, 13), Turnhout - Leuven, 1984, p. 62.37.2-7 ; POLEMIS, *Nikephoros Blemmydes*, pp. 184 and 186.

*χειν* (38). The latter notion in the Cypriote has the exact meaning of 'to act', 'to commit anything', for the concept of existence includes as its corollary that of energy, or operation, - a point which was self-evident since the time of Aristotle, and in the patristic time since Gregory of Nyssa, and, more recently, Maximus the Confessor (39). This line of reasoning has been inherited by Palamas :

"For the divine energy is from (ex) the nature and remains inherent in the nature, according to the statements of theologians, but does not exist in itself" (40).

Obviously, Palamas is reproducing here the main tenets of the Photius - Gregory of Cyprus line in the Orthodox triadology (and it were they, most likely, whom he regarded as "theologians"), whereas he him-

(38) See, correspondingly : *Ἐκθεσις τοῦ Τόμου*, PG 142, 237D ; GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *Contra Marcum*, *ibidem*, 249A, 250A, 250C-251B ; IDEM, *Apologia pro tomo suo*, *ibidem*, 265A ; IDEM, *De processione*, *ibidem*, 300AB ; BESSARION, *Defensiones recte catholicae dogmatis Latinorum*, PG 161, 285B (Gregory Palamas, writing against Beccus, distinguished *ἐκλάμπειν* and *ὑπαρξιν ἔχειν* ; SAVVATOS, *Il Patriarca*, 210-211 ; N. G. ΧΕΧΑΚÈ, *Ἰωάννης Βέκκος καὶ αἱ θεολογικαὶ ἀντιλήψεις αὐτοῦ*, Athens, 1981, p. 127, n. 22).

(39) See, e.g. : "... the definition of each nature is the principle (or 'logos') of its essential (*οὐσιώδους*) operation (energy)" (MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Ambigua ad Thomam* V, 240-241, ed. B. JANSSENS, *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Thomam una cum Epistula secunda ad eundem* [CCSG, 48], Turnhout - Leuven, 2002, p. 31). Our deification is also realized through God's energy (e.g. : MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* LIX, 134-143, ed. C. LAGA et C. STEEL, *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, II, *Quaestiones LVI-LXV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugena iuxta posita* [CCSG, 22], Turnhout - Leuven, 1990, p. 53). We have no possibility here to go into detail concerning this extremely important topic, as well as the history of the term "energy". Some valuable data concerning an early Greek phase of its usage, including the occurrences in pre-Aristotelian medical literature, and the examples of its employment in the New Testament and early Christian texts can be found in : A. BASTIT-KALINOWSKA, *Agir dans : Autour de l'emploi d'ἐνεργεῖν dans l'œuvre et l'exégèse d'Origène*, in *Adamantius*, 10 (2004), pp. 123-137, spec. pp. 123-129. The author(s) of the *Doctrina Patrum de incarnatione Verbi* (ca. 700 CE) referred back to Gregory of Nyssa. The former's (or perhaps the formers') definition of energy as *ποιὰ τις κίνησις τῆς οὐσίας* is in its essence identical with that of Maximus. See V. M. LUR'E (in collab. with V. A. BARANOV), *Istorija vizantijskoj filosofii. Formativnyj period*, St Petersburg, 2006, pp. 91 and 92 ; G. RICHTER, *Ansätze und Motive für die Lehre des Gregorios Palamas von den göttlichen Energien*, in *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 31/4 (1982), pp. 282-283.

(40) BESSARION, *Defensiones*, PG 161, 300BC.



self was to be followed some twenty five years later by Nilus Cabasilas<sup>(41)</sup>.

To clarify the point, one has to broaden the context of the problem of the quotations under analysis and to investigate those methods and techniques of quotation which were typical for Blemmydes and Beccus in general.

### 3. Nicephorus Blemmydes and John XI Beccus : different principles and techniques of quotation ?

#### 3.1. The Holy Spirit as 'Life', or What Has Blemmydes Made of Athanasius' Idea of the Spirit as Energy

Let us consider first the case with *Ad Serapionem* I, 21 being quoted in, respectively, *The Second Oration on the Procession of the Holy Spirit* by Blemmydes and in *The Refutation of the Book of Gregory of Cyprus* by Beccus.

Table 3. *Ad Serapionem* I, 21 in Blemmydes' *The Second Oration on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*

Athanasius. <i>Ad Serapionem</i> I, 21 <sup>(42)</sup>	The same text as quoted by Blemmydes in <i>The Second Oration on the Procession of the Holy Spirit</i> <sup>(43)</sup>	The same text as quoted by Beccus in <i>The Refutation of the Book of Gregory of Cyprus</i> <sup>(44)</sup>
Τοιαύτην δὲ τάξιν καὶ φύσιν ἔχοντος τοῦ Πνεύματος πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν, οἷαν ὁ Υἱὸς ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, πῶς ὁ τοῦτο κτίσμα λέγων οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐξ ἀνάγκης φρονήσει ;	Τοιαύτην δὲ τάξιν καὶ φύσιν ἔχοντος τοῦ Πνεύματος πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν, οἷαν ὁ Υἱὸς ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, πῶς ὁ τοῦτο κτίσμα λέγων, οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐξ ἀνάγκης φρονήσει ;	« τοιαύτην ἔχει τὴν φύσιν καὶ τάξιν τὸ Πνεῦμα πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν, οἷαν ὁ Υἱὸς ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ... »

(41) See, e.g., M. CANDAL, S.J., La "Regla teológica" de Nilo Cabásilas, in OCP, 23 (1957), p. 250.5-7.

(42) PG 26, 580B.

(43) NICEPHORUS BLEMMYDES, *Lettre pneumatologique*, p. 318.29-32.

(44) JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 913C.

"For as the Spirit possesses such an order and nature in respect to the Son, as the latter does in respect to the Father, how could it be that he who calls the Spirit a creature would not necessarily think the same about the Son ?"

"For as the Spirit possesses such an order and nature in respect to the Son, as the latter does in respect to the Father, how could it be that he who calls the Spirit a creature would not necessarily think the same about the Son ?"

"... the Spirit possesses (Acc. cum inf. - D.M.) such an order and nature in respect to the Son, as the latter does in respect to the Father ..."

From here it is clear that both Blemmydes (unlike his quoting *Ad Serapionem* I, 20) and Beccus try to exactly reproduce Athanasius' original text. No alterations of it are discernible in Blemmydes' quotation. On the other hand, the case of Beccus differs in that the ex-Patriarch changes the structure of the phrase under the influence of the Greek syntax, whereas several transpositions of words are not meaningful.

It shall prove significant to turn to the passage from Athanasius. Against the background of insignificant alterations and transpositions of single words the main change, which is actually important, is that of the phrase ζῶσαν ἐνέργειαν → ζωὴν, οὕσαν ἐνέργειαν, together with the additional epithet of the Son as γέννημα (see our Table 1). Of course, the word ζωὴ has been applied by Christ to Himself (Jn 14, 6). It is advisable to see in which context Cyril of Alexandria used the word, having just quoted the verse from the same chapter, i.e. Jn 14, 10 : "Therefore, that Life which the Father possesses within Himself, is nothing else than the Son ; and again, the Life which is inherent in the Son, is nothing else than the Father ..." (45).

Apparently, the word "Life" is lined up here with such Divine names as Love, Light and so on. It is characteristic that Cyril of Alexandria correlates that Life with the *Hypostasis*, although he means that of the Son, and not of the Spirit. Traces of Blemmydes' acquaintance with *The Treasury* of Cyril can easily be found (46). Unlike the Patriarch of Alexan-

(45) CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Thesaurus de Sancta et consubstantiali Trinitate*, XIV, PG 75, 244B.

(46) Cf., e.g., the application of the word *θησαυρός* as an allusion in a Trinitarian context : MUNITIZ, *Nicephori Blemmydae Autobiographia*, p. 62.37.16 ; p. 62.38.1-2 ; and so on.

dria, Basil the Great tends to reveal the connection between this ζωνή and the common energy of the Godhead<sup>(47)</sup>. Remarkably enough, the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century anti-Palamites, such as Nicephorus Gregoras, reinterpreted (and, from their opponents' point of view, misconstrued) places of this kind scattered in the Fathers' works by naming the Hypostasis of the Son energy<sup>(48)</sup>.

Another possibility for solving the problem, except Blemmydes' direct leaning on Cyril and the Alexandrians, was indicated by A. Sopko. He paid heed to the usage of the term ἐνέργεια in Symeon the New Theologian which differed somewhat from that which was used among subsequent hesychasts; according to the scholar, theologians of the middle Byzantine period, with Symeon at their head, took the energy of the Spirit in the sense of His uncreated gifts, χαρίσματα, imparted to creatures in the course of the Economy of salvation<sup>(49)</sup>. Recently the topic has been substantially cleared up by I. Perczel. He argues that the corresponding passages from Symeon should be translated as "divine

(47) BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Contra Eunomium*, III, PG 29/2, 664C; cf. PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti*, PG 102, 337BC; etc.

(48) According to Gregory Palamas, the anti-Palamites of his time held the view that "the only uncreated energy of the Father is the Only-Begotten" (R. E. SINKIEWICZ, *Saint Gregory Palamas, The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters. A Critical Edition, Translation, and Study*, Toronto, 1988, p. 214.115.4-5; cf. *ibidem*, I, 5-9 as well as all the 115<sup>th</sup> chapter from the same treatise; IDEM, *Πρός Γαβριήλ 3*, in *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμῆ Συγγράμματα*, III, Thessalonica, 1994, p. 328.7-10). Cyril of Alexandria himself tried to make his words clear in a passage cited by Palamas later (*Saint Gregory Palamas, The One Hundred*, p. 216.115.19-24). Nevertheless, SINKIEWICZ has been unable to identify it (*ibidem*, p. 217, n. 195). It was, for example, Nicephorus Gregoras who called the Hypostasis of the Son energy in his *First Antirrhetic* (ed. H.-V. BEYER, *Nikephoros Gregoras, Antirrhetica I (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, 12)*, Wien, 1976, p. 279.7-9; p. 283.7-13; p. 283.26-285.1). That was far from being accidental, because similar views were largely characteristic for the proponents of Beccus, either those who were hidden (among them I rank Gregoras) or who were in the open, writing against Palamas and his circle from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century onwards. In turn, the Palamites, such as Callistus Angelicoudes and Macarius Chrysocephalus, carried on bitter polemics with those circles (see on the period in general: V. LUR'É, *L'attitude de S. Marc d'Éphèse aux débats sur la procession du Saint-Esprit à Florence. Ses fondements dans la théologie post-palamite*, in *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum*, 21 (1989), pp. 323 and 325; cf. the case study on Manuel Calecas: J. GOULLARD, *Les influences latines dans l'œuvre théologique de Manuel Calécas*, in *EO*, 37 (1938), p. 49).

(49) SOPKO, *Palamism*, pp. 145-146.

operations" rather than "energies"<sup>(50)</sup>, and the examples adduced by A. Sopko seem to bear out this standpoint<sup>(51)</sup>. As a result of his profound analysis I. Perczel came to the following conclusions. No doubt Symeon was aware of the Cappadocian teaching, also shared by John Chrysostom, about the distinction between Divine essence and energy, and inclined to construe it as taking place in our perception of God only<sup>(52)</sup>; it is in Symeon's 22<sup>nd</sup> Hymn where this essential operation, or energy, of God in the souls of the worthy is correlated first and foremost with the Hypostasis of the Holy Spirit<sup>(53)</sup>. Could Blemmydes' trinitarian views, which might have possibly been inspired by the "hypostatic" exegesis of the Pentecost in Nicholas of Methone<sup>(54)</sup> also, and not by the "energetic" one, present an analogy to the teaching of Symeon?<sup>(55)</sup>

(50) I. PERCZEL, *Saint Symeon the New Theologian and the Theology of the Divine Substance*, in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 41 (2001), p. 126, n. 3.

(51) For instance: SYMEON THE NEW THEOLOGIAN, *Traitées théologiques et éthiques*, Intr., texte crit., trad. et notes par J. DARROUZÈS (SC, 129), Paris, 1967, p. 96.246 - p. 98.247; p. 98.268-269; IDEM, *Catéchèses 6-22*, Intr., texte crit. et notes par B. KRIVOCHÉINE; trad. par J. PARAMELLE (SC, 104), Paris, 1964, p. 196.78-79; IDEM, *Hymnes 16-40*, Texte crit. par J. KODER; trad. et notes par L. NEYRAND (SC, 174), Paris, 1971, p. 70.842; p. 384.7: ... γινώσκοντες ἐκ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν σου; etc. See SOPKO, *Palamism*, p. 144, n. 14.

(52) PERCZEL, *Saint Symeon*, pp. 137-139, esp. 139.

(53) *Ibidem*, p. 138. For a further perspective cf. especially *Oration 41.11* of GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN (*Oratio XLI.11*, PG 36, 444BC; the revised text in: SC, 358, p. 340.21-23: it was only in a hidden way, ἐνεργεῖα, that the Holy Spirit was present in the world before the Incarnation, whereas now He is present οὐσιωδῶς). These words should be treated as an indication of non-confluence and continuity in being of Divine energy and Hypostasis, as it is implied here that before the Incarnation the Person of the Spirit was not made manifest to the world, unlike His energy, but in the New Testament era both His energy and Person are present. It is clear that this expression, taken at face value, is more consonant with anti-Palamite doctrines. This seeming discrepancy between the teaching of Gregory Palamas and this phrase of Gregory the Theologian has been pointed out by FLOGAUS, *Die Theologie*, p. 116 and n. 48.

(54) See a concise but exemplary exposition of that teaching with necessary references to the sources and literature: LUR'É, *L'attitude*, p. 321. Might not Blemmydes have belonged to that line of thought? Because it is rather unlikely that he simply "did not know", as A. Sopko thinks, how to draw a distinction between the Spirit's uncreated gifts and His Hypostasis (SOPKO, *Palamism*, p. 144).

(55) Although this is a pure hypothesis, Blemmydes might in principle have read some extracts from Symeon in a patristic florilegium like, e.g., the manu-

St Nicholas' influence on Nicephorus is attested to through the latter's poem dedicated to the bishop of Methone<sup>(56)</sup>; on the other hand, one is not surprised that Nicholas was repudiated by Beccus<sup>(57)</sup>.

We will return to this question a bit later. Now let us turn our attention to the following reasoning of Athanasius in *Ad Serapionem* I, 25. Referring to Rom 8, 11 and to Tradition, the Patriarch tells us that the Holy Spirit "... is called life-giving (ζωοποιόν λέγεται) ... Through Him (δι' αὐτοῦ) the creatures are given life"<sup>(58)</sup>. Especially meaningful is the following place :

"Our Lord is the Life-as-Such [or : the Life-in-Itself] (ἡ αὐτοζωή)"<sup>(59)</sup>. This is one of the most important usages in the Golden Age of the term which was to play such a remarkable role in Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite and centuries later, to mention but one example, in the *First epistle to Akindynos* by Gregory Palamas<sup>(60)</sup>. When deliberating on all

script V (= *Athous, Vatopedi* 605) of Krivochéine's edition (13<sup>th</sup> c.), which also contains some works of Maximus the Confessor, Diadochus and others; B. KRIVOCHEINE, *Introduction. Description des manuscrits*, in B. KRIVOCHEINE, ed., J. PARAMELLE, trad., *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, Catéchèses 1-5* (SC, 96), Paris, 1963, p. 94.

(56) Having reprinted this poem from the edition by A. Heisenberg, A. Angelou justly calls it « a short encomium of the theological abilities of the bishop » : A. ANGELOU, *Nicholas of Methone : the Life and Works of a Twelfth-Century Bishop*, in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition, 13<sup>th</sup> Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Birmingham, 1981, p. 148 ; on Nicholas in general see now P. ERMILOV and A. FOKIN (eds.), *Episkop Nikolaj Mefonskij i vizantijskoe bogoslovie*, Moscow, 2007.

(57) ΧΕΧΑΚΕ, *Ἰωάννης Βέκκος*, p. 80.

(58) PG 26, 584BC.

(59) *Ibidem*. A similar case is presented with the naming of Christ as τὴν αὐτοαλήθειαν in GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *Contra Marcum*, PG 142, 252B.

(60) In this connection J. Meyendorff makes a reference to : PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITA, *De divinis nominibus*, 1.7, PG 3, 596CD ; B. R. SUCHLA, *Corpus Dionysiacum*, I, *De divinis nominibus* (*Patristische Texte und Studien*, 33), Berlin - New York, 1990, pp. 119-120. But this reference is insufficient. Cf. : *Ibidem*, 1.5 (SUCHLA, pp. 115-118, esp. p. 117 ; and especially : ch. 11.6, where we come across all the three words beginning with αὐτο-, which were in use by Gregory, together with some others, as, e.g., τὸ αὐτοεἶναι ("the being-in-itself") (*Ibidem*, p. 221.13 - p. 223.14 ; the text in Migne is essentially different from the critical edition ; cf. : PG 3, 968AC). The word αὐτοζωή thereby appears to be the most frequent of the kind in this chapter of the *Areopagitica* (8 occurrences). It seems to be the case that Palamas kept in mind exactly this chapter when composing the 12<sup>th</sup> chapter of his *First Epistle to Akindynos* (*Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα*, p. 216.14-20, esp. l. 14-17 ; J. MEYENDORFF's n. 2, p. 216).

this, one tends to think that *Blemmydes might well have made a transfer of the name "Life" from the Son to the Spirit*, the more so since such a transfer could be reinforced due to the wording of Areopagite<sup>(61)</sup>.

But as for dogmatic motives of such a shift of names in Blemmydes, they could be manifold. Analysing the position of Gregory of Cyprus, van Rossum stresses the Patriarch's striving to differentiate the Divine energy and Persons (as, respectively, the participable and imparticipable in God)<sup>(62)</sup>. Was this a consequence of an insufficient distinction of these realities in Blemmydes' *Two Orations*<sup>(63)</sup> ?

It is quite possible. Only several lines later in the *First Oration* Blemmydes treats *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 in such a way as if he had read it in the same version which has come down to us and been published by Migne (see the Table 4 below).

Table 4. Blemmydes' interpretation of *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 and its possible repercussions in Gregory of Cyprus

Blemmydes' First Oration..., ch. 9 <sup>(64)</sup>	Gregory of Cyprus. On the Procession of the Holy Spirit <sup>(65)</sup>
... τοῦ Λόγου ἐνέργειαν, ζῶσαν δηλονότι καὶ ὑφεστῶσαν, τὸ ἅγιον ὠνόμασε Πνεῦμα...	Τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ... καθ' ἑαυτὰς ὑφεστῶσαι...
"(Athanasius) has called the Word's energy, which is living and subsisting in itself, the Holy Spirit".	"Three Hypostases ... which subsist in themselves".

The table makes it clear that Nicephorus insists on an understanding of Athanasius' way of expression which is closer to the Symeon - Nicholas of Methone line. He seems to be deliberate in not drawing any

(61) Thereby we agree with the idea of MORALES (*La théologie*, p. 134) about Athanasius' (and, we would add, Blemmydes') appropriation of Christological language in the pneumatology.

(62) VAN ROSSUM, *Athanasius*, pp. 56-57.

(63) Based on the evidence of the *First Oration*, A. Sopko also emphasizes Blemmydes' equation of the gifts of the Holy Spirit with His Person (SOPKO, *Palamism*, p. 144, n. 16).

(64) STAVROU, *Le premier*, p. 90.9.7-9. Cf. also n. 33 by STAVROU (p. 91), where the Cyrillian origins of such a treatment of the term are tracked down (the editor's quotations are : PG 75, 580A, 596C).

(65) GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *De processione*, PG 142, 270B.

distinction between the Hypostasis and the energy of the Spirit, whereas Gregory of Cyprus preserves the basic Cappadocian and Photian terminology. Moreover, the Patriarch brings in the necessary precision in his consideration of the topic. The verb *ὑφίστημι* was by that time traditionally correlated with the Hypostases of the Trinity, and not with their energy<sup>(66)</sup>. But the notion of energy in the majority of cases had not been applied to the Hypostases in the mainstream patristic triadology from Basil the Great onward. It is through the prism of that mainstream triadology that Gregory read and interpreted Athanasius and Blemmydes, though he seems to have appropriated from the latter the notion of Life which had been read into the text of *Ad Serapionem* I, 20, probably by Nicephorus.

### 3.2. Some notes on Beccus' accuracy in handling his sources

Let us digress for a moment from the term 'energy' and from things connected with it in order to offer several suggestions as to how accurate John XI Beccus was in handling Athanasius' texts. One striking example can be found in John's usage of the term 'offspring' (*γέννημα*).

Certainly, the term has become the common property of the Christian tradition from the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century onwards, but it is especially important to stress within the framework of our article its prominent place and meaning in Athanasius' *Orations against the Arians*. This obviously was the source for Beccus. In his *Refutation of the Book of Gregory of Cyprus* John cites the following words as if they had been taken from Athanasius:

"... the Son ... is also the proper offspring (italics mine. D.M.) of the Father's essence ..." <sup>(67)</sup>

Here we presumably find the 29<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *First Oration against the Arians* being cited: "As for the Son, He has always been the proper offspring of the Father's essence ..." <sup>(68)</sup>. Besides this, it is easy to find in the

(66) Cf. in St Maximus the Confessor's exegesis of the 29th Oration of Gregory the Theologian: the Holy Trinity, *ὑφιστομένη τριαδικῶς* (MAXIMUS the CONFESSOR, *Ambigua ad Thomam*, I, 31, ed. JANSSENS, p. 7).

(67) JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 900AB: ἴδιον ... γέννημα τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν ...

(68) ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *Orationes adversus Arianos* I, 29, PG 26, 73A: ... ἴδιον γέννημα τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας.

I-III *Orations* more than a dozen contexts where similar expressions occur <sup>(69)</sup>.

There appears to be an even more graphic example of Beccus' probable contamination from memory, or in a florilegium of his own, of several interconnected phrases from Athanasius' *First Oration against the Arians*:

"Therefore, [our Lord] has come down (*κατήει*) from Himself to Himself again (*εἰς αὐτὸν*), that is, from His Divinity to His humanity" <sup>(70)</sup>.

The corresponding places from St Athanasius are:

1. I, 46 (108BC) (... *ἑαυτὸν ἀγάγων*...);

2. I, 47 (108C) (... *καὶ ἡ εἰς αὐτὸν ... κάθοδος*...);

3. I, 47 (109A, after citing Acts 10, 38): ... *καταβέβηκεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα* ... <sup>(71)</sup>;

4. I, 47 (109B, where Jn 20, 22 is followed by the comment): ... *τὸ ἀγιαζόμενον σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐστίν*;

5. I, 47 (109C): *Εἰ δὲ ... αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ πνεῦμα* ... <sup>(72)</sup>.

All these texts are devoted to the relationship between God the Father and God the Son in the course of the economy of salvation, their

(69) We present only a short list of them below, citing succinctly only the most important ones: I, 19 (PG 26, 52C); I, 19 (*ibidem* 52CD: *τῆς οὐσίας ἴδιον γέννημα* ...); I, 27 (68C: *ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς... φύσει γέννημα*...); I, 28 (69B); II, 11 (169A); II, 22 (192D: *ἴδιον γέννημα τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ*); II, 35 (221A); III, 1 (324C); III, 5 (329C: ... *τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ἴδιον ἐστὶ γέννημα ὁ Υἱός* ... *Τῆς δὲ οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς ἴδιον ὦν γέννημα ὁ Υἱός* ...); III, 6 (333A); III, 9 (340A); III, 12 (345B); 13. III, 66 (461C); etc. Compare this data to another instance of a very rough Athanasian quotation in Beccus: ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *Epistola de synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria celebratis, ibidem*, 765C; cf. JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 876D (here we find Athanasius speaking of God the Father as the Source of wisdom and life, while in Beccus who seems to be leaning on the Alexandrian bishop one comes across this Person's designation as the Source of the living water instead. That water is later on construed as the Spirit, quite in compliance with Cyril's exegesis).

(70) JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri ... a Photio, ibidem*, 841C.

(71) In the same text the presence of Jn 16, 14 a little bit later makes us certain that Beccus must have kept in mind that very passage.

(72) Cf. also the abbreviation of the same *First Oration*, ch. 13 (a contamination with II, 41 is possible): ... *ὡς τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ ἀπαύγασμα* [cf. Heb 1, 3] ... (JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 900B); ... *ὡς αἰδίου φωτὸς αἰδίου ἀπαύγασμα* (ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *Orationes adversus Arianos* I, 13, PG 26, 40B; cf. *ibidem*, II, 41, PG 26, 253C).

sense being contiguous to that of *The Letters to Serapion* (73). From the examples given above it can be seen that Beccus tended to lean on Athanasius' thoughts and wording, but reproduced both with more or less significant distortions.

To be objective, we must add that there are, of course, instances in Beccus of more or less accurate allusions to Athanasius. The following case can be taken as an example :

Table 5. A possible allusion to Ad Serapionem I, 20 in Beccus

Ad Serapionem I, 20 (74)	Beccus. The Refutation of the Book ... compiled by Photius ... (75)
ἡ γὰρ θεότης οὐκ ἐν ἀποδείξει λόγων παραδίδοται	... περὶ Τριάδος ποιουμένοις τὸν λόγον τῆς οὐδένα τῆ φύσει τῶν ὄντων ἀποδείξεως λόγον προσιεμένης (76)
"For the Godhead ... is not transmitted via verbal [or 'literary', 'rhetoric'] proofs ..."	"... of the Trinity which does not allow verbal proof according the nature of beings "

And in one more place at least Beccus alludes to the main quotation in question in the present article, speaking about the Holy Spirit as "... the living and essential (ζῶσά τε καὶ οὐσιώδης) energy of both the Father and the Son" (77).

Here one is struck with : 1) an apparent identification of the Hypostasis and energy of the Spirit ; 2) a clearly pro-Latin treatment of His co-ordination to the Father and the Son, quite in compliance with the dogmatic rulings of the Second Council of Lyons which are known to be

(73) On the analogous ideas of Cyril of Alexandria cf. M.-O. BOULNOIS, *The Mystery of the Trinity according to Cyril of Alexandria: The Deployment of the Triad and Its Recapitulation into the Unity of Divinity*, in Th. G. WEINANDY and D. A. KEATING (eds.), *The Theology of St Cyril of Alexandria. A Critical Appreciation*, London - New York, 2003, pp. 105-106.

(74) PG 26, 577A.

(75) JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri... a Photio*, PG 141, 729C.

(76) Cf. also the Photian expression ἀλίτοις λόγοις ἀποδείξεων (PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti*, PG 102, 389A).

(77) JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri... a Photio*, PG 141, 813A.

followed by Beccus (78) ; 3) the appearance of the citation from Athanasius in its original version (without the alteration that was brought in presumably by Blemmydes). Seemingly John knew both the traditions of the *Ad Serapionem* I, i.e., the "original" one, and the one presumably modified by Nicephorus. This is not surprising, as one has only to remember the general state of transmission of medieval texts.

Are we thus allowed to draw any specific conclusions which would be applicable to our work ? I think the answer would be affirmative : both sides in the debate, I mean the supporters and the chastisers of the *Filioque*, seek to find support in Athanasius' arguments (to say nothing of those from other Fathers, but this is another topic), but in the meantime Gregory of Cyprus cites this Father rather accurately, though following the Blemmydean interpretation read into his text, whereas Beccus, on the one hand, sometimes quotes Athanasius without alterations and even preserves his original wording, like in the last example, but, on the other hand, makes significant mistakes with regard to sources, indicating a somewhat lower level of philological culture. One is justified in agreeing with A. Alexakis who has already mentioned a low level of preservation of patristic citations in Beccus' florilegium (79). All this taken together reveals a more negligent and rather selective attitude towards the Tradition of the Fathers (80). However, Blemmydes'

(78) See, in particular, D. I. MAKAROV, *The Target of George Pachymeres' Polemics in his Treatise on the Holy Spirit*, in B. M. LOURIE and V. A. BARANOV (eds.), *Scrinium*, 4, St Petersburg, 2008, pp. 235-248, with concrete examples. One of the most important among them, the dogmatic Constitution *De summa Trinitate et fide catholica*, can be found in : N. P. TANNER (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, V, 1, *Nicaea I to Lateran V*, London - Washington, 1990, p. 314 (*Concilium Lugdunense II-1274. Constitutiones. II. De summa Trinitate et fide catholica*).

(79) ALEXAKIS, *The Greek*, p. 154, n. 19.

(80) On Beccus' attitude towards the Tradition of the Fathers see in particular V. LAURENT, *Le cas de Photius dans l'apologétique du patriarche Jean XI Beccus (1275-1282) au lendemain du deuxième concile de Lyon*, in *EO*, 29 (1930), pp. 397, 405-406, 409 ; PODSKALSKY, *Theologie*, p. 123 ; ΧΕΧΑΚΕ, *Τὸ ὄντως Βέκκος*, pp. 66-83 ; A. RIEBE, *Rom im Gemeinschaft mit Konstantinopel. Patriarch Johannes XI. Bekkos als Verteidiger der Kirchenunion von Lyon (1274)* (*Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik*, 8), Wiesbaden, 2005, pp. 131-141, 319-337. According to GOUILLARD (*Les influences*, p. 37), Beccus was probably the first Greek theologian to compile a rather comprehensive patristic florilegium on the topic of the procession of the Holy Spirit. It can be found in PG 141, 613-724. But cf. the previous note on its quality.



and Gregory's dubbing of the Holy Spirit as Life can be substantiated on the basis of certain branches of this Tradition based on the New Testament, as well as the Alexandrian school, and not from purely subjective factors such as slips of memory and so on.

#### 4. The Holy Spirit as Energy : Did Nicephorus Blemmydes Belong to a 'Proto-Palamite' Pneumatology ?

Let us now turn to another part of the description of the Holy Spirit in *Ad Serapionem* I, 20, i.e., to the Holy Spirit being called living energy by Athanasius and our three 13<sup>th</sup> century authors. This circumstance already constitutes a problem which was not unnoticed by Gregory of Cyprus. He writes about the Fathers' ambiguity in outlining the problem of the Person – energy relation with regard to the Spirit. On the one hand, "It is self-evident that some Fathers don't want to call the Son or the Spirit energy" (81). But, on the other hand, the Patriarch accepts the presumably Blemmydean alteration of Athanasius' text, thus contributing to a number of late Byzantine writings, similar in wording and content, from which we learn that :

1. Some Saints do call the Holy Spirit *energy* (thus in Photius and two Gregories – of Cyprus and Palamas – there is a clear-cut distinction between the *Person* and the *energy* of the Spirit) ;

2. What Gregory Palamas has designated as *an Orthodox understanding of the Filioque* is feasible and realizable in Orthodox terms (such as Gregory's interpretation of the notorious passage from Cyril mentioned recently by J. van Rossum (82)).

We envision here a key to the solution of the problem as a whole. One may probably argue that by the 15<sup>th</sup> century two branches within Greek patristic pneumatology crystallized, the more 'distinctionist' one, so to say, and the other 'unifying'. The criterion here was *the Person – energy distinction*, which, on the one hand, was unclear in Athanasius and deliberately 'muffled' in Blemmydes (who might have drawn, as we already suggested before, on Symeon the New Theologian – Nicholas of

(81) GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *De processione*, PG 142, 278C.

(82) See CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *De veneratione et servitione in Spiritu et veritate* 1, PG 68, 148A: τὸ οὐσιωδῶς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἦγουν ἐκ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ προχεόμενον Πνεῦμα ... ; VAN ROSSUM, *Athanasius*, p. 54, n. 5.

Methone line, or even more simply adhered to the literal treatment of the *Oration* 41.11 of Gregory the Theologian), but, on the other hand, appeared to be clear-cut and profoundly deliberated as early as in Photius (83). The Patriarch's reasons for doing so might well have included a conscious orientation towards the New Testament usage where Life had been the Name applied to a Person, not to energy (see our Tables 1 and 2), while, on the other hand, one should take into account that it was the Person of the Son which was the topic of the New Testament narrative. Let us consider the textual evidence from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.

#### 4.1. Philotheus Coccinus, Gregory of Cyprus and Maximus the Confessor : The Double Meaning of Energy in Triadology

Expressions similar to that of Palamas, adduced in Table 6 above, are not rare in Philotheus Coccinus († ca. 1377/1378). His texts present a good tool for a scholar to prove that :

- a) the Palamites acted as the immediate spiritual heirs of Gregory of Cyprus ;
- b) in doing so they strictly distinguished between the energy and the Person of the Spirit.

Philotheus writes in his *Antirrheticī against Gregoras* :

"According to the divine Fathers, therefore, *that very splendour of the Divine, which is also called the Holy Spirit (τὴν καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ὀνομασμένην)*, – I mean that splendour which beneficiates and imparts goodness – is given (*χορηγεῖσθαι*) to us ..." (84).

(83) Although Blemmydes is believed to belong to the Photian tradition in general, in some places he censured the Patriarch and made a certain revision of his views. We will adduce an example of that censorship later.

(84) PHILOTHEUS COCCINUS, *Contra Gregoram libri XII, Liber VI*, PG 151, 917CD ; D. ΚΑΪΜΑΚΗΣ, *Φιλοθέου Κοκκίνου Δογματικά ἔργα, μέρος Α'*, Thessalonica, 1983, p. 216.1571-1573. Cf. already : BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Libri adversus Eunomium V*, PG 29/2, 772CD. Basil, in his turn, seems to be making Athanasius more precise. – No grounds seem to remain now for rejecting Basil's authorship for books IV and V of *Against Eunomius* ; cf. LUR'E (in collab. with BARANOV), *Istorija*, p. 83 ; but cf. Th. BÖHM, *Basil of Caesarea, Adversus Eunomium I-III and Ps. Basil, Adversus Eunomium IV-V*, in M. F. WILES and E. J. YARNOLD (eds.), *Studia Patristica*, XXXVII, Leuven, 2001, pp. 20-26, esp. pp. 24-26.

It must be noted that this usage on the part of Philotheus of the verb *χορηγεῖσθαι* refers us back to the tradition of Athanasius, including *Ad Serapionem* I, 20<sup>(85)</sup>.

Second, we possess an analogous place from the writings of Gregory of Cyprus who acted as a vigorous “renovator” of the Photian tradition for the Palamites<sup>(86)</sup>. The text permits us to answer the question on which grounds and in which sense the energy of the Spirit can also be called so, that is, identical with the Person it represents.

The problem we are concerned with here is connected, according to Gregory of Cyprus, with such a specific feature of the theological language as its *homonymy*: evidently, the Son gives to the faithful that grace of the Holy Spirit which is inherent in Him from eternity, as is the Spirit Himself, this being the reason for *the grace (χάρις) having been called Spirit as well in an equivocal manner, “for energy is also the name of the agent (ὅτε καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος τὴν κλησιν)”*<sup>(87)</sup>. Gregory was justified in his referring to Tradition, because one of the main sources of the quoted passage must have been the 16<sup>th</sup> *Opusculum theologicum et polemicum* of Maximus the Confessor where it is written: “For it is energy which can be transferred to the agent (ἢ τε γὰρ ἐνέργεια πρὸς τὸν ἐνεργοῦντα ... ἀνάγεται), as well as the nature, in its turn, to him who is subsistent (πρὸς τὸν ὑφαιστώτα)”<sup>(88)</sup>. Now let us remember one of the series of Gregory’s questions addressed to Beccus: “How could it be possible that an energy possessed the same principle (logos) with the essence it was related to?”<sup>(89)</sup> Gregory of Cyprus was a convinced follower of Maximus from whose *Ambigua* he rewrote a number of passages in the 1270’s with his own hand<sup>(90)</sup>. This made his appropriation

(85) ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *Ad Serapionem* I.20, PG 26, 580A ; IDEM, *Orationes adversus Arianos* III.24, *ibidem*, 373B (but cf. 349B) ; [GREGORY OF CYPRUS], *Ἐκθροισ τοῦ Τόμου*, PG 142, 243A ; IDEM, *Contra Marcum*, *ibidem*, 250C.

(86) But SOPKO (*Palamism*, p. 145) is right in a sense when he stresses that in his pneumatological reflections Gregory of Cyprus was more likely inspired by the earlier Fathers than by Photius. This holds true especially for both Athanasius and Basil the Great, as well as for John Damascene.

(87) *Ἐκθροισ τοῦ Τόμου*, PG 142, 243A.

(88) MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *Opuscula theologica et polemica*, *Opusculum* 16, PG 91, 200D.

(89) GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *De processione*, PG 142, 289D.

(90) Some fragments of Maximus rewritten by Gregory of Cyprus have been preserved, according to B. Markesinis, in the ms. *Monacensis gr. 225* (s. XIII). See JANSSENS, *Introduction*, in JANSSENS, *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua*, p. LXIII.

of the Blemmydean alteration of *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 theologically admissible and understandable.

#### 4.2. The Ambiguous Position of Energy in the Theology of Blemmydes

##### 4.2.1. Some discrepancies between Blemmydes and the Photian tradition

The corresponding passages of Blemmydes are apparently at some variance with the Photian tradition. Thus, in a fragment from the 181<sup>st</sup> *Question and answer to Amphilochius* by Photius the Holy Spirit’s energy and gifts are clearly distinguished from His Hypostasis: “... such expressions as ‘creation’, ‘Providence’, ‘salvation’, ‘the giving of gifts’ (τῶν χαρισμάτων ἢ διανομῆ), ‘donation’ (ἢ δωρεά) and the kindred, by means of various and mystical signs point out in a sacred manner (ιερολογοῦσιν<sup>(91)</sup>) to the energy”<sup>(92)</sup>. Let us pay special attention here to the energy’s distinct character, according to Photius, who emphasizes its non-confluence with the essence or the Hypostasis of the Spirit.

Further on, one may be reminded that Photius, when he singled out in God the essence – power – energy triad did nothing else than follow the Cappadocian pattern that had been established and clearly affirmed by Basil:

“We state that each good which emanates from (ἐκ)<sup>(93)</sup> the power (δυνάμεως) of God and can reach us is *the energy* (or ‘operation’. D.M.) of the Divine grace accomplishing (ἐνεργούσης) ‘all in all’ (1 Cor 15, 28)”<sup>(94)</sup>.

Needless to say (and it is usually affirmed<sup>(95)</sup>), these notions were to become a favourite for the Palamite tradition. To be sure, such expres-

(91) This verb is rather frequent in Photius. Cf. PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti*, PG 102, 312B.

(92) Ed. L. G. WESTERINK, *Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, V, *Amphilochiorum pars altera* (BSGRT), Leipzig, 1986, p. 236.

(93) Unlike *ἀπό* in Jac 1, 17!

(94) Ed. et trad. COURTONNE, *Saint Basile, Lettres*, I, p. 84.4.2-4.

(95) For an example, see G. I. MANTZARIDOU, *Ὁρθόδοξος πνευματικότης καὶ θεολογία κατὰ Γρηγόριον τὸν Παλαμᾶν*, in *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 51 (1968), pp. 56-58 ; L. C. CONTOS, *The Essence-Energies Structure of Saint Gregory Palamas with a Brief Examination of Its Patristic Foundation*, in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 12 (1967-1968), pp. 285-287 ; etc.

sions of Photius as, for instance, ἡ τῶν χαρισμάτων ἐνέργεια<sup>(96)</sup>, are virtually identical in sense and language with analogous idioms of Symeon the New Theologian<sup>(97)</sup>. But from a 'statistical' point of view the system-like proximity of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch's ideas and wording to those of Gregory Palamas and Philotheus Coccinus is fuller and more apparent.

Now, Photius and Blemmydes have something in common to say about the gifts of the Spirit, as, for example, both emphasize the *eternal* (ἀένναος) character of their emanation<sup>(98)</sup>. But did Nicephorus, like Photius, differentiate strictly on the level of meaning and in terminology between, on the one hand, *the eternal shining forth of the energy (which is, however, identical with the Person) of the Holy Spirit*, and, on the other hand, *the temporary mission of His gifts to the righteous* (... ὡς δὲ δωρεὰ καὶ ἀποστέλλεται καὶ δίδεται φυσικῶς)<sup>(99)</sup>?

However bold such a hypothesis could be, on having read the article by I. Perczel mentioned above, I began to ask myself if one were permitted to construe that φυσικῶς in Blemmydes' text is a sign of his somewhat hidden adherence to the line of Symeon, who had taught, as we know, about the participation of the worthy in the very φύσις, or οὐσία, of the Godhead?<sup>(100)</sup> Although, to say nothing of the circumstance that one has yet to fill in the gaps between the two theologians, Blemmydes might have simply meant that the above-mentioned participation is not something artificial and accidental for both sides, but appears to be an event of the living intercourse between the two or more persons via the gift as the direct revelation of the Divine life.

#### 4.2.2. Was Blemmydes a Proponent of the Filioque? Some considerations

In the *Second oration on the procession of the Holy Spirit* we are told that the true solution of the Trinitarian problem lies in our recognition and

(96) PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti*, PG 102, 312B.

(97) See n. 51.

(98) PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti*, PG 102, 309B; cf. STAVROU, *Le premier*, p. 92.9.13-15. Compare to this: ἐξ αὐτοῦ (PHOTIUS, *ibidem*); αὐδίας (STAVROU, *Le premier, ibidem*).

(99) STAVROU, *Le premier*, p. 92.9.15.

(100) Both Christ and the visible Divine Light can be described as οὐσία or φύσις in particular (the instances from the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Hymns have been collected and accompanied with an analysis by PERCZEL, *Saint Symeon*, pp. 135-136.

confession of the fact that "... the Spirit has made Himself manifest (πεφηνέναι) from (παρὰ) the Father through the Son (δι' Υἱοῦ)"<sup>(101)</sup>.

Did Nicephorus intend by having written down these words to make a full-scale equation in sense, not only in terms, between the manifestation of the Spirit through the Son and His procession from the Father (which would inevitably lead him to a recognition of the *Filioque*)?

Let us note first that these words actually contain a hidden citation from Gregory of Nyssa whose intention, nevertheless, was to speak about the temporary manifestation of the Holy Spirit through the Son in the world, thus avoiding the otherwise inevitable confusion of the intra-Trinitarian and economical levels<sup>(102)</sup>.

However, Blemmydes' conclusions from his scrutiny of this and other<sup>(103)</sup> patristic texts in the *Second oration* are: a) the idioms which aim at describing the *manifestation* of the Spirit, do also designate His *hypostatic being*; b) *the appearance* (πεφηνέναι) and the procession (ἐκπόρευσις) of the Holy Spirit are *identical*<sup>(104)</sup>. It sounds rather natural if we don't draw a distinction between the Person and energy of the Spirit.

And yet, in *Nicephorus' teaching*, the Son is in no way a cause of the Spirit, as one could read already in the letter to John III Ducas Vatatzes, which had been written several years earlier<sup>(105)</sup>. In any event, even if we are

(101) NICEPHORUS BLEMMYDES, *Oratio secunda*, PG 142, 573B (= STAVROU, *Nicéphore Blemmydès, Œuvres théologiques*, pp. 322.6.4-324.6.1).

(102) ... ἐκ τοῦ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πεφηνέναι ... (GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Contra Eunomium libri XII*, 280, PG 45, 336D; W. JAEGER, *GNO*, I, *Contra Eunomium libros I-II continens*, Leiden, 1960, p. 109.3).

(103) STAVROU, *Le premier*, pp. 98.11.32-100.11.42; 104.13.20 (Gregory of Nyssa); pp. 100.12.5-102.12.21 (Basil the Great and Cyril of Alexandria). Blemmydes' conclusion is that the creatures possess Divine goods by means of participation (κατὰ μέθεξιν), meanwhile the Spirit is the Good-in-Itself" (*ibidem*, p. 104.13.16-17). We leave aside here the patristic origins of the formula (Ps.-Dionysius; Basil's *Homily on the First psalm*, where God is called τὸ αὐτόκαλον [PG 29/2, 216B]; and so on).

(104) STAVROU, *Le premier*, p. 102.12.15-16. 20-21; NICEPHORUS BLEMMYDES, *Oratio secunda*, PG 142, 581C (= STAVROU, *Nicéphore Blemmydès, Œuvres théologiques*, pp. 342.39-344.46, esp. 344.41-42), which is actually a comment on a similar expression used by Gregory of Nyssa).

(105) G. MERCATI, *Una lettera del Blemmida a Giovanni II Duca sulla processione dello Spirito Santo contro i Latini*, in *Opere minori*, III (ST, 78), Città del Vaticano, 1937, p. 439 (= STAVROU, *Nicéphore Blemmydès, Œuvres théologiques*, p. 264.5.1-7).

to single out three stages in the development of Blemmydes' thought upon the subject, i.e., *the early one* (up to 1234), *the middle* (1234 to 1250), and *the late* (from 1250 onwards), we will say that a more thorough and complex reading of his writings dated back from the first and second stages should leave no doubt as to his Orthodox stance in the ongoing Filioque controversy<sup>(106)</sup>. I think this assertion can be validated for the

(106) This is one of the most intriguing and confusing traits of Blemmydes' thought. I think one may doubt the assertion of Fr. Munitiz (*A Reappraisal of Blemmydes' First Discussion with the Latins*, in *Bsl*, 51 (1990), p. 26), that in the corresponding parts of his works Nicephorus taught about a "collaborative" role of the Son in the sending forth of the Spirit, p. 26). In fact, some influential scholars, such as Fr. Grumel and Fr. Meyendorff, have spoken in a similar vein: V. GRUMEL, *Nicéphore Blemmyde et la procession du Saint-Esprit*, in *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, 18 (1929), p. 652; MEYENDORFF, *Bogoslovie*, pp. 114-116, esp. p. 116. In my view, GRUMEL (*Nicéphore Blemmyde*, p. 651) seems to get closer to the original sense of Blemmydes' teaching in affirming that Nicephorus tried to keep his mind within the boundaries of the traditional patristic teaching, and therefore disproved the idea of the Son being an active source of the existence of the Spirit. The Orthodox stance of Blemmydes in the Filioque controversy is now strongly defended by Stavrou: STAVROU, *Introduction générale*, pp. 107-110, 116; IDEM, *Le théologien Nicéphore Blemmydès*, p. 169; NICÉPHORE BLEMMYDÈS, *Les syllogismes hypothétiques ...*, *ibidem*, pp. 224.7.1-226.7.15. One can reason that MORALES (*La théologie*, p. 152) is close to returning to the old standpoint of Gregory of Cyprus' opponents when he treats Blemmydes' theology as the one which presumes that the Son is the second and, as it were, intermediary Origin (l'origine médiate) of the Holy Spirit's subsistence. Besides that, GRUMEL (*Nicéphore Blemmyde*, p. 653) has also emphasized certain "progress" in the development of Blemmydes' trinitarian views from the negotiations in Nymphaeum in 1234 to the *First and Second Orations*, i.e. to the period after 1250. It is probable as the late period of Blemmydes' intellectual activity is concerned, but one must not forget nevertheless that Nicephorus' Orthodox stance against the Filioque doctrine remained the same in ca. 1250 as it had been in 1234, as one may infer from his letter to John II Ducas (if we are to accept its dating by Cardinal G. MERCATI and M. STAVROU: G. MERCATI, *Una lettera*, p. 440.[3-4] = STAVROU, *Nicéphore Blemmydès*, *Œuvres théologiques*, p. 266.6.7-8; see on the date: *ibidem*, pp. 241-242). We may remember that as early as in 1234 he had already come out with the strictures of the Filioque (see P. CANART, *Nicéphore Blemmyde et le mémoire adressé aux envoyés de Grégoire IX (Nicée, 1234)*, in *OCP*, 25 (1959), p. 324.23-27 (= STAVROU, *Nicéphore Blemmydès*, *Œuvres théologiques*, p. 202.24-29): the Spirit proceeds from (ἐκ) the Father alone, otherwise the hypostatic properties of the Father and the Son would conflate, which is inadmissible; the same argument is repeated in the letter to John III Ducas: MERCATI,

third stage too, special reservations being made concerning a somewhat archaic and ambiguous character of Blemmydes' theological language as reflected in *The Letter to James of Bulgaria* and especially in *The Second Oration*.

From the analysis of Blemmydean texts under consideration several conclusions can be drawn: a) the approach patronized by Blemmydes tacitly combined the Person and the energy of the Spirit (explicitly in the third period); b) Nicephorus' quotation of Athanasius' *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 is a particular display of his tendency to extrapolate the "economical" assertions of the Fathers into the intra-Trinitarian relations of the Persons, as is evidently the case with the citation from Gregory of Nyssa's *Against Eunomius* XII, 280 (see n. 102); c) Nicephorus' usage of the preposition *παρὰ* corresponds to its being exploited in the citations from Athanasius made by Gregory of Cyprus, whereas one may say about Blemmydes's influence on the latter (see Table 2 above); d) like Gregory of Cyprus and unlike Beccus, Blemmydes emphatically denied any conflation of the prepositions *παρὰ* and *ἐκ*, as well as the extending of the Father's hypostatic property to be the Cause of the Spirit onto the Son.

To be sure, Blemmydes was far from reducing the notion of the manifestation of the Spirit to the intra-Trinitarian level only<sup>(107)</sup>, because this would be tantamount to a complete denial of the historicity and thus reality of our redemption and salvation, but in his late works he tried rather to include the 'historical' appearances of the Spirit to the just into the general notion of His being manifested from the Father through the Son from eternity. These were the two facets of one and the same 'mega-phenomenon' of God's love and charity which exists not only between the Divine Persons but is also granted to the fallen

*Una lettera*, p. 439 = STAVROU, *Nicéphore Blemmydès*, *Œuvres théologiques*, p. 262.3.1-264.4.3); contrary to Riebe (see A. RIEBE, *Rom im Gemeinschaft mit Konstantinopel*, p. 229). As we know, the Spirit's procession from (ἐκ) the Son was one of the central claims of Beccus and his entourage, which was to be condemned at the Council of Blachernae in 1285 (see, e.g., JOHN BECCUS, *De unione Ecclesiarum*, PG 141, 136AD; *Ἐκθεσις τοῦ Τόμου*, PG 142, 240BC).

(107) This is the opinion of VAN ROSSUM (*Athanasius*, p. 55) who seems to be simplifying the problem in question. But cf. his conclusion on a certain ambiguity of Blemmydes' doctrine on p. 58. With certain reservations in mind, we can agree with this last claim.

mankind in the acts of creation, Providence, redemption, and salvation, the latter being understood as our deification and transfiguration in God's glory. These were the two poles of the antinomy, the two extremes of the Christian mystery which are present everywhere in the Christian doctrine, to mention here the dogma of Chalcedon only as a proof of their interpenetration and permanent unity.

#### 4.2.3. Several preliminary conclusions

One is tempted to outline such a historical sketch of pneumatology on the basis of all that is mentioned above. Maximus seen through the eyes of Gregory of Cyprus undoubtedly belonged to mainstream patristic theology<sup>(108)</sup>, whereas some representatives of monastic circles, such as Symeon the New Theologian, and, probably, Nicholas of Methone with his exegesis of the Pentecost, were somewhat removed from it. Blemmydes might well have been a faithful adherent to the latter group; however, Photius, Gregory of Cyprus, and later on Gregory Palamas returned to the mainstream theology. On the contrary, those ecclesiastics of the late 13<sup>th</sup> - early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries who were hostile towards Gregory of Cyprus, as well as anti-Palamites in one or several generations, digressed from the Cappadocian-Photian line again, but under different historical and ecclesiastical conditions. Despite this polarity (and there certainly were dim colours or overtones within the theological spectrum), Gregory of Cyprus was much indebted to Blemmydes. As for Nicephorus himself, though he owed some ideas to Photius, in other cases he felt free to criticize the latter's words (we shall analyse one such case).

It is, however, this seemingly simple and 'simplifying' approach of Blemmydes' two *Orationes* that was accepted and further developed by Beccus some twenty - twenty five years later<sup>(109)</sup>. It was John XI who perceived with enthusiasm that quasi-Blemmydean idea of the iden-

(108) Such a veneration of Maximus was quite normal and imperative for a Byzantine Orthodox theologian who lived after the turn of 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, the time of the beginning of a so-called 'Maximian renaissance' in "Byzantium" (B. LOURIE, *Michel Psellos contre Maxime le Confesseur: l'origine de l' "hérésie des physéthésites"*, in *Scrinium*, 4 (2008), p. 226).

(109) It was precisely the *Letter to James of Bulgaria* that had been read by Beccus before he started compiling his refutations of Photius, Gregory of Cyprus etc. See JOHN BECCUS, *De depositione sua orationes* II.5, PG 141, 976D-977A.

tity of the procession and the shining forth of the Spirit<sup>(110)</sup>, so as to construe it in a quite different way, not simply an alternative to that of Gregory of Cyprus (and, as I suppose, to that of Blemmydes himself), but deliberately opposed to the latter<sup>(111)</sup>. Moreover, Beccus' (mis)construction of Nicephorus, though not perfectly articulated, has been laid on a quite different system of coordinates in triadology which obviously for the former's opponents did not fit in with long-established Orthodox principles. In this connection Gregory of Cyprus' quotation from *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 could be understood as a sign of his hidden polemics with the misconstruction of this and kindred passages in Beccus and of a desire to return to that sense which had been read into the phrase by Blemmydes.

It would be appropriate to add here a couple of words concerning some basic features of the ex-Patriarch's trinitarian doctrine.

#### 5. The development of some ideas of Blemmydes within a different dogmatic framework: John XI Beccus<sup>(112)</sup>

It would be irrelevant to retell here all the specific traits of John's inextricable triadology, but the most important thing which should be noted and analysed, if only briefly, is his persistent *confusion of the Divine essence, energy, Hypostasis and the hypostatic properties in God*. A. Papadakis has already brought attention to a noticeable place where Beccus especially boldly attacks his opponents', that is, Gregory of Cyprus', *distinction between the Hypostasis of the Holy Spirit and His uncreated gifts*<sup>(113)</sup>. Such examples abound. Beccus took his stand against various distinctions concerning God in a way that already foreshadowed the anti-Palamites,

(110) To be precise, he appreciated the idea of the mental difference between these acts and their real identity. As we will see, in a similar fashion Beccus misconstrued the main distinctions in the Holy Trinity overall.

(111) Let us repeat here again that, according to Gregory, the Holy Spirit does not receive His subsistence neither *διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ*, nor *ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ* (GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *Contra Marcum*, PG 141, 249A).

(112) The problem of Blemmydes' ideas being differently constructed by Beccus and Gregory of Cyprus was posited by MEYENDORFF (*Bogoslovie*, p. 117).

(113) JOHN BECCUS, *De unione Ecclesiarum*, PG 141, 49AC; PAPADAKIS, *A Crisis*, pp. 98-99, n. 33.



including Barlaam of Calabria<sup>(114)</sup>, Nicephorus Gregoras<sup>(115)</sup>, John Cyparissiotis<sup>(116)</sup>, Bessarion of Nicaea<sup>(117)</sup> (who wrote in April-May 1439, at the last stage of the Council of Florence<sup>(118)</sup>) and so on. He tells us in relief that the generation of the Son and the projection of the Spirit, taken together, represent a natural (!) good of the Father<sup>(119)</sup>; he

(114) R. E. SINKIEWICZ, *The Solutions Addressed to George Lapithes by Barlaam the Calabrian and their Philosophical Context*, in *Mediaeval Studies*, 43 (1981), p. 216.3-5; p. 212. 8.4-5.

(115) M. CANDAL, *Fuentes Palamíticas. Diálogo de Jorge Facrás sobre el contradictorio de Pálamas con Nicéforo Grégoras*, in *OCP*, 16 (1950), p. 330.4.27-28 (on the alleged confluence of the nature and the natural attributes in God).

(116) CANDAL, *Juan Cyparisiota*, p. 144.16.26-27, p. 146.18.16-19 (the essence-Hypostasis distinction is purely mental). This is already pure Scholasticism. However, Beccus was its direct forerunner; cf. JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri ... a Photio*, PG 141, 800BC. Cf. the section in the Cyparissiotis' treatise where it is discussed whether the hypostatic property of the Paternity could be an energy (CANDAL, *Juan Cyparisiota*, pp. 132.24-138.5) or the Hypostasis of the Father (*ibidem*, p. 130.15-21): despite a negative answer to both questions, the very possibility of their being raised is highly remarkable.

(117) All the framework of Orthodox triadology is razed to the ground with his statements of the following kind: "Nothing hinders whatsoever that which exists from the essence of the Father and the Son to exist from their Hypostasis (sic! D.M.) as well" (BESSARION, *Contra Palamam Apologia inscriptionum Vecci*, PG 161, 284C). The obvious and glaring parallel in Beccus is found in his Dogmatic epistle to pope John XXI: JOHN BECCUS, *Epistola ad Joannem papam*, PG 141, 947AB.

(118) A. RIGO, *La refutazione di Bessarione delle Antepigraphai di Gregorio Palamas*, in M. CORTESI and C. LEONARDI (eds.), *Tradizioni patristiche nell'Umanesimo. Atti del Convegno del Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Firenze, 6-8 febbraio 1997*, Firenze, 1999, p. 294.

(119) For example: JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri ... a Photio*, PG 141, 748CD; 781D-784A; IDEM, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 881BC; etc. Cf. also PG 141, 781D: the Spirit participates (*μετέχει*) in the natural goods of the Father; it means that the third Person was misconstrued by Beccus as being of another substance, heterogeneous to that of the Father. According to Photius, such a line of reasoning inevitably leads one to Macedonianism (PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti*, PG 102, 313A-316A, 317A). The subordinationism of Beccus' trinitarian doctrine makes itself manifest in these words to a full extent. If one thinks so, he will, according to Ephrem of Antioch (6<sup>th</sup> century), fall into the pitfall of admitting the otherness in substance between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Ephrem taught indeed: "... nor can ... an essence become identical to any other essence according to the essence, because they are not consubstantial to each other ..." (PHOTIUS, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 228, ed. R. HENRY, *Photius, Bibliothèque*, IV, "Codices" 223-229, Paris, 1965, p. 120.27-28). When Beccus ascribes the hypostatic property of

is serious in arguing that none of the Saints ever taught about the difference between the principle (*logos*) of the Essence and that of the Hypostasis in God<sup>(120)</sup>... In the latter case he is evidently cunning, trying to overturn with one blow the whole line of Christian triadology beginning with St Irenaeus, the Alexandrians, and the Cappadocians<sup>(121)</sup>.

In John's view, the distinction between a Hypostasis and a hypostatic property in God is purely mental (or, in the final analysis, it doesn't exist at all): "The procession is conceived of together with the hypostatic subsistence (H ... ὑπαρξίς) of the Spirit as Spirit, due to the very name of the Spirit" (122). It remains quite indefinite whether these acts are a matter of thought only or whether they possess a *fundamentum in re*?

As a matter of fact, the Divine essence, according to Beccus, is not divided either with designations (i.e., the Names of the Persons) or with "... the distinction (τὴν ... διαίρεσιν) between the Paternity and the Filiation ..." (123). From this and similar claims of Beccus one may infer that everything that is seen around God, i.e., the Hypostases, the essence, the hypostatic and the natural properties, is essentially one entity which is indivisible. Some three quarters of a century later, we come across the same tenet in Prochoros Cydones: "... one has got to recognize perforce that the

being Father and Projector to the essence of the Father, he automatically makes one suspect that, in his view, the three Persons are not consubstantial to each other. And this is just the implication of, e.g., the following passage: JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 881D, where it is rather difficult to determine to which essence (to that of the Father? Of the Son? To that which they share in common?) "the unity (τὸ... ἐνιαῖον)" relates. The same criticism of Beccus could easily be derived from the works of GREGORY of NYSSA, cf. ... *πᾶσαν ἀποθεῖται τὴν κατ'οὐσίαν ἑτερότητα ἢ θεία φύσις* (ed. F. MUELLER, *GNO*, III, 1, *Opera dogmatica minora*, Leiden, 1958, p. 55.13-15). An Orthodox polemicist is therefore justified in putting into use Gregory's and Ephrem's postulate against Beccus. I think this example enables one to see how far John went astray from the Cappadocian triadology in his rejection of it.

(120) JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri ... a Photio*, PG 141, 753D.

(121) See, for instance, BASIL of CAESAREA, *Libri adversus Eunomium* I.19, PG 29/2, 556B; GREGORY of NYSSA, *Quod non sint tres Dii*, ed. F. MUELLER, *GNO*, III, 1, pp. 40.5-42.12, esp. pp. 40.24-41.2; p. 55.7 f.; PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti*, PG 102, 293A, 297BC; "Ἐκθεσις τοῦ Τόμου", PG 142, 240A, 241BD; Gregory of Cyprus is active in putting this terminology into operation, as can be seen from: GREGORY of CYPRUS, *De processione*, PG 142, 271AB, 275A etc.

(122) JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri ... a Photio*, PG 141, 857B; cf. IDEM, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 901D; cf.: IDEM, *Epistola ad Joannem*, PG 141, 946B.

(123) IDEM, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 905A.

energy of God is His essence" (124). One may be reminded in this connection that, according to Photius, one of the essential traits of pro-Filioque triadology is its hidden Sabellianism, when the Persons of the Father and the Son are mentally combined into one entity, with the stability of the hypostatic properties destroyed, contrary to Blemmydes (125).

This example makes it obvious that Beccus fell prey to his own longing to proclaim the absolute unity and indivisibility of the Divine essence (126). But, on the other hand, both the Spirit and the Son proceed each from His own essence, and to suppose this would be tantamount to saying that insofar as the latter is the true source of being for these two Persons there is nothing other than a common essence of the Godhead (127)! It is true that in another excerpt Beccus seems to be arguing for the hypostatic difference (τὴν ... διάκρισιν) between the Spirit and the Father and Son, with the aim of avoiding the mental confusion between the generation and the procession (128). But this does not bring him closer to the recognition of the monarchy of the Father. On the con-

(124) GREGORY ACINDYNUS, *Liber de essentia et operatione*, PG 151, 1196D; cf. *ibidem*, 1197A, 1217B, 1233B, 1237A, D. Although Prochoros tried to lean on Augustine in bolstering his view, it should be acknowledged nevertheless that in doing so he found himself at variance with the Greek patristic tradition. Compiled in 1367, this work of Prochoros was condemned at the Constantinopolitan council of 1368, which proclaimed Gregory Palamas to be a Saint. On the attribution of the work to Prochoros see G. MERCATI, *L'opera De essentia et operatione attribuita a Gregorio Acindino*, in *Nottizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (ST, 56), Città del Vaticano, 1931, pp. 1-13; I. D. POLEMIS, *Theophanes of Nicaea. His Life and Works* (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, 20), Wien, 1996, p. 65; S. HORUZYH (ed.), *Hesychasm, an Annotated Bibliography*, Moscow, 2004, p. 460.

(125) PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti*, PG 102, 289AB; CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Thesaurus*, PG 75, 297A; etc. Compare in Beccus: the Spirit's essence of being is here understood as "the indivisibility of the essence", i.e., the common essence of the three Persons (JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 897D).

(126) See a comment by M. E. HUSSEY (*The Persons-Energy Structure in the Theology of St. Gregory Palamas*, in *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 18/1 (1974), p. 23) in this regard: "Yet there is no place in the patristic tradition for a theology that is exclusively concerned with the divine essence".

(127) JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 884A. On the apparently (but not essentially) similar expression in Gregory of Cyprus see ΣΑΥΒΑΤΟΣ, *Ἡ θεολογική παράδοσις*, pp. 560-562.

(128) JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri ... a Photio*, PG 141, 789A.

trary, John is indignant with the Orthodox triadology which seems for him with its principle of the Father being the Cause according to the logos of the Hypostasis to deny His causality according to the logos of the essence (129)! Hence it is recognized, at best, Beccus' inconsistency, both in language and in thought, concerning the issue of unity and distinctions in God.

But then Gregory of Cyprus seen through Beccus' eyes is "a new theologian" introducing "the distinction (ἡ διαίρεσις)" between the Father and the Son (130), something which is inadmissible for other Latinophrones, like George of Trebizond (131), together with other kinds of intolerable μερισμοὺς καὶ διορισμοὺς in the Trinity (132). Needless to say, such an argument would fit better into late medieval Scholasticism than into the patristic tradition of the East and West. But with his mode of thinking Beccus paved the way for most, if not for all, of the anti-Palamites.

Let us envisage one more probable misconstruction of *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 in Beccus: as the Spirit is "the living and essential energy" of God, His procession (from both the Father and the Son, according to Beccus) must also be "essential and natural". This couple of epithets is repeated twice within a short paragraph in the text (133). Against this claim the counterargument of Photius retains its strength: had the procession of

(129) *Ibidem*, 792C.

(130) IDEM, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 900CD, 909B, 916AC. Cf. *ibidem*, 920A, 921B etc.

(131) For example, GEORGE OF TREBIZOND, *Ad Joannem Cuboclesium de processione Spiritus Sancti*, PG 161, 772B (similar to Beccus, cf. the following note).

(132) JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 916A.

(133) JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri ... a Photio*, PG 141, 761D: φυσική ... καὶ οὐσιώδης ... The origin of this view lies precisely in persistently drawing no distinctions between: a) the Divine essence and the Hypostases; b) the Hypostases and the energy (obviously in the case of the treatment of the Holy Spirit). — In later Palamites the same couple of epithets was used to designate the energy, and not a Person in God (see, e.g., in the 1351 Tome: *Contra barlaamitas et acindynianos*, PG 151, 736C). Nilus Cabasilas also calls the Divine energies οὐσιώδεις καὶ φυσικὰς (CANDAL, *La Regla*, p. 250.14), thereby adding the following comment concerning the Person-energy structure in God: "... each Hypostasis has its own existence and is subsistent in (σύστοιχος) itself, while the Divine energy does not exist either on its own or in its own manner" (*ibidem*, p. 250.5-6). This is a clear development of Maximus' and Gregory of Cyprus' tenet on the difference between the principles of essence and energy.

the Spirit been natural, He would have proceeded from Himself as well, due to the unity and identity of essence<sup>(134)</sup> (although the last tenet was not self-evident for John).

Let us move one step further so as to reveal one more fundamental discrepancy in Beccus. *Trying to safeguard the once postulated simplicity of the Divine essence, Beccus disproved any kind of energy in God, stigmatizing it as "non-hypostatic". We may say that he rejected the Orthodox doctrine on the co-inherence (circumincession) of the Persons of the Trinity on the basis of their common energy which belongs to the nature and not to a Hypostasis.* The following line of reasoning can be presented in the form of a syllogism: if, on the one hand, that which is given to the faithful is the grace of the Holy Spirit, whereas, on the other hand, these gifts to the just are "non-hypostatic", the Spirit Himself will be ἀνυπόστατος<sup>(135)</sup>. It means that, first of all, *the energy of the Spirit is deemed to be confluent with His Hypostasis, but in the meantime His essence is conceived as excluding this energy.* All these conflicting ponderings taken together lay bare the almost complete "shift of conceptual framework" of the classical Cappadocian and Alexandrian triadology.

Remarkably enough, it is just this position that was strongly criticized by so prominent a Palamite as St Philotheus Coccinus in the fifties of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Philotheus Coccinus enters into direct polemics with Beccus to whom he pronounces a lengthy and remarkable oration in his treaty. From that oration I would like to raise two important excerpts:

"What ever is given to us (τὸ χορηγούμενον ἡμῖν) through the Son (διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ)? God who is One in the Holy Trinity, Paraclete, that is (ἡγουν), the very essence and Hypostasis of the Most Holy Spirit ... and not the grace only (οὐχὶ ἡ χάρις μόνον)"<sup>(136)</sup>.

This is followed by the argument which is to be appreciated, both typologically and historically, as *transitional to the stance of Nicephorus Gregoras* (see n. 48):

"And if the creatures are given (χορηγείται) through the Son (διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ) only the grace and the energy (ἡ χάρις μόνον καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια), it follows that

(134) PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti*, PG 102, 289A.

(135) JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 912AB.

(136) ΚΑΪΜΑΚΗΣ, *Φιλοθέου Κοκκίνου*, p. 214.1501-1503, 1509.

only the latter (i.e., the grace which is implied here to be equal to the energy. – D.M.) proceeds from the Father (ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς)"<sup>(137)</sup>.

In his denial of this position Philotheus consistently follows Gregory of Cyprus while bearing in mind the latter's thoughts concerning the *equivocality* of language as well as the Patriarch's distinction between ὑπάρχειν and ὑπαρξῆν ἔχειν discussed above:

"... the Holy Spirit given to us (τὸ χορηγούμενον ἡμῖν) is the Divine grace (ἡ ... χάρις), and by no means the existence (being) (καὶ οὐχ ἡ ὑπαρξις) of the Most Holy Spirit"<sup>(138)</sup>.

One can see that it is *the grace of God* which has been equivocally called Spirit in the first part of the period. The word ὑπαρξις is clearly understood by Philotheus in the same way as by Gregory of Cyprus and the Orthodox tradition in general, viz. as an indicator of the *hypostatic subsistence* of the Holy Spirit<sup>(139)</sup>.

But what is characteristic for Beccus and his entourage<sup>(140)</sup> is *the fundamental lack of distinction between the hypostatic being of the Spirit and His energetic manifestation in the world through the Son.* If the contrary is affirmed, then the Son, according to Beccus, will turn into a servant of the Spirit's manifestation and revelation<sup>(141)</sup>. This misconstruction was caused by John's reluctance to recognize another distinction, viz. that which takes place between the Divine actions *ad intra* and *ad extra*, and such a position by the late 13<sup>th</sup> century was a move back towards the pre-Nicaean, and even more precisely, the modalist epoch of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, to that early stage of the formation of patristic triadology which had preceded the time of St Irenaeus of Lyons. Here only one classical postulate of Severian of Gabala (the late 4<sup>th</sup> century) preserved in a pseudo-Chrysostomic homily may be brought to mind concerning the lack of any order of the Persons in God which would not have been in

(137) *Ibidem*, p. 214.1509-1511. The last period of the passage corresponds to St Athanasius' original text as well as to that quoted by Blemmydes and Gregory of Cyprus.

(138) *Ibidem*, p. 214.1513-1514.

(139) See n. 38; also GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *Contra Marcum*, PG 142, 251A.

(140) E.g., JOHN CHILAS, *Ad imperatorem*, PG 142, 245C. This stand gained the sympathy of NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, *Byzantinae Historiae* XXX.17, PG 149, 265C.

(141) JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 912AB. Hereinafter I will mention some more ideas of this passage.

keeping with His revelation to the history of mankind. The Divine nature as such transcends every order<sup>(142)</sup>. To be sure, this tenet became classical some time after Athanasius who was keen on pointing out the existence in God of some kind of order, τάξις (see Table 3), although his understanding of the τάξις was strictly Orthodox, as an indication of the Persons' equality in honour. Beccus, on his part, might be aware of the text, or, in any case, of some similar texts, but his consideration of the term was coarsely modalistic.

And so, he went on arguing, if one is distinguishing in thought the existence of the Holy Spirit from His gifts being granted to the faithful, he will come to the recognition of the Spirit's double, or even triple, mode of being: on the one part, He would not eternally exist from (ἐκ) the Son, while, on the other part, His eternal existence from the Father ... will break into two parts, i.e., a timeless one and another time-involving<sup>(143)</sup>. What should a Patristic scholar make of all this? Was it a belated reflection of the Origenist double creation doctrine? This was scarcely the case. A simple inconsistency of mind? This too is hardly possible. Rather, it was a false corollary originating from the main principle of the dogmatic system of Beccus, I mean that of the total unity of the energy, the essence, and the Hypostases in God. Building materials for the construction of such a system might well have been taken from the previous Fathers of the Golden Age, of which the role of Athanasius, if only partially, has become the staple of the present essay, or, maybe, even from the earlier authors of the Apologetic period; it is far from being evident if Symeon the New Theologian had been read by John at all. But, in any case, the ex-Patriarch's method of reading and interpreting his sources was rather peculiar and whimsical. So, maybe, the clearest answer of Beccus to Gregory of Cyprus' doctrine of the eternal illumination of the Holy Spirit sounds as follows: the words "shining forth", "splendour" (ἀπόλαμψις) and such indicate the natural existence of the Spirit<sup>(144)</sup>. Had the Spirit obtained His being according to the hypostat-

(142) PSEUDO-CHRYSOSTOM, *Homilia in Gen.* 24, 2, 2, PG 56, 555; LUR'E, *L'attitude*, p. 326, dubs this passage « classique ». A paraphrase of this thought where even the key-word τάξις is preserved, is contained in the 177<sup>th</sup> chapter of the polemical treatise of Nilus Cabasilas, although it has been overlooked by the editor (E. CANDAL, *Nilus Cabasilas et theologia S. Thomae de processione Spiritus Sancti* (ST, 116), Città del Vaticano, 1945, p. 326.177.13-14).

(143) JOHN BECCUS, *Refutatio libri Gregorii*, PG 141, 912BC.

(144) *Ibidem*, 921B.

ic property of the Father, which makes the latter Person different from the Son, He would not have been the Spirit of the Son<sup>(145)</sup>. Hence not only the subordinationism of Beccus, but also a groundless and indiscreet attempt at equalizing the relations of property with those of consubstantiality, which had already become a subject for refutation on the part of George Pachymeres at the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>(146)</sup>, become apparent.

#### 6. At the crossroad of two traditions: Blemmydes vs. Beccus, 'Orthodox encyclopaedic learning' vs. early Scholasticism as a prologue to the anti-Palamite theology

All the reservations taken into account, the problem calls for a solution: why did Blemmydes put forward his apparently well-founded idea on the identity of two different acts within the life of the Holy Trinity? In my view, one of his motives for thinking so was his inner quest for the Photian tradition to be at least partly revisited, with the aim of bringing it into line with the more archaic approach to the Trinitarian mystery, which had probably been interesting for Blemmydes due to its balance and clarity. However, this idea, if it ever existed at all, was mentioned by Nicephorus very cautiously and by no means gained weight in the whole cosmos of his thinking on the Trinity; we saw him approving, and very deeply, the energetic approach as well. In this sense Blemmydes appears to be a unique, "boundary" figure, μεθόριον, in the crossing of two different traditions: on the one hand, it was the Photian and proto-Palamite line of thought (Gregory of Cyprus borrows *en gros* from Nicephorus); on the other hand, it was the more archaic branch of Byzantine theological and philosophical culture, partly overlapping with the Latinophrones and anti-Palamites. The three more or less detailed comments on his and Beccus' historical setting which follow are meant to substantiate the above assertion and to further clarify the problem of the crossing of those traditions.

(145) *Idem*, *Refutatio libri ... a Photio*, *ibidem*, 812C.

(146) GEORGE PACHYMERES, *Adversus eos qui dicunt ideo dici Spiritum Filii, quod habeat eandem atque ille naturam vel quod dignis ab eo suppedatur*, PG 144, 924B-928D, here 928A. For details see MAKAROV, *The Target*, pp. 235-248. A similar thought on the difference between those relations had already been uttered by the time by Nicholas of Methone, who was to be cited and indignantly 'disproved' by JOHN BECCUS, *De unione Ecclesiarum*, PG 141, 133D (the citation from Nicholas) and 136AD (its refutation).

## 6.1. Gregory of Cyprus and Photius : a note in comparison

Both authors treat the gifts of the Spirit as *the uncreated grace of the Holy Trinity which is given to the righteous by the Spirit, being distinct from His nature and Hypostasis*. This may be inferred from expressions of both which correspond to each other, such as “the sparing of the gifts... from (ἐκ) the Father”<sup>(147)</sup>, “the stay”, or rather “the abode” of the Spirit in the Son (ἡ μονή and related words)<sup>(148)</sup>, as well as from the topic of *energy and gift*, which was common for both<sup>(149)</sup>. Although Gregory favoured the probably Blemmydean alteration in the text of *Ad Serapionem* 1, 20, he also tried, much like Photius and the subsequent Palamite tradition, to eliminate that confusion of the energy and Hypostasis which originated from the passage, if it was taken at face value. It was Beccus who made the confusion become absurd. This was, together with his *pro-Filioque* sentiments, one of the main reasons for the destruction of a number of John’s works which took place in the course of the Hesychast controversy<sup>(150)</sup>. At its later stage, i.e., in the 1350’s and 1360’s, Matthaïos Angelos Panaretos called Beccus “the most impious of all (ἀνοσιώτατος)”, in the title of his still unedited polemical work against John<sup>(151)</sup>.

## 6.2. Blemmydes and Photius : Some Points of Compatibility and a Case of Divergence

Despite his proximity to Photius, Nilus Cabasilas, and the Greek patristic tradition in general, Blemmydes allowed himself to occasionally criticize St Photius. One such place will be singled out and analysed here.

It is noticeable that, unlike the provenance of *The Bibliotheca* from the early years of Photius, preceding his patriarchate, the pneumatological writings of the theologian, crowned with *The Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*, were written in his latest years, being among his most mature and rich

(147) PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti*, PG 102, 336C (τῶν χαρισμάτων τῆς διανομῆς); GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *De processione*, PG 142, 284B (τὴν τῶν χαρισμάτων διανομήν).

(148) PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti*, PG 102, 373AB; GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *De processione*, PG 142, 275C (... τὴν μονὴν ποιεῖται).

(149) PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti*, PG 102, 336C; GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *De processione*, PG 142, 288C. Cf. BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Traité du Saint-Esprit*, texte grec, intr., trad. et notes de B. PRUCHE (SC, 17bis), Paris, 1968, p. 216, ch. XXIV.

(150) Already noted by LAURENT, *Le cas*, p. 414.

(151) RIGO, *La refutazione*, p. 288, n. 32.

treatises<sup>(152)</sup>. All the treasures of Christian triadology until his own times were collected there and analysed penetratingly.

Let us single out some points of compatibility of early Blemmydes with *The Mystagogy* as well as with the most prominent Fathers of the late Byzantine period.

a) *the arguments against the Filioque*: hereby two principles in the Trinity are introduced<sup>(153)</sup>, while at the same time two Persons, the Father and the Son, are moulded into one entity in a Sabellian manner<sup>(154)</sup>; the Holy Spirit is divided into two single entities with His two processions<sup>(155)</sup>; the dyad of the Father and the Son inevitably implies some kind of a higher Principle which would be one and indivisible, for “each dyad is necessarily preceded by a monad ...”<sup>(156)</sup>. These similarities help one to recognize the extent to which young Blemmydes was faithful to the Photian tradition which, in its turn (and in his perception of those years and later) lasted uninterruptedly from the New Testament and Cappadocian times.

b) *the main patristic counterargument against the Filioque-oriented theology of the Scholastics*: in the Holy Trinity the hypostatic properties are not identical to the natural ones. Thus, as Nicephorus put it ca. 1234, “the procession is the mode of existence (τρόπος υπάρξεως<sup>(157)</sup>. D.M.) ... and the hypostatic property ...”<sup>(158)</sup>.

(152) M. JUGIE, *Photius et la primauté de Saint Pierre et du pape*, in *Bessarione*, 35, n. 149-150 (1919), p. 129.

(153) This argument had been pronounced by the Greeks as early as in 642 in reply to Pope Theodore’s Synodal letter (ALEXAKIS, *The Greek*, pp. 151-152), and has, of course, been adopted by PALAMAS (*Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα*, I, p. 203.2 f.).

(154) PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti*, PG 102, 289AB; CANART, *Nicéphore Blemmyde*, p. 324.10.28-29 (= STAVROU, *Nicéphore Blemmydès, Œuvres théologiques*, p. 202.10.1-2).

(155) PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti*, PG 102, 284A; CANART, *Nicéphore Blemmyde*, p. 324.10.29-30 (= STAVROU, *Nicéphore Blemmydès, Œuvres théologiques*, p. 204.10.2-4).

(156) CANART, *Nicéphore Blemmyde*, p. 325.10.3-6, quoted are ll. 5-6 (= STAVROU, *Nicéphore Blemmydès, Œuvres théologiques*, p. 204.13-17).

(157) Basil’s and Amphilochius’, and later on Maximus the Confessor’s term designed to describe the enhypostasised nature’s way of being in its concrete hypostases. See J.-C. LARCHET, *La divinisation de l’homme selon St. Maxime le Confesseur*, Paris, 1996, pp. 141-151, esp. p. 146.

(158) CANART, *Nicéphore Blemmyde*, 324.9.12-13 (= STAVROU, *Nicéphore Blemmydès, Œuvres théologiques*, p. 200.11-13). Cf. the same term in the *Second*



But what, then, did Blemmydes criticize Photius for? Let it first be reminded that the Nicaean theologian permitted himself that criticism only in a mature work, as his *Letter to James of Bulgaria* was written “long after 1250”, according to M. Stavrou<sup>(159)</sup>. It might evidently have been a sign of a certain shift in Nicephorus’ views which underwent an evolution from a full-scale and consistent adoption of Photius’ doctrine towards a somewhat critical, less frequent appropriation of it; thus we tend to uphold, if only partially, the corresponding theory of V. Grumel. When bringing up the topic of the 4<sup>th</sup> century Fathers’ polemics against the Pneumatomachians, Photius advanced a theory of the forgery of the Saints’ writings on the part of the heretics – a note which makes Blemmydes grin. The comparison of the texts is highly remarkable (see Table 7).

Table 7. Blemmydes’ Criticism of an Idea of Photius

<p>Photius. <i>The Mystagogy...</i>, 9 (Photius, <i>De Spiritus Sancti mystagogia liber</i>, PG 102, 393A)</p> <p>In response to the accusations brought forward by the heretics... ἀπολογητέον ὡς ἢ <u>γενοθεύσασιν οἱ πνευματομάχοι τὰς τούτων</u> (i.e. of Augustine, Ambrose, and Hieronymus) <u>συγγραφεὺς...</u></p> <p>“... it should be answered that either their writings had been forged by the Pneumatomachians [lit. ‘fighters with the Spirit’] ...”</p>	<p>Blemmydes. <i>Letter to James of Bulgaria</i>, 4 (Stavrou, <i>Le premier traité</i>, p. 78.4.1. Cf. τὰ ... <u>συγγράμματα</u> (<i>Ibidem</i>, 78.3.8))</p> <p>Τὸ δὲ λέγειν αὐτὰ (= τὰ ... <u>συγγράμματα</u>, see above) <u>γενοθεύσθαι παρὰ τῶν πνευματομάχων, ἡλίθιον</u></p> <p>“But to claim that those [sc. Works] had been forged on the part of the Pneumatomachians is ridiculous [or ‘reckless’]”.</p>
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The systematic character of the coinciding of the words leaves no doubt as to the addressee of Blemmydes’ critical comment. We may cautiously surmise that Blemmydes when grown up and advanced in years was convinced deep down that he was a consummate master of all of

oration, or *The pneumatological letter to Theodore II Lascaris*: *Ibidem*, pp. 306.2.1-308.2.; cf. 324.9.16; 324.9.25-27 (= *Ibidem*, p. 202.16.26-29); NICEPHORUS BLEMMYDES, *Oratio secunda*, PG 142, 568B; PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti*, PG 102, 293AB, 325B.

(159) STAVROU, *Le premier*, p. 51.

theology and might allow himself to put to criticism and moderate revision some points of Photius’ doctrine. It is obvious that the question of forgeries was not pivotal, unlike the question of the energy and gifts of the Spirit, as well as of His manifestation and procession. It was like a hidden part of the triadological teaching of Blemmydes.

### 6.3. Gregory of Cyprus, Nicephorus Blemmydes, and Gregory the Theologian: An Unnoticed Quotation

But one may also surmise that this “hidden part” of Blemmydean thought was not so noticeable as the Orthodox character of his main assumptions. It is, probably, for this reason that Gregory of Cyprus in his deliberation on the procession of the Holy Spirit bore presumably his name and ideas in mind:

“It has been told by some among the Saints (τῶν ἁγίων ἐνίοις) that the Holy Spirit proceeds *from* (παρὰ) the Father through the Son (δι’ Υἱοῦ) ...”<sup>(160)</sup>.

The difference of the prepositions here exactly corresponds to their use in Blemmydes<sup>(161)</sup>. It implies that those divine acts which are signified with these words, i.e., the hypostatic procession and the energetic shining forth of the Spirit<sup>(162)</sup> (which is the eternal manifestation of the latter’s taking rest in the Son<sup>(163)</sup>), are also different. J. Munitiz is right in emphasizing that, for Blemmydes, any kind of procession of the Spirit from the Son is a frightful heresy which deserves to be anathematized, as the procession remains completely independent of the Son<sup>(164)</sup>. Gregory of Cyprus himself did nothing other than amend and elaborate Nicephorus when he wrote: “... the Most Holy Spirit does not obtain being (ὑπαρξιν) either through (διὰ) the Son or from (ἐκ) the Son ...”<sup>(165)</sup>

(160) GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *De processione*, PG 142, 290C.

(161) See STAVROU, *Le premier*, p. 108.14.15-17; NICEPHORUS BLEMMYDES, *Oratio secunda*, PG 142, 568D-569A, 581D, 584B, D (= STAVROU, *Nicéphore Blemmydès, Œuvres théologiques*, pp. 310.1-2; 344.48-49; 348.11.2-4; 352.1-4). All these expressions are constant in Blemmydes. According to Athanasius who was to be cited by Gregory of Cyprus (see the Table 2 above), it is the Son Who is generated παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς.

(162) Ἐκθεσις τοῦ Τόμου, PG 142, 240BC; PAPAĐAKIS, *A Crisis*, p. 67.

(163) ANDREAS OF CRETE, *Homilia VII, In Transfigurationem Domini nostri Christi*, PG 97, 953B; PHOTIUS, *De Spiritus Sancti* 85, PG 102, 372B-373A.

(164) MUNITIZ, *A Reappraisal*, p. 25.

(165) GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *Contra Marcum*, PG 142, 249A.

This is a good specimen of the reception of Blemmydes' ideas by Gregory who constantly checked Nicephorus' legacy against the Scripture and patristic tradition.

Remarkable in this connection is another example of what is now conventionally called 'intertextuality'. In a passage of his own Gregory of Cyprus spoke in such a way as if he were quoting Blemmydes. And, indeed, it was true. But at the same time he quoted another and much more influential theologian: Gregory of Nazianzus. This is a fine example of a 'double quotation', as it were, which is worth being analysed here. We read in Gregory that the Holy Spirit, insofar as He is perfect (*τέλειον*)<sup>(166)</sup>, "accompanies (*συμπαρομαρτυρεῖ*) the Word, according to the theologians who have related about it ..." <sup>(167)</sup> The meaning of *θειγόρος* is '[a person] speaking of God', 'theologian' <sup>(168)</sup>. The corresponding verb is not rare in Gregory <sup>(169)</sup>. The passage from Gregory the Theologian which was to be cited by Blemmydes, and through this intermediary was cited by Gregory of Cyprus as well, has been identified as follows (see the Table 10).

Table 10. The quotation from the Oration 41.11 of Gregory the Theologian in Blemmydes <sup>(170)</sup>

<p>Gregory the Theologian. Oration 41.11# (Gregory the Theologian, <i>Oratio</i> XLI, 11, PG 36, 444B; SC 358, p. 340) <sup>(171)</sup></p> <p>... <u>Χριστῷ. ὃ παρῆν, οὐχ ὡς ἐνεργοῦν. ἀλλ' ὡς ὁμοτίμῳ συμπαρομαρτοῦν ...</u></p>	<p>Blemmydes. The Memoir Addressed to the Legates of Pope Gregory IX, 8 (Canart, <i>Nicéphore Blemmyde</i>, p. 323.8. 23-24)</p> <p>... <u>συμπαρῆν ἀεὶ τῷ Χριστῷ. οὐχ ὡς ἐνεργοῦν. ἀλλ' ὡς ὁμοτίμῳ συμπαρομαρτοῦν ...</u></p>
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(166) Cf. the Spirit's epithet *τελείαν* (sc. *ἐνεργεῖαν*) in Athanasius, *Ad Serapionem* I, 20.

(167) GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *De processione*, PG 142, 290C.

(168) G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1991 (= 1961), p. 617.

(169) GREGORY OF CYPRUS, *Contra Marcum*, PG 142, 249D; IDEM, *De processione*, PG 142, 300B.

(170) The quotation in Blemmydes has been identified since then by Stavrou (see his n. 1 ad loc. in *Nicéphore Blemmydès, Œuvres théologiques*, p. 200; cf. IDEM, *Introduction générale, ibidem*, p. 115, n. 2). It is only on having completed the present paper that we have had the possibility to consult Stavrou's edition.

(171) LAMPE, *A Patristic*, p. 1286 (this is one of only two examples of the usage of the word, the second being derived from Theodoret).

"... to Christ, Whom He was present with, not as agent, but as accompanying the One Who is equal in honour ..."

"... He was co-present with Christ from eternity, not as agent, but as accompanying the One Who is equal in honour ..."

I think this is a convincing and clear demonstration of Blemmydes' having quoted Gregory. One may only wonder how this fact escaped the notice of P. Canart, the editor of Nicephorus' *The Memoir*. In all appearances, the scholar was misled by the rarity and seeming extraordinariness of the verb *συμπαρομαρτέω*.

Now, if the epithet "equal in honour" (*ὁμοτίμος*) as applied to the Persons of the Trinity is traditional <sup>(172)</sup>, this parallel use of the rather rare verb *συμπαρομαρτέω* <sup>(173)</sup> may serve as additional proof of the deep and stable impact of patristic theology upon Blemmydes, as well as of both of these on Gregory of Cyprus. Despite the fact that the latter's wish to be instructed by Nicephorus in person was destined to fail, from the standpoint of the history of ideas it was exactly Gregory who was to become one of the most prominent and influential followers and defenders of Blemmydes, while being at the same time the man who elaborated and corrected rather much in the rich and to some extent ambiguous legacy of his teacher.

## 7. Instead of a Conclusion

The fragment from *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 by Athanasius was of paramount importance for theology of Nicephorus Blemmydes, John XI Beccus and Gregory of Cyprus. Blemmydes seems to have produced several changes of words in the passage making Athanasius say of the Spirit as of the Life and Energy of the Son. *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 where the Holy Spirit is called the Energy of the Son gave Blemmydes an excellent opportunity for substantiating his own doctrine on the Spirit's eternal illumination through the Son, and Gregory of Cyprus and later on Gregory Palamas took up

(172) Compare, for instance, *The Exposition of the Confession of Faith* by NICETAS STETHATUS, ed. J. DARROUZÈS, *Nicétas Stéthatos, Opuscules et lettres* (SC, 81), Paris, 1961, p. 448.4.1-2.

(173) It is interesting that LAMPE (*A Patristic*, p. 1286) treated this form as a distorted variant of *συμπαρομαρτέω* (which is actually used in Gregory of Cyprus and in Blemmydes).

his lead and developed this idea further by strictly distinguishing the Person and energy of the Spirit. This last aspect was lacking in Blemmydes himself.

By apparently slight modification of its text and thereby calling the Holy Spirit Life and Energy Blemmydes made it sound much like his own trinitarian theology, especially of the late period, in which no strict demarcation line was drawn between the energy and Hypostasis, as well as between manifestation and hypostatic procession of the Spirit. Nicephorus also inserts in *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 the designation of the Son as Offspring, using one of the favourite terms of Athanasius' *Orations against the Arians*. It may also be taken as a sign of his attempt at rebuking the pro-Filioque oriented doctrine of the Latins which was in its essence a kind of early Scholasticism and was therefore opposed to patristic thought.

Blemmydes' reading of the fragment from *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 was appropriated and favoured by Gregory of Cyprus, who nevertheless took pains to insert it within a different framework of the classical patristic triadology starting with the Cappadocians, in which an emphasis was put on a strict distinction not only between essence, energy and Hypostases in the Holy Trinity, but also between the natural and hypostatic properties in God. Meanwhile it was Beccus who totally confused in his teaching all these things Divine which remained unconfused for his theological adversaries. In doing so John showed also a somewhat lower level of philological culture, at least in what the quotations from Athanasius was concerned. Beccus' (mis)construction of Nicephorus, though not perfectly articulated, has been laid on a quite different system of coordinates in triadology which obviously for his opponents did not fit in with long-established Orthodox principles. Later on the position of Beccus was inherited by many influential anti-Palamites, like Akindynos and Gregoras, while the attitude of Gregory of Cyprus (and, most likely, of Blemmydes himself) was further developed by Gregory Palamas and his proponents, among which the role of Philotheus Coccinus should be stressed.

So in his substitution of the preposition *παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς* for *ἐκ* in Athanasius' *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 Gregory of Cyprus seems to get closer to late Blemmydes, i.e., to his *Second oration on the procession of the Holy Spirit*, and to be trying to overturn the pro-Latin triadology of Beccus. Thus Blemmydes appears to be a boundary figure between the two more or less clear-cut traditions within the Greek patristic triadology, i.e., the more archaic and 'unionist', or 'essentialist' (like in Symeon the

New Theologian) and the more 'distinctionist' one (the line of the Cappadocians, Maximus the Confessor and Photius). Nicephorus' posture is partly similar to that of Athanasius himself, and Gregory of Cyprus was fully aware of this. Blemmydes might have intended to partially revision certain tenets of this Photian line of thought, although his own thinking was inextricably connected with it. Despite certain difficulties with the theology of Blemmydes, both Gregories, i.e., Cypriote and Palamas, tended to perceive him as a Saint, apparently in compliance with an already established tradition of his local veneration<sup>(174)</sup>. Their careful reading, critical assessment and appropriation of a number of Blemmydes' ideas, and (as was the case of Gregory of Cyprus) even of his readings of Athanasius' *Ad Serapionem*, I, 20-21, was one of those means by using which they have managed to produce that all-comprehensive Hesychast doctrinal synthesis of the Byzantine patristic thought which can be ranked among the greatest and most brilliant achievements of medieval Orthodox spirituality.

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#### SUMMARY

*Ad Serapionem* I, 20 by Athanasius was of paramount importance for theology of Nicephorus Blemmydes, John XI Beccus and Gregory of Cyprus. Blemmydes seems to have produced several changes of words in the passage making Athanasius say of the Spirit as of the Life and Energy of the Son. In such a form *Ad Serapionem* I, 20 gave Blemmydes an excellent opportunity for substantiating his own doctrine on the Spirit's eternal illumination through the Son. In his teaching no strict demarcation line had been drawn between the

(174) See, e.g. NICEPHORUS BLEMMYDES, *Sermo ad monachos monasterii ab ipso extracti*, ex Dosithei *Τόμω ἀγάπης*, PG 142, 604A: 'Ο ἐν ἁγίοις Νικηφόρος ὁ βλεμμίδης... The same name we find in the *Atheniensis* 2092: 'Ο ἐν ἁγίοις Νικηφόρος ὁ Βλεμμίδης (sic) (see STAVROU, *Introduction...*, in STAVROU, *Nicéphore Blemmydès, Œuvres théologiques*, pp. 79, 247, 249, cf. 251, 258). The roots of the tradition can be traced back to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century at the latest and found in an anti-Latin treatise by the monk Hierotheos (that very person who has been characterised by G. Patasci as a "Palamite before Palamas") (POLEMIS, *Nikephoros Blemmydes*, p. 182 and n. 13; PATACSI, *Palamism*, p. 70).

Person and energy of the Spirit. Nicephorus might have tried to approach to a more "essentialist" discourse in triadology, e.g., like that which is found in Symeon the New Theologian.

By his sometimes ambiguous, but generally fresh and suggestive pneumatology Nicephorus has paved the way for Gregory of Cyprus, Gregory Palamas and the Palamites. While taken at face value, Nicephorus' teaching seemed to open a path for early Scholastics, with John Beccus at their head, as well as for subsequent anti-Palamites, whereas the Palamites took pains to interpret Blemmydes along the lines of traditional Cappadocian, Maximian and Photian triadology.

## THE GUILD-ORGANIZED SOAP MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY IN CONSTANTINOPLE : TENTH-TWELFTH CENTURIES

### Introduction

This article aims at providing an in depth analysis of the organization and *modus operandi* of the guild-organized soapmaking industry in the capital during the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries. The passing treatment of this industry heretofore inadvertently has left important issues unexplored or undetermined : Which chemical process was likely utilized in soap-making ? What accounts for the largely small scale operations of the industry ? Could slaves become members of the guild ? Were soap producers retailers as well ? What prompted the authorities, in an unparalleled move, to require authorization of apprenticeships for persons unaffiliated with the guild ? Why was the sale of intermediate products used as an input into the production of soap prohibited ? What was the impact of the occupational exclusivity in soapmaking on price competition in the industry ? What was the role of the market mechanism in price and wage determination ? Furthermore, the paper identifies misread sources and unsupported assertions ; fills in lacunae ; and attempts to put the organization, governing rules, and functioning of the soap-making industry in proper perspective within the overarching guild organizational structure.

### The Byzantine Art of Soapmaking

Soap (σάπων) <sup>(1)</sup> is a chemical compound resulting from the interaction of fats and oils with alkalis (potassium or sodium), through a

(1) Soap was commonly known in Byzantium as σαπώνιον, σαπούνιν, σάπων γαλλικός, νίτρον όπτόν, σαπωναρική στάκτη ; see Ph. Κουκουλές, Βυζαντινών Βίος και Πολιτισμός, 2, II, Athens, 1948, p. 203 ; IV, Athens, 1951, p. 451 and ns. 4, 5, 6 ;

process of saponification carried out in large heated vats (σαπωνικὸν μέγα κακάβιον) <sup>(2)</sup>. The *Book of the Eparch* is not explicit on the kinds of soaps produced or the process utilized in soap workshops (σαπωναρειᾶ) <sup>(3)</sup>. But it does allude to the soap's constituent elements: animal fats (στέατα ζώων) obtained from hogs and oxen; olive oil; ash (στάκτη) and its derivative potash lye (ὕγρὰ κατασταλλακτὴ) <sup>(4)</sup>. The choice between olive oil and animal fats depended on their relative prices and possibly on the desired quality of soap. Certainly, the use of animal fats was not meant to adulterate the soap as has been suggested <sup>(5)</sup>. The use of potash lye (άλισίβια, *lixivium*), a solution obtained by leaching wood ashes procured largely from kilns and bakeries, suggests production mainly of "soft" soaps, possibly with the addition of sodium to give the soap consistency <sup>(6)</sup>. Besides, given the state of the art, soft soap could be produced by a much less complex process than that employed for the production of "hard" soap and hence it is more likely that it has been used. Still, soft soap manufacturing demanded skill and experience as care had to be taken to regulate the amount and strength of the alkali in proportion to the oil or fats used, while the degree of desired concentration during boiling had to be determined by close observation. Because of the impossibility of purifying soft soap, impurities which went into the boilers of necessity entered into the finished product. Furthermore, soft soap could be adulterated by the addition of less valuable substances <sup>(7)</sup>. Neither the state nor the guild regulated the quality of soap to be produced <sup>(8)</sup>.

C. DU CANGE, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, Lyon, 1688 (= Graz, 1958), s.v. σάπων; ODB, s.v. "Soap".

(2) MM, II, p. 440.

(3) ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΗΣ, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, 2, I, Athens, 1948, p. 211.

(4) *Book of the Eparch* (Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον), hereafter BE, ed. J. KODER, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen* (CFHB, 33), Vienna, 1991: BE, 12. 5, 7, 8.

(5) G. ZORAS, *Le corporazioni bizantine*, Rome, 1931, p. 125.

(6) The kind of wood used for the production of ash apparently affected the softness or hardness of the soap. Cf. R. J. FORBES, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, III, Leiden, 1955, p. 181.

(7) *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Cambridge, 1910-1911, s.v. "Soap", "Lye", "Potassium"; C. SINGER, E. J. HOLMYARD, A. R. HALL, T. I. WILLIAMS (eds.), *A History of Technology*, II, Oxford, 1956, pp. 355-356.

(8) It has been argued that "... government offices verified the quality of goods brought to market. This applied to all merchandise, the most expensive as well as the least costly." N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *Entrepreneurs*, in G. C. CAVALLIO (ed.), *The*

### Organization of the Soapmaking Industry

Soap manufacturing was organized by law into a guild <sup>(9)</sup>, and the concurrent pursuit of this assigned activity by another guild or outsider was prohibited <sup>(10)</sup>. The guild was overseen by a chief (προστάτης) appointed by the eparch <sup>(11)</sup>. The guild of soapmakers did not fix the number of workers that could be employed in the workshops <sup>(12)</sup>, the number of members that could join the guild, or the size of the establishments — increased demand would be met by new entry and/or expansion of existing enterprises <sup>(13)</sup>. The obstacles to setting up shop

*Byzantines*, Chicago, 1997, pp. 154-155. The fact is that on the spot checks took place only in sales of cattle and pack animals to ensure that they were free of defects and in good health. BE, 15. 2; 21. 4. In view of the enormity of the task, in other commodities quality was probably checked upon lodging a complaint.

(9) BE, 12. 1-9. Soapmakers were not allowed to manufacture and sell the high quality *gallic* soap (BE, 12. 4) which apparently was reserved for the exclusive use of the court. A. P. CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Τὸ Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ καὶ αἱ Συντεχνίαι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ*, Athens, 1935, p. 66.

(10) *Basilica* (Βασιλικά), 5 vols., Athens, 1896-1900, hereafter B, ed. I. D. ΖΕΡΟΣ: B. 60. 32. 1; BE, 11. 1; 12. 1, 4, 6; 18. 5.

(11) BE, 12. 1.

(12) A. KAZHDAN, *Derevnja i gorod v Vizantii IX-X vv*, Moscow, 1960, p. 311.

(13) R. GUERDAN's assertion, *Byzantium: Its Triumphs and Tragedy*, New York, 1957, p. 91, that "size was the subject of regulation and no shop was to be so big that it could hold more than ten people" is based neither on the *Book of the Eparch* nor on any other narrative source. Also, misinterpreting the elliptic formulation of the overarching provision BE, 18. 5 which covers all guilds: εἴ τις φωραθῆ ... ἐργαστήριον ἐπαύξων ... ὑπομενέτω τιμωρίαν, KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 320; IDEM, *Tsekhi i gosudarstvennye masterskie v Konstantinopole v IX-X vv*, in VV, 6 (1953), p. 140, and G. G. LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo i gosudarstvo v X-XI vv*, Moscow, 1977, p. 146, maintain that guild regulations prohibited the expansion (emphasis added) of a member's workshop. However, the provision actually prohibits bidding up slyly the *rent* of another's workshop, the violator being subject to expulsion from the guild, and has nothing to do with the size of the workshop as is evidenced from other provisions of the *Book of the Eparch* with complete constructions specifically referring to ἐπαύξων τὸ ἐνοίκιον (an increase in the rent): Ὁ τὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐργαστήριον τὸ ἐνοίκιον κατὰ δόλον ἐπαύξων ... ἀποπαυέσθω τῆς ἐπιστήμης, BE, 9. 4; 19. 2; 4. 9; 11. 7; 13. 6. A. E. R. BOAK, *The Book of the Eparch*, in *Journal of Economics and Business History*, 1 (1929), p. 616, E. H. FRESHFIELD, *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire: Byzantine Guilds Professional and Commercial*, Cambridge, 1938, p. 42, ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, p. 133, and KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, p. 131, also interpret the provision BE, 18.5 as prohibiting attempts to raise someone's rental.



were not insurmountable, particularly for enterprising skilled laborers and merchants in good standing and with personal savings or ability to borrow, as legal barriers to new entry were virtually nonexistent and economic barriers to entry (minimum economic plant size, capital requirements) were low. Start-ups could rent their workshops from wealthy individuals or religious establishments<sup>(14)</sup> and obtain finance by borrowing from family members, relatives and friends. Formation of a partnership was a convenient way to raise capital and minimize or avoid borrowing, with some partners contributing their skilled labor and others capital or the workplace<sup>(15)</sup>. Although conditioned on certain qualifications (integrity, capacity, means) and the attestation of respectable persons<sup>(16)</sup>, legal entry into the guild was not restricted. Possession of technical skills was not a precondition to setting up shop as long as the requisite expertise could be obtained by forming a partnership or by hiring<sup>(17)</sup>. An individual wishing to join the guild was first

(14) Landowners, churches and monasteries owned workshops which they leased out to manufacturers and merchants. Novel 88 (1187) of emperor Isaak Angelus, in *JG*, I, pp. 446-447; *Actes d' Iviron*, ed. J. LEFORT, Paris, 1985, no. 4; *Actes de Docheiarion*, ed. N. OIKONOMIDÈS, Paris, 1984, no. 4.15-16, 73-86; *Actes de Kutlumus*, ed. P. LEMERLE, Paris, 1988, nos. 8. 12; 18. 44; *Archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme sur le mont Ménécée*, ed. A. GUILLOU, Paris, 1955, no. 4. 25; *MM*, IV, p. 286; *MM*, V, p. 164; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au X<sup>e</sup> s. : prix, loyers, imposition (Codex Patmiacus 171)*, in *DOP*, 26 (1972), pp. 345-356; *Actes de Lavra*, eds. P. LEMERLE, A. GUILLOU, N. SVORONOS, D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, Paris, 1970, I, no. 4. 3-9, 23-25; III, nos. 123. 101-132; 168. 4-5; N. SVORONOS, *Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'empire byzantin au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *TM*, 6 (1976), p. 65; KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, pp. 309-315; M. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204. A Political History*, London - New York, 1997, pp. 278-279; G. DAGRON, *The Urban Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in A. E. LAIOU (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century (DOS, 39)*, II, Washington DC, 2002, p. 422 (hereafter EHB).

(15) B. 8. 2. 101; B. 11. 1. 14; B. 12. 1, 4, 5, 7 scholium, 30, 68, 78, 83; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, in *JG*, V, K. 21. 1, 4-6, 10, 18; E. 12. 1. 3; *Prochiros Nomos*, in *JG*, II, 19. 1, 5-7; 20. 1; *Epitome*, in *JG*, IV, 10. 1, 6-9, 23; *Prochiron Auctum*, in *JG*, VII, 20. 1, 3, 7, 9, 23, 29; 21. 1, 7, 11; *Epanagoge Aucta*, in *JG*, VI, 25. 6, 7; *Ecloga Private Aucta*, in *JG*, VI, 11. 12; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, in *JG*, VI, 12. 16, 17; *Synopsis Minor*, in *JG*, VI, K. 1; *Hexabiblos, Ἑξάβιβλος*, ed. K. G. PITSAKIS, Athens, 1971, 3. 10. 1, 4, 16; 3. 11. 1.

(16) BE, 12. 2.

(17) The Book of the Eparch would certainly have stipulated technical skills as an admission requirement if indeed this was the case. Cf. M. J. SJUZUMOV, *Remeslo*

trained in the craft and was subsequently accepted as a member of the guild provided he met all other preconditions, as is evidenced from the requirement that prospective trainees had to be *employees* of guild members while outsiders had to get special dispensation to apprentice<sup>(18)</sup>. A slave could set up shop in soap manufacturing as long as he was vouched for by his well-off master<sup>(19)</sup>, an investment opportunity that apparently was not overlooked by venturesome wealthy individuals. By using their slaves as surrogates they could remain inconspicuous and avoid being involved in the day-to-day operations of the enterprise. Interestingly, such an involvement in guild-organized activities has been criticized as an infiltration of lucrative businesses or as stealthy, forcible, sinister and an exploitative act deriving from the exercise of economic or political power<sup>(20)</sup>. Yet, such entry, far from being surreptitious, suspect or inimical, should be viewed as a conscious and forward-looking effort on the part of the authorities to provide a vent to latent entrepreneurship and tap a source of capital for the expansion of the industry. New entry would promote competition through the expansion of the guild's membership, augment production, and increase employment opportunities and the chances of better pay for the capital's workforce — policy objectives yielding significant economic and political dividends.

### Modus Operandi of the Soapmaking Industry

Soapmakers (σαπωνάριοι, σαπωνοπράται) operated within statutorily laid down parameters which aimed to enforce the avowed division of labor among guilds, frustrate unfair intra-guild competition, prevent fraudulent transactions, and ensure the orderly handling of apprenticeships, the observance of the rules of operation during days of fast, and the prevention of fires because of the use of flammable materials.

*i torgovlja v Konstantinopole nacale X v*, in *VV*, 4 (1951), p. 17; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 140, n. 94. *Contra*: KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 317; IDEM, *Tsekhi*, pp. 141-142.

(18) BE, 12. 1.

(19) BE, 2. 10; 4. 2; 6. 7; 8. 13.

(20) D. JACOBY, *Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade*, in *BZ*, 84-85 (1991-1992), p. 477; SJUZUMOV, *Remeslo*, pp. 15-16; E. FRANCÈS, *L'État et les métiers à Byzance*, in *Bsl*, 23 (1962), pp. 239-240; A. MUTHESIUS, *The Byzantine silk industry: Lopez and Beyond*, in *Journal of Medieval History*, 19 (1993), pp. 34-37; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 150.

Soapmakers were forbidden to train in the art of soapmaking an individual who was not *already employed* by a member of the guild (μη ὄν ἐκ τοῦ συστήματος) without the knowledge (ἄνευ εἰδήσεως) of the eparch and the chief of the guild. Apparently, the notification also implied approval. Noncompliant soapmakers were subject to a steep fine of 24 *nomismata* <sup>(21)</sup>. Presumably, notification to enter an apprenticeship was necessary only if the prospective trainee was an *outsider*. Since the provision does not elaborate, the question remains: Why the need for notification and what were the prospects for approving prospective trainees unaffiliated with the guild? Prevention of the export of know-how leading to the creation of rival soapmaking centers is implausible as the industry was not protected by tariff barriers and imports of soap were freely allowed <sup>(22)</sup>. Securing preferential treatment of unskilled workers, including relations, already employed by soapmakers also seems unlikely — why resort to discrimination and not exclude outsiders altogether from seeking apprenticeships. More likely the purpose of the rule was to space out and match the excess demand for apprenticeships with the training capacity of soapmakers, given the prospects of significant financial gains to be derived from an eventual membership. Moreover, the processing of prospective apprentices through official channels would have removed an incentive to unscrupulous soapmakers to train outsiders surreptitiously under the guise of being employed as workers, charging exorbitant fees and causing a reduction of their supply, as the authorities were eager to maintain an adequate pool of trained workers considered to be a valuable community asset. At the same time, the concern by existing members of excessive entry resulting in destructive intra-guild competition was allayed by this conveniently fashioned orderly entry, and by the fact that very likely many of the apprenticed would end up as well-paid workmen — a clear benefit to the membership. All in all, the measure apparently aimed to ensure the conduct of an apprenticeship program in an orderly fashion.

Soapmakers were further forbidden to sell soap to retailers who did not belong to the same “craft” (μη ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐοὶ τέχνην), a stipu-

(21) BE, 12. 1.

(22) BE, 12. 6. It is well-known that soap was produced in provincial towns and widely traded. A. E. LAIOU, *Exchange and Trade, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in EADEM, *EHB*, II, p. 739; A. E. LAIOU and C. MORRISSON, *The Byzantine Economy*, Cambridge, 2007, p. 132.

lation which establishes the co-existence of retailers (μεταπράται) and producers in the same guild. The penalty for noncompliance was a stiff fine (24 *nomismata*) and expulsion from the guild <sup>(23)</sup>. Grocers, who would normally be expected to retail soap, were explicitly barred from doing so <sup>(24)</sup>, while the perfume dealers were not permitted to deal in goods weighed by the steelyard (καμπανικὸν εἶδος) — an implicit reference to soap <sup>(25)</sup>, suggesting that the retail trade in soap was exclusively handled by retailers belonging to the soapmakers' guild. This was in line with the institutional division of labor among guilds <sup>(26)</sup>. Also, the guild-organized retailers had the exclusive right to handle all imports of soap into the capital; non-members of the guild who bought soap from foreigners to retail it had their entire purchase confiscated <sup>(27)</sup>. In this context, the question arises: Were the producers of soap retailers as well? The *Book of the Eparch* is unclear; nevertheless, the view has been expressed that the soapmakers were both producers and retailers <sup>(28)</sup>. Still, the thrust of provision BE, 12. 4 seems to suggest that the producers were *required* to sell wholesale soap to retailers. This view is reinforced by the distinction made between producers (σαπωνάρριοι) and retailers (σαπωνοπράται), and the fact that only the latter were explicitly authorized to retail imported soap. More importantly, if the producers were also retailers, since prices and profit margins were determined by market forces <sup>(29)</sup>, they would have had a competitive advan-

(23) BE, 12. 4.

(24) BE, 13. 1. *Contra*: G. MICKWITZ, *Die Kartellfunktionen der Zunft und ihre Bedeutung bei der Entstehung des Zunftwesens*, Helsinki, 1936, pp. 220-221, who apparently misread the provision.

(25) BE, 10.5.

(26) See p. 249 above.

(27) BE, 12. 6.

(28) LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 140; V. NERANZI-VARMAZI, *Συντεχνίες ἐμπόρων στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη στὸν 10ο αἰώνα*, in *Ἡ Καθημερινή Ζωή στὸ Βυζάντιο. Α' Διεθνές Συμπόσιο* (1988), Athens, 1989, p. 353.

(29) “It is only natural that goods of higher market value to be purchased at a lower price, and goods of lower market value be sold at a higher price”: B. 20. 1. 22, 3 and scholium; further, agreements reached in any manner by those engaging in lawful transactions are enforceable: B. 11.1.7,67. In fact, “in buying and selling, the contracting parties are allowed to outmaneuver one another on the price”: B. 20. 1. 22 and scholia; B. 19. 10. 66; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Y. 7. 5. See also B. 53. 7.1; B. 19. 1. 93, 94, 95; *Epitome*, 16. 30; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 3. 21; 12. 19; *Synopsis Minor*, II. 42, 93; ATTALAIATES, *Ponema*, JG, VII, 11. 2; *Peira*, JG, IV, 38. 5; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 34, 37; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 101; 3. 3. 69, 70 and

tage vis-à-vis the retailers, because, by combining wholesale and retail profit margins, they could have earned normal profits and still be in a position to undersell the retailers and force them out of business — an untenable situation. Rather, the market structure encompassed a limited number of producers who wholesaled soap to a large number of soap retailers giving rise to an *oligopoly* situation. However, the soap producers competed among themselves vigorously to capture a larger share of the market and also had to take into account the import price of soap when they priced their wares, setting in motion potent factors that tended to curb their potential price-setting power. In short, there appears to have been a clear-cut division between production and marketing which was not without precedent. A similar separation between wholesale and retail activities occurred in the fish market and the raw silk and silks trades as well <sup>(30)</sup>.

The requisite fixed investment and diversity of tasks to be performed in the relatively “capital intensive” soapmaking industry and their specific skill requirements suggest a degree of specialization of the workforce at the shop floor, and a relatively larger size of workshops in terms of space and employed workers, albeit occupying the upper end of what might still be called small scale industry. The critical point in the growth of a soapmaking establishment was reached when the increase in the scale of operations necessitated the delegation of operational and managerial functions. But many owners might not possess these innate capabilities or might find it very difficult to take this bold step because they had risen from the shop floor, became risk-aversers above a certain threshold of enterprise size, or had no access to financing. As a result, *enterprise* growth — but not *sector* growth — was held back, as the response to the growing demand for the industry’s output tended to be met through the *horizontal* proliferation of small scale workshops of

scholium ; 3. 3. 72. The flexibility permitted in business conduct and aggressive bargaining indicates that one bought at his own risk (*caveat emptor*) : “It behooves the buyer to investigate and ascertain the facts before consummating a deal (Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἀγοραστὴν πρὸ τοῦ συναλλάγματος δι’ ἐρεύνης γενέσθαι καὶ ἀκριβοῦν καὶ οὕτω συναλλάσσειν).” *Ecloga Legum*, JG, II, 9. 1 ; *Ecloga Privata Aucta*, JG, VI, 10. 2, 4 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 52.

(30) For details see G. C. MANIATIS, *The Organizational Setup and Functioning of the Fish Market in Tenth-Twelfth Centuries*, in *DOP*, 54 (2000), pp. 18-24 ; *idem*, *Organization, Market Structure, and Modus Operandi of the Private Silk Industry in Tenth-Century Byzantium*, in *DOP*, 53 (1999), pp. 267-274 and 295-296.

varying size, based on new entry of master craftsmen, merchants joining with skilled craftsmen, or vouched for slaves. This is a more plausible explanation for the largely small scale structure of the guild-organized manufacturing, rather than the view that the state deliberately did not allow private individuals to manufacture “on a more than petty scale”, or that private initiative was stifled and capital accumulation was hindered by expedient administrative devices <sup>(31)</sup>. Indeed, there is no evidence in the legal or literary sources that the size of workshops, the number of workers to be employed, or the price and level of profit was fixed in *manufacturing* activities. State interference in the operations of a host of establishments would have been impracticable and counterproductive.

Soapmakers supplying lye (ὕγρὰν κατασταλλακτὴν) to anyone whether as a favor, out of respect, for the sake of gain, or acting by malice to hurt him were liable as homicides <sup>(32)</sup>. The severity of the penalty inflicted has been explained as prompted by the fact that lye was a deadly toxic substance <sup>(33)</sup>. Though a plausible justification, such excessive concern over the public health appears overzealous. Lye was used in controlled and very small quantities for the treatment of certain diseases by physicians and veterinarians, and it is unlikely to have so alarmed the authorities that they would have banned its sharing to pre-

(31) S. RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade and Industry*, in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, II, Cambridge, 1987, p. 153 ; *idem*, *Byzantine Civilisation*, London, 1933, pp. 173-174, 176 ; G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford, 1968, pp. 253, 288 ; C. M. MACRI, *L'Organisation de l'économie urbaine dans Byzance sous la dynastie de Macédoine*, Paris, 1925, p. 53 ; GUERDAN, *Byzantium*, p. 91 ; T. TALBOT RICE, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, London, 1967, p. 123 ; FRANCÈS, *L'État*, pp. 239, 241, 243 ; *idem*, *La Disparition des corporations byzantines*, in *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, 1961, II, Belgrade, 1964, p. 95 ; G. MICKWITZ, *Die Organisationsformen zweier byzantinischer Gewerbe im X. Jahrhundert*, in *BZ*, 36 (1936), p. 76 ; C. MANGO, *Byzantium, The Empire of New Rome*, London, 1980, p. 56 ; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Entrepreneurs*, pp. 156-157 ; A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*, London, 1973, pp. 40, 42-43, 69 ; R. S. LOPEZ, *Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire*, in *Speculum*, 20 (1945), p. 18 ; ANGOLD, *Byzantine Empire*, pp. 93-94 ; KAZHDAN, *Tsekhi*, pp. 137, 140, 149, 153 ; *idem*, *Derevnja*, pp. 308-312, 320, 330-331 ; A. E. LAIOU, *The Byzantine Economy: An Overview*, in *EADÈM, EHB*, III, pp. 1149, 1164 ; LAIOU and MORRISSON, *The Byzantine Economy*, pp. 57-58, 60. See also n. 13 above.

(32) *BE*, 12. 7.

(33) CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Συντεχνία*, p. 67 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe občestvo*, p. 140 ; J. NICOLE, *Le Livre du Préfet ou l'Édit de l'Empereur Léon le Sage sur les Corporations de Constantinople*, Geneva, 1894, p. 56, n. 3 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, p. 95.

vent abuse. Nor was lye the only known and available poison calling for special protection. Significantly, the provision prohibits not only liberties but *commercial* sales of lye as well which suggests a different intent. Lye was not only an intermediate product used in the production of soap, but it was also widely used in the washing of clothes at homes and hence as a close substitute for soap. This implies that sales of an intermediate product would have yielded a much smaller profit than the processed final product. Therefore, very likely the stipulation aimed to prevent such sales to households and particularly to well-off individuals enabling them to produce home-made soap, which would have dampened the aggregate demand for marketable soap and reduced the profits of the entire membership.

Soapmakers were prohibited from making soap from animal fats during Lent and other days of fast, thereby *μιαίνων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους* (defiling the people = buyers). Violators were subject to corporal punishment and expulsion from the guild (34). Scholars have mistakenly translated *ἄνθρωποι* as referring to the soapmakers' workmen (35). Although the term often referred to an individual in a relation of personal dependence, in this instance the reference was to *people* and by extension to *buyers* of soap. Workers could not be implicated and expelled from the guild as they were not members, and the owner of the workshop was solely responsible for the acts of his employees whether freemen or slaves (*vicarious liability*) (36). It has also been argued that the *ἄνθρωποι* referred to in BE, 12. 8, were slaves (37). In the light of the interpretation just provided this argument is moot. And so is the assertion that the social status of the *ἄνθρωποι* remains open and that most likely the term referred both to freemen and slaves (38).

The text of provision BE, 12. 5, dealing with the wholesale purchase of ash by guild members has been misinterpreted. The elliptical passage :

(34) BE, 12. 8.

(35) NICOLE, *Livre du Préfet*, p. 57 ; BOAK, *Book of the Prefect*, p. 613 ; FRESHFIELD, *Byzantine Guilds*, p. 34 ; A. STOECKLE, *Spaetroemische und byzantinische Zuenfte*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 70-71 ; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Συντεχνία* p. 56, n. 2 ; SJUZUMOV, *Remeslo*, p. 14, n. 2.

(36) B. 18. 1. 1, 3 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Y. 4. 1, 3. KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, p. 119, renders the term as referring to people.

(37) STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, pp. 70-71 ; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Συντεχνία*, p. 56, n. 2 ; SJUZUMOV, *Remeslo*, p. 14, n. 2.

(38) KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, pp. 323-324 ; IDEM, *Tsekhi*, p. 136.

Ὁ φωραθεὶς [σαπωνοπράτης] δελεάζων ἕτερον εἰς ἐξώνησιν στάκτης ζημιούσθω νομίματα δώδεκα, has been translated : any [soapmaker] caught *defrauding* another in the purchase of ash shall be fined twelve *nomismata* (39). The rendition is incorrect and fails to appreciate the intention of the legislator. What the provision intends to convey is that : any [soapmaker] caught *challenging*, i.e. *outbidding* the firm (and hence binding) price offer of another member of the guild in the purchase of ash, will be fined twelve *nomismata*. The thrust of the operative word *δελεάζειν* is to *challenge*, and in this context to *bid up* the price — not to cheat one another. The true meaning of the provision is quite clear in BE, 13. 3 pertaining to the grocers which stipulates : Εἴ τις σαλδαμάριος φωραθῆ δελεάζων τὸν ἕτερον ἐν τῇ ἐξωνήσει καὶ ἐπαύξων τὸ τίμημα, ζημιούσθω νομίματα δέκα. In this passage the price rise (ἐπαύξων τὸ τίμημα) as a result of outbidding is explicitly mentioned. The measure aimed to prevent unfair intra-guild competition in prices negotiated individually by using dishonest means, strengthen the negotiating position of the buyers vis-à-vis their suppliers, and obtain the lowest possible price.

The use of furnaces and flammable materials in soapmaking and the attendant risk of fire impelled the authorities to enact regulations regarding the location of workshops. Thus, soapmakers intending to establish a workshop had to keep a distance of 3.5 meters at a *minimum* from anyone occupying a preexisting one (ἀπ' ἀλλήλων). Noncompliers with this building code regulation were fined 24 *nomismata* and were expelled from the guild (40). It has been argued that, as a result of this regulation, soapmakers found it impossible to expand their workshops (41). The inference is stretched as the possibility of enlarging one's workshop depended on the individual circumstances, in particular the topography, size, and layout of a particular lot. Certainly, the provision

(39) NICOLE, *Livre du Préfet*, p. 56 ; BOAK, *Book of the Prefect*, p. 613 ; FRESHFIELD, *Byzantine Guilds*, p. 34 ; KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, p. 117 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, p. 93 ; KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 321 ; IDEM, *Tsekhi*, p. 141.

(40) BE, 12. 3. The stipulated distance in the provision is awkwardly formulated and misleading. Yet, it has been uncritically accepted by NICOLE, *Le Livre du Préfet*, p. 55 ; BOAK, *Book of the Prefect*, p. 613 ; FRESHFIELD, *Byzantine Guilds*, p. 34 ; KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, p. 117 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, p. 85 ; ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, pp. 188-189. For the correct formulation of the relevant passage see STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 113, and CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Συντεχνία*, pp. 72-73.

(41) MACRI, *Organisation*, p. 85.

did not intend to thwart competition among neighboring soapmakers as has been asserted <sup>(42)</sup>.

### Price Competition in the Soapmaking Industry

The soapmaking industry very likely comprised a small number of producers/wholesalers and a much larger number of retailers, resulting in an oligopolistic market structure which *prima facie* afforded the former a degree of exercisable price-setting power. However, the fact that each producer/wholesaler supplied a considerable share of the market and handled a homogeneous product which rendered buyers indifferent in the choice of their supplier made them conscious of the impact of their own pricing policies on each other's marketing strategy. In the absence of concerted action, no supplier could be certain how his rivals would react to a change in his price, since price changes undertaken independently would inevitably bring on intrinsically uncertain responses with unpredictable results on the volume of his sales and profits. In the face of this uncertainty, the producers/wholesalers might try to eliminate that hurdle through some form of tacit concerted action (informal cooperation, unspoken understanding) to avoid illegal collusion schemes. The result would likely be price uniformity although not necessarily stability of prices and market shares. However, tacit agreements are no less fragile and can easily founder due to mutual distrust. Moreover, the difficulty in ensuring cooperation; inability to discipline unruly members; preference for independent pricing by members eager to increase their market share; or uncontrollable price cuts in periods of business slack, generated tendencies that established strong competitive pricing patterns. At the retail market, by virtue of their large number, the retailers operated in a highly competitive environment earning normal profits, as they faced numerous end users who were indifferent regarding the source of their supply. Significantly, the *Book of the Eparch* did not impose price discipline on the soapmakers to prevent intra-guild price competition and thereby enable them to raise or maintain set prices as has been argued <sup>(43)</sup> — such an act would have

(42) Koukoulēs, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, 2, I, p. 212; ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, pp. 186-187.

(43) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 229; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, p. 18; R. BROWNING, *The Byzantine Empire*, London, 1980, p. 79.

been contrary to the notion of free market as reflected in the anti-monopoly tenor of the law <sup>(44)</sup>. Grouping the soapmakers under the guild umbrella did not automatically translate into ability of individual members to wield market power and set prices at will, since the free-wheeling members did not act on command, in unison or in conformity with internal rules. A sharp distinction should be made between the exclusive right of the guild members as a *group* to be involved in a certain economic activity, and the ability of *individual* guild members to take advantage of this prerogative and wield monopolistic pricing power in the marketplace. What is true collectively for the entire guild membership as a class is not necessarily true for each member of a class ("fallacy of division"). Effective exercise of monopoly pricing requires the existence of highly concentrated market structures, collusion of guild members with ability to set prices and enforce price discipline on fractious members to ensure compliance, closed entry into the guild, protection from external competition, and a supportive or quiescent law enforcing officialdom. These conditions were nonexistent <sup>(45)</sup>.

### Soapmakers' Rules of Conduct

In order to instill good faith and ensure fairness in business deals, the *Book of the Eparch* and statutory law, aside from the soapmaking-industry-specific provisions, set norms of business behavior and standards for the orderly conduct of their commercial transactions, affording the injured party the right to sue the culprit and inflicting severe penalties on noncompliant guild members. Thus, if a vendor, having agreed on the price and received earnest money, backed out of the deal, he had to pay the buyer double the earnest money; if the buyer reneged, he forfeited the earnest money <sup>(46)</sup>. The vendor had the right to keep the

(44) B. 19. 18. 1; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, II, 24. 1; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 11. 7; *Synopsis Minor*, M. 4.

(45) For a detailed discussion of statutory guild monopolies, prevailing market structures and operative conditions, and the guilds' pricing behavior, see G. C. MANIATIS, *Price Formation in the Byzantine Economy Tenth-Twelfth Centuries*, in *Byz.*, 73 (2003), pp. 424-428.

(46) BE, 6. 11; 9.2; 10.5; 11. 5; B. 22. 1. 76; B. 19. 10. 76; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 3. 2b; A. 45; *Epanagoge*, JG, II, 23. 2; *Epitome*, 16. 3; *Prochiron Nomos*, 14. 1; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 3; *Peira*, 44. 3; *Epanagoge Aucta*, 21. 3; *Synopsis Minor*, A. 27; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 1, 3, 57.



earnest money he received and refuse delivery if the buyer did not pay within the agreed time<sup>(47)</sup>. The seller who failed to deliver on a deal was liable for the buyer's loss of potential gain (διαφέρον), even if the sustained loss exceeded the value of the article<sup>(48)</sup>. After the delivery of the sold article, the seller could not renege on grounds that he changed his mind<sup>(49)</sup>. Had a vendor sold an article which he did not actually own and it was subsequently legally taken away from the buyer, he was liable to the purchaser for the price as well as for the lost gain<sup>(50)</sup>. Buyers were not permitted to demand the reduction of the agreed upon price of a good slyly, e.g., by claiming that the good was of substandard quality, overpriced, or obtainable elsewhere cheaper<sup>(51)</sup>. The contracting parties, having set a time-limit for the consummation of a deal, could agree that if within the intervening period someone else offered a higher price the sale could be invalidated<sup>(52)</sup>. Exaggerated praise and declarations without promise were not binding; but if the vendor categorically promised nonexistent attributes, he was liable for deception<sup>(53)</sup>. Vendors were forbidden to sell their wares based on misleading information (e.g., misrepresentation of quality)<sup>(54)</sup>, adulterate their wares<sup>(55)</sup>, alter their measures, use scales which had not been stamped by the eparch's office<sup>(56)</sup>, or bid up deceitfully the rent of someone else's workshop<sup>(57)</sup>. Sales concluded

(47) B. 19. 1. 88, 90, 91; *Peira*, 45. 17; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 42.

(48) B. 19. 8. 1; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 10. 1; *Epitome*, 16. 54; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 52.

(49) *Ecloga Legum*, 9. 1; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, 11. 16; *Ecloga Privata Aucta*, 10. 2.

(50) B. 19. 11; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 13. 11, 13; *Epitome*, 16. 64; *Peira*, 38. 85; *ATTALEIATES, Ponema*, 11. 4; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 33; *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 20.

(51) *BE*, 18. 5; *Hexabiblos*, 6. 14. 12.

(52) B. 19. 2. 1, 2; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 4. 1; *Y. 7.1. 2*; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 14, 95.

(53) B. 19. 10. 17; B. 10. 3. 37; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 3. 11, 20; *Peira*, 38. 30; *Synopsis Minor*, A. 92; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 19, 66.

(54) Ὁ πωλῶν τινί τι ἐν εἰδήσει ἐπίψογον, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ τίμημα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκ τούτου ζημίαν κατέχεται (vendors knowingly misinforming buyers are liable not only for the price of the article but for any resulting damage as well). B.19.10.1; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 10. 6, 9; *Epanagoge*, 39. 33; *Epitome*, 16. 11 n. 18; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, 11. 14; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 45.

(55) *BE*, 2. 5; 3. 1, 2; 7. 6; 10. 1; 11. 4, 6.

(56) *BE*, 11. 9; 12. 9; 13.2; B. 60.22.6 scholium; B. 60.51.33; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Π. 4. 3, 5; *ATTALEIATES, Ponema*, 35. 58; *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 52; Σ. 26.

(57) Leases were subject to the same rules as the sales contracts. They were freely negotiable and could be renegotiated at agreed upon intervals or at the

ed by coercion, intimidation<sup>(58)</sup>, or fraud were not condoned and were ruled invalid<sup>(59)</sup>. Finally, vendors had to make the buyer aware of hidden defects. Concealment of blemishes could result in cancellation of the deal, reduction of the price, or a fine (*caveat venditor*)<sup>(60)</sup>; however, the vendor was not responsible for defects (although he was liable for fraud) if they were obvious or were made known to the buyer (sale as is)<sup>(61)</sup>.

### Conclusion

This article set out to examine particular issues that remain unexplored, misconstrued, or unsettled in the guild-organized soapmaking industry. Membership in the soapmakers' guild was open not only to

time of expiration. The law imposed no ceilings on rentals. A lease could not be annulled on grounds that the agreed rental was less than the going rate unless deception could be proven. A tenant could not be evicted against his will before the expiration of his lease, even if someone offered a higher rent: B. 20. 1. 2; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, M. 13. 12, 13, 28; *Epanagoge*, 24. 13; *Epitome*, 7. 1, 19, 26; *Prochiron Auctum*, 18. 19, 33; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 8. 1, 2, 20, 34; 6. 14. 12. Nonetheless, in connection with workshops leased to guild members, the *Book of the Eparch* criminalized the acquisition of such properties, for the most part in prime or desirable locations and hence in short supply, by deceitfully bidding up the rent. *BE*, 4. 9; 9. 4; 10. 3; 11. 7; 13. 6; 18. 5; 19. 2. Apparently, the authorities were concerned that such stealthy practices could create an unsettling business environment by unwarrantedly strengthening the bargaining power of the landlords in the face of a highly inelastic supply of such rental properties, thereby forcing aggrieved tenants to accept unjustifiably excessive rent increases or face eviction and loss of goodwill. The provision did not prohibit rental adjustments reflecting changes in market conditions; rather, the aim was to frustrate opportunistic behavioral patterns. Certainly, the action did not mean to ban competition as MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 223, argues, or that the eparch controlled the rent of the workshops, as KAZHDAN asserts, *Tsekhi*, p. 148, *Derevnja*, p. 321.

(58) B. 19.10.61, 65; B. 10. 2. 21; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 12. 18; *Epanagoge*, 6. 5; *Epanagoge Aucta*, 5. 4; *Epitome*, 14. 30; 16. 29; *Peira*, 38. 51; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 21, 36; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 11. 2, 3, 11, 12, 13; 3. 3. 68.

(59) B. 19.10.68, 72; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 12. 1; *Epanagoge Aucta*, 49. 1; *Epitome*, 16. 29, 48; *Peira*, 38. 54.

(60) B. 19.10.1; B. 19.8.13; *ATTALEIATES, Ponema*, 11. 3; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 10. 6; A. 12. 1; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 32; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, 24. 38; *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 19; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 57, 58, 61.

(61) B. 19. 10. 4; *Peira*, 38. 21; *Ecloga Privata Aucta*, 10. 3; *Synopsis Minor*, A. 92; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 65.

freemen but to slaves as well, so long as they were vouched for by their wealthy masters and met the set preconditions. Individuals willing to join the guild were first trained and then admitted, provided they met all other preconditions. The guild did not fix the number of members that could join. With new entry virtually unimpeded, the size of the membership was determined by market forces, introducing a desirable flexibility that fostered industrial expansion, increased employment, promoted competition, and benefited the consumer. Entry was further facilitated by the opportunity of venturesome well-off individuals and nobles to use their slaves as surrogates to set up shops, a practice that has been gravely misconstrued and unjustifiably discredited. The guild did not prohibit the expansion of a member's workshop or set the number of workers he could employ. The chief of the guild did not interfere with the enterprises' decision-making process and did not attempt to micromanage their activities. Inability to delegate operational and managerial functions, limited borrowing capacity, and risk-aversion above a certain threshold of enterprise size appear to have been the main reasons for the largely *horizontal* expansion of soapmaking establishments in response to growing demand — multiplication of small scale workshops of varying size through new entry rather than the alleged deliberate state policy of keeping enterprise growth in check.

Soapmakers operated within statutorily prescribed boundaries which aimed to preserve the exclusivity of their defined economic activity and ensure the conduct of their operations in an orderly fashion. Grocers and perfume dealers, who normally handled household goods, were not permitted to deal in soap, this being the prerogative of the soapmakers' guild in line with the principle of inter-guild division of labor. Training of persons unaffiliated with the guild was not allowed without the approval of the authorities, apparently in an effort to match the excess demand for apprenticeships with the training capacity of the soapmakers and thereby streamline the process of vocational training. The adopted method also prevented potential abuses: training outsiders on the sly and extracting exorbitant fees, a practice that could reduce the throughput of trainees and the pool of trained workers. There was a clear-cut division between production and marketing within the guild, as the producers of soap had to wholesale their output to retailer-members of the guild, a policy which was not unprecedented and aimed to avoid putting the retailers at a competitive disadvantage.

The prohibition to sell lye for any reason, an intermediate product used in the production of soap but also widely used as a close substitute

for soap in households, very likely was prompted by concern that such sales would adversely affect the final demand for soap as a finished product and result in loss of business, rather than for the protection of the public from a toxic substance as has been asserted. The notion that soap was not to be made from animal fats during days of fast because the soapmakers' workers would be defiled is indefensible. The relevant provision clearly refers to prospective buyers. Soapmakers were forbidden to bid up slyly another member's firm price offer, a measure aiming at forestalling unfair intra-guild competition through deceitful acts. The requirement that soapmakers' workshops keep a minimum distance from each other did not rule out the possibility of expanding existing workshops and certainly did not aim to thwart competition among neighboring producers and retailers as has been argued.

The *occupational* exclusivity of the soapmakers' guild did not secure a market monopoly, as the guild system did not aim to promote the economic interests of the members, thwart intra-guild and external competition, or achieve equality of economic results. The fact that the soapmakers were statutorily grouped under the guild superstructure did not mean that individual members wielded market power, as the uninhibited members did not act on compulsion or in compliance with internal rules and regulations. The soapmakers' guild was not a voluntary association of enterprising individuals with a common order of business, as the practitioners of this particular craft were legally obligated to join a state mandated guild. The large number of *retailers* in the soapmaking industry in the capital and the ability of the users of their wares to shop around resulted in an atomistic market structure and intense competition. Similarly, as a result of their small number, the *producers/wholesalers* mutually recognized interdependence of the effects of their own marketing strategies, as well as the pressure from imports, constrained significantly their potential price-setting power and fostered competitive pricing patterns. Prices and wages were determined by market forces and the price mechanism, not by the state or the guild as has been asserted. Fairly large membership, unimpeded entry, difficulties in reaching consensus on a course of action, fragility of collusive agreements, strict enforcement of anti-monopoly statutory laws, and an unsupportive administration were potent countervailing forces promoting a pro-competitive attitude. Regulations of *agoronomic* nature in place went a long way toward ensuring correct business conduct and maintaining a level playing field by securing access of all guild members

to market opportunities. The authorities opted for a free — but not unbridled — market economy and an operative price mechanism, favoring market-based economic policies and solutions coupled with prudential regulation aimed at preventing abuse of power and unsavory practices that resulted in profiteering. Once in place, the rules provided a set of non-shifting parameters and a steady referent enabling entrepreneurs and contracting parties to make rational decisions and conduct their affairs with a considerable degree of certainty, as attested by the growing industrial activity during the period under review <sup>(62)</sup>.

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#### SUMMARY

This article probes key issues that remain unexplored, misconstrued, or unsettled in the guild-organized soapmaking industry in Constantinople, as they relate to its organization, *modus operandi*, and the degree of state intervention. Neither the state nor the guild attempted to micromanage the firms' activities, as the number and size of workshops, the number of hired workers, production methods, quantity and quality of output were outside their purview. Prices and wages were determined by market forces. Training of apprentices was streamlined to match the industry's capacity. Proliferation of small scale workshops was due primarily to managerial constraints and limited borrowing capacity — not to deliberate state policy to check enterprise growth. Regulations of agoranomic nature aimed to ensure the orderly function of the marketplace, correct business conduct, and consumer protection. Equality of opportunity rather than equality of economic results was the foundation of the state's industrial policy.

(62) A. HARVEY, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900-1200*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 85-90, 115, 213-224, 261-262; M. F. HENDY, *Byzantium, 1081-1204: An Economic Reappraisal*, in IDEM, *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium*, Northampton, 1989, Part II, pp. 46-48, 50-52; LAIOU and MORRISSON, *The Byzantine Economy*, pp. 89, 91, 96, 164.

## THE *DE OECONOMIA DEI* BY NILUS DOXAPATRES SOME INTRODUCTORY REMARKS TO THE WORK AND ITS EDITION & CHAPTER I, 40 : EDITION, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY (\*)

### 1. NILUS AND HIS *DE OECONOMIA DEI*

#### a. Nilus Doxapatres

If today Nilus Doxapatres means anything to byzantinists and theologians, he is very often not much more than a name. If he means more, it is usually in virtue of his (supposed) role in the religious politics of Norman Sicily than of his (theological) writings. Apparently, the situation does not seem to have changed substantially since Vitalien Laurent wrote 'L'attention des chercheurs s'est en effet fixée sur son nom, moins en raison de l'œuvre qui lui est propre qu'en considération du rôle, vrai ou supposé, joué par lui dans la transmission de plusieurs monuments de l'antiquité chrétienne (1)', at a time when Nilus was mainly known for a possible role in the textual transmission of Athanasius and the

(\*) This article led an existence of more than two years already under the form of files and scraps scattered on my computer and desk. First and foremost I would like to thank Peter Van Deun for encouraging me to tackle this particular chapter, his comments, and his patience during all the time I spent 'finishing' this article. Further acknowledgements are due to Caroline Macé and Jacques Noret for their comments on previous versions of the edition. More indirectly I am indebted to the following people for a few inspiring and motivating discussions these last months: Emilio Bonfiglio, Alessandra Bucossi, Tomás Fernández, Vassa Kontouma, Petra Melicharová, Filippo Ronconi.

(1) V. LAURENT, *L'œuvre géographique du moine sicilien Nil Doxapatris*, in *OE*, 36 (1937), p. 5. The 'monuments' alluded to are Athanasius and the New Testament.

New Testament<sup>(2)</sup>. Even if some of these theories have been refuted<sup>(3)</sup>, many of the publications so far were mainly concerned with the identification of the author and the role he might have played in Sicily.

In fact, the only work of his being edited and really studied so far<sup>(4)</sup> is his relatively small treatise on the pentarchy, which gained attention especially because of its political implications, being very much in favour of Constantinople's position as the imperial city while written for the Sicilian monarch under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome<sup>(5)</sup>.

(2) From the dedicatory poem and some glosses by a Doxapatres in an Athanasius manuscript it was inferred that he prepared a complete edition of Athanasius (cf. n. 28). — Martin and, later on, Harris thought to have found a connection between Doxapatres and the New Testament through a short essay on the pentarchy that would be a summary of Nilus' *Τάξις* (cf. infra), transmitted in the so-called Ferrar group (or family 13; a family of Gospel manuscripts with as most distinctive characteristic the placing of John 7, 53-8, 11 after Luke 21, 38). See J. R. HARRIS, *Further Researches into the History of the Ferrar-Group*, London, 1900, pp. 52-72. For the Ferrar group, see e.g. the introduction in E. NESTLE, B. & K. ALAND, e.a., *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, Stuttgart, 2002<sup>27</sup>, pp. 15\*-16\*. — G. MERCATI, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova, di varie badie basiliane d'Italia e di Patmo* (ST, 68), Vatican City, 1935, pp. 76-77, suggested Nilus was involved in the edition of the New Testament, basing himself on a textual-critic remark in a gloss on Athanasius, which might be too little evidence to convince completely.

(3) MERCATI, *Per la storia*, p. 77, n. 3 rejected Harris' conjecture that the essay from the Ferrar group is the work of Nilus and ever since the convincing and elaborate refutation of this idea in LAURENT, *L'œuvre géographique*, pp. 18-23 this question seems to be solved quite definitively.

(4) An exception is Caruso's research on the vita of S. Philaretus the younger (cf. p. 271), presumably also written by Nilus, although it did it not really revive debate on Nilus' biography.

(5) Cf. p. 269. See LAURENT, *L'œuvre géographique*, pp. 13-18; J. DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae episcopatum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Texte critique, introduction et notes* (*La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, 1) Paris, 1981 or J. SPITERIS, *La critica bizantina del Primato romano nel secolo XII* (OCA, 208), Roma, 1979, pp. 126-153. For the text itself see G. PARTHEY, *Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae graecae episcopatum. Accedunt Nili Doxapatris Notitia patriarchatum et locorum nomina immutata*, Berlin, 1866 (= Amsterdam, 1967), who based his edition on that of S. LE MOYNE, *Varia Sacra seu Sylloge variorum opusculorum graecorum ad rem ecclesiasticam spectantium*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1685 (in its turn based the edition of the various dispersed fragments included in Allatius' 'unionist' magnum opus:

In contrast to that rather political and historical interest for the essay, the *De oeconomia Dei* by Doxapatres is still generally unknown as to its content. Of course, there was the edition of a few chapters by Caruso<sup>(6)</sup> and his at least implicit announcement of an edition of the work<sup>(7)</sup>, but more than twenty years after the publication of his last article on the work, scholarly debate on Doxapatres seems to have dwindled<sup>(8)</sup> and still lacks an edition of the work. Such a publication may provide a basis not only for reassessing or confirming research on the biographical problems that surround Nilus, but also for evaluating him as an author of a work on a much broader and more theological scale than the *Τάξις τῶν πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων*. In this respect it would also contribute to a deeper understanding of 12<sup>th</sup> century theology, and more particularly of a not directly 'Comnenian' and less polemical<sup>(9)</sup> type than Zygodenus, Camaterus and Choniates, authors in themselves also generally underinvestigated<sup>(10)</sup>.

In October 2006, a K.U.Leuven research project on the *De oeconomia Dei* started, framed within a larger project on the so-called encyclopaedism<sup>(11)</sup> in works like this. The research includes the edition of

L. ALLATIUS, *De ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione libri tres*, Cologne, 1648). F. N. FINCK, *Die Nilos Doxopatres Τάξις τῶν πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων, armenisch und griechisch*, Marburg, 1902 gives the Greek text after Parthey together with the Armenian version. Migne (PG 132) reprinted Le Moyne's edition. In contrast to the *De Oeconomia Dei* this *Τάξις* has, because of its preface (cf. n. 15), always been attributed to Nilus.

(6) S. CARUSO, *Echi della polemica bizantina antilatina dell' XI-XII sec. nel « De Oeconomia Dei » di Nilo Doxapatres*, in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi sulla Sicilia Normanna*, Palermo, 1973, pp. 403-431.

(7) S. CARUSO, *Per l'edizione del « De Oeconomia Dei » di Nilo Doxapatres*, in *Δίπτυχα*, 4 (1986-1987), pp. 250-283.

(8) There was only the article, by the same scholar: S. CARUSO, *Sull'autore del Bios di S. Filareto il giovane: Nilo Doxapatres?*, in *EEBS*, 44 (1979-1980), pp. 293-304.

(9) In contrast to what might be deduced from CARUSO, *Echi della polemica bizantina antilatina*, these polemical chapters are but a relatively small part of the work which as a whole is more intended to expound basic truths of the orthodox faith.

(10) All three are still but partially or unsatisfactorily edited. An edition of Kamateros' *Sacred Arsenal* is being prepared by A. Bucossi for publication in the *Series Graeca* of the *Corpus Christianorum*.

(11) The notion of encyclopaedism was developed by P. LEMERLE, *Le premier humanisme byzantin*, Paris, 1971 in which he deals with the period until the 10th

book I, and aims at a more nuanced evaluation of the author Nilus and a better understanding of his reasons for undertaking his impressive compilatory enterprise.

The aim of this paper is to present a provisional edition and translation of the 40<sup>th</sup> chapter of book I<sup>(12)</sup> in order to already contribute to a greater knowledge of Nilus that proceeds from his writings, and not from assumptions – however valuable and plausible they may be – based very often on evidence outside Nilus' writings.

A commentary will focus on possible sources and/or parallels of this chapter, a chapter which in regard to its use of sources holds a particular place within the general outlook of the *De Oeconomia Dei*. In general it is rather difficult to define the work without the risk of underestimating it, as is the case in most modern comments which stressed its un-original compilatory character<sup>(13)</sup>, but perhaps the work might be called a manual of all the relevant theological and anthropological knowledge for a cultivated Greek Christian of that time (very probably a monk or clergyman living on Sicily), organised along the lines of the history of salvation, and largely drawn from patristic and Byzantine tradition.

While many chapters are thus closely related to patristic writing, with extensive 'literal' quoting or paraphrasing, there seems to be no single and direct source for this chapter 40. It is based on several sources and various lines of thinking, and occasionally it reveals really individual ways of thinking, next to very widespread elements of the Byzantine tradition. As in this chapter Nilus by glimpses seems to be writing a more personal, even slightly idiosyncratic synthesis, this might give an insight into his thoughts and cultural background, and reveal a text in its own right, belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, even if it incorporates earlier writings.

Before moving on to the chapter's edition, translation and commentary, it might be useful to start with an outline of the biographical infor-

century. The encyclopaedism project, directed by Peter Van Deun and Caroline Mace, investigates the period from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Apart from Nilus' work, the *Florilegium Coislinianum* (9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c.) and Joseph Rhacendytes (14<sup>th</sup> c.) are under scrutiny.

(12) The chapter numbering used throughout is that of the western (Italo-Greek) tradition; cf. CARUSO, *Per l'edizione*, pp. 276-283.

(13) Cf. 'modern evaluations', pp. 277-278.

mation on Nilus on which there seems to be a fair consensus. The most recent comprehensive overview of scholarly debate on the attribution of the *De Oeconomia Dei*, and of Nilus' life and works is to be found in an article by Caruso<sup>(14)</sup>.

The only fully certain data are that a Nilus Doxapatres wrote the above mentioned *Tάξις τῶν πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων* in 1142-43 on a commission by Roger II of Sicily<sup>(15)</sup>, and that this Doxapatres appears as a monk in a Palermitan document of 1146<sup>(16)</sup>. In his inventory of the SS. Salvatore (Messina) manuscripts of 1563, Francesco Antonio Napoli described part of what is now known as cod. Vat. gr. 1426 as the work of

(14) CARUSO, *Per l'edizione*, pp. 250-261. Important contributions to the debate were also: MERCATI, *Per la storia*, pp. 64-79; LAURENT, *L'œuvre géographique* and J. DARROUZÈS, *Sur le De oeconomia Dei de Doxapatris*, in REB, 25 (1967), pp. 292-293. The most concise overview of life and works is to be found in V. LAURENT, *Doxapatris (Nil)*, in: DHGE, XIV, Paris, 1960, coll. 769-771 (but written before Caruso, so without bibliographical details on the latter). Another comprehensive overview, although yet more speculative regarding Doxapatres' position at court and within the patriarchate, is offered by SPITERIS, *La critica bizantina del Primato romano*, pp. 131-137.

(15) Facts explicitly mentioned in the preface of the work, PARTHEY, *Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae graecae episcopatum*, pp. 265-266, where Nilus also refers to a previous, shorter version of the treatise he wrote in Palermo. For a recent assessment of Roger's 'cultural politics', which combined aspects of the 'indigenous' Byzantine and Arabic traditions with the traditions 'Latin' immigrants 'imported', see H. HOUBEN, trans. G. A. LOUD *et alii*, *Roger II of Sicily: a Ruler Between East and West*, Cambridge, 2002, pp. 98-165. There is extensive literature on the different groups in the Norman kingdom, and especially on Greek monasticism. One of the most prolific scholars in this field is undoubtedly Vera von Falkenhausen. See e.g. VERA VON FALKENHAUSEN, *Il monachesimo greco in Sicilia*, in C. D. FONSECA (ed.), *La Sicilia rupestre nel contesto delle civiltà mediterranee. Atti del sesto convegno internazionale di studio sulla civiltà rupestre medioevale nel mezzogiorno d'Italia (Catania - Pantalica - Ispica, 7-12 settembre 1981)*, Galatina, 1986, pp. 135-174 or VERA VON FALKENHAUSEN, *Il popolamento: etnie, fedi, insediamenti*, in G. MUSCA (ed.), *Terra e uomini nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo. Atti delle sette giornate normanno-sveve (Bari, 15-17 ottobre 1985)*, Centro di studi normanno-svevi (Università degli Studi di Bari, Atti, 7), Bari, 1987, pp. 39-73.

(16) He appears as one of the witnesses in a sales document in the archive of the church of the Holy Virgin in Palermo built by admiral George of Antioch, known as 'La Martorana'. For the most recent edition of the document, see Lidia PERRIA, *Una pergamena greca dell'anno 1146 per la chiesa di S. Maria dell'Amiraglio*, in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 61 (1981), pp. 1-24. Cf. also LAURENT, *L'œuvre géographique*, pp. 7-8.



Nilus Doxapatres<sup>(17)</sup>, but Gaetani (1566-1620) attributed the *De oeconomia Dei* to the rhetoric John Doxapatres<sup>(18)</sup>, and ever since, this attribution was taken for granted<sup>(19)</sup> until Mercati<sup>(20)</sup>, followed by Laurent<sup>(21)</sup>, proposed Nilus as an author. Furthermore, Nilus could be the monastic name of Nicholas Doxapatres, a personage of the same period known as a deacon of Haghia Sophia and nomophylax<sup>(22)</sup>, who apparently left his

(17) See the edition of the inventory in MERCATI, *Per la storia*, p. 235, n° 23 (Mercati's numbering). Cf. CARUSO, *Per l'edizione*, pp. 252-253.

(18) CARUSO, *Per l'edizione*, p. 250, n. 3. For John Doxapatres, see A. P. KAZHDAN, *Doxopatres, John*, in ODB, p. 660 and K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen reiches (521-1453)*, München, 1897<sup>2</sup>, pp. 461-463. Codd. *Vat. gr.* 1426 and *Matrit.* 4591 mention only 'Doxapatres', while *Vat. gr.* 1768 mentions 'deacon John' (f. 148r Ἰωάννου τοῦ διακόνου τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας). *Vat. gr.* 696 has no indication of author whatsoever and *Vat. gr.* 1945, f. 1r speaks of a βίβλος ἀνωνόμου συγγραφέως. *Par. gr.* 1277 lost at least one folio at the beginning of the work.

(19) Cf. the edition by Mai of the first chapter and the closing paragraph of book I in PG 120, 1292-1296; Ehrhard in KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte*, p. 209; S. VAILHÉ, *Doxopatri Nil*, in: *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, IV, Paris, 1911, col. 1821. However, Fabricius in 1723 already identified the Doxapatres of the Τάξις with the Doxapatres of the *Nomocanon* in a note on the reedition of the *Diatriba de Nilis* (1668) of Allatius: I. A. FABRICIUS, *Bibliothecae Graecae Liber V de scriptoribus graecis christianis, aliisque qui vixere a Constantini M. aetate ad captam a.c. MCCCCLIII a Turcis Constantinopolin. Accedunt Leonis Allatii diatribae de Nilis & Psellis*, Hamburg, 1723, p. 53, n. d. Cf. the reworked version by Harles in the *Bibliotheca graeca*, Editio Nova, X (Hamburg, 1807 [= Hildesheim, 1967]), p. 20.

(20) Suggested by MERCATI, *Per la storia*, pp. 70-79; and later on confirmed by the fact that chronologically it is improbable that John Doxapatres, of the 11th century — and rather the first half of the century — would have used as a source Nicetas of Heraclea (ca. 1050-after 1117). Indeed, this author is quoted, but only in the codd. *Vat. gr.* 1768 and *Par. gr.* 1277. Before DARROUZÈS, *Sur le De oeconomia Dei de Doxopatri*, however, only the less trustworthy *epitome* in cod. *Vat. gr.* 1768 was known as a witness. So finally, CARUSO, *Echi della polemica bizantina antilatina*, p. 407, with knowledge of the *Parisinus* could affirm Mercati's prudent suggestion (p. 71, n. 5) and expanded the argument with the fact that also Theophylactus of Ohrid (ca. 1050-after 1126) is quoted in the work.

(21) LAURENT, *Doxopatri*, col. 770 lists the *De Oeconomia Dei* among the « autres écrits [...] également assignables à Nil avec la plus grande probabilité ».

(22) In *Par. gr.* 993, *Mutin.* II A2 and *Vind. hist. gr.* 64, the commentary on Gregory's *carmina* (cf. n. 27) bears the lemma: Νικολάου (διακόνου) τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας πατριαρχικοῦ νοταρίου πρωτοπροέδρου τῶν (πρωτο)συγκέλλων καὶ νομοφύλακος τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας τοῦ Δοξαπατρῆ. See F. LEFFHERZ, *Studien zu Gregor von Nazianz. Mythologie, Überlieferung, Scholiasten* (Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philo-

career in the capital for the monastic habit in Sicily<sup>(23)</sup>. The assertion is now generally accepted<sup>(24)</sup>, although in fact it is only a (very probable) conjecture, mainly based on the contemporaneity of both and the fact that it is very well possible that a Nicholas took the monastic name of Nilus, i.e. with the same initial, in accordance with a well-known practice.

Caruso proposed also to attribute the life of S. Philaretus the younger, an Italo-Greek saint (born in Sicily and having lived his monastic life in Calabria in the 11th century), to Nilus<sup>(25)</sup>.

sophischen Fakultät der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität), Bonn, 1958, p. 188; cf. also MERCATI, *Per la storia*, pp. 77-79; and LAURENT, *L'œuvre géographique*, pp. 12-13. — *Vat. gr.* 2019 transmits a *nomocanon* with the attribution to the nomophylax Doxapatres: ... παρὰ τοῦ λογιωτάτου διακόνου τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας καὶ νομοφύλακος τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας, πατριαρχικοῦ νοταρίου τῶν πρωτοσυγκέλλων (sic) τοῦ Δοξαπατρῆ (sic). See A. TURYN, *Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi (Codices e Vaticanis selecti)*, 28), Vatican City, 1964, p. 28 and 29. — Because that *nomocanon* consists partly of a commentary on a *synopsis canonum* by Alexius Aristenus, Doxapatres called on himself the modern suspicion of having unrightfully appropriated that work: see K. E. ZACHARIAE VON LINGENTHAL, *Die Synopsis canonum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Quellen des kanonischen Rechts der griechischen Kirche, in Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Jahrgang 1887, zweiter Halbband*, 1887, pp. 1159-1161; MERCATI, *Per la storia*, pp. 78-79; LAURENT, *Doxopatri*, col. 770, § 6 and DARROUZÈS, *Sur le De oeconomia Dei de Doxopatri*, p. 293. CARUSO, *Per l'edizione*, pp. 259-260 only raises the question of the authorship of this *nomocanon* without answering it. As Doxapatres' *nomocanon* contains more than just Aristenus' work, calling it a plagiarised work seems too bold an accusation, especially in a pre-modern context.

(23) MERCATI, *Per la storia*, pp. 78-79, n. 3 on the basis of the poem of a certain Doxapatres (cf. n. 28) suggested that he was disgraced and therefore fled. LAURENT, *L'œuvre géographique*, pp. 10-14 indicated several places where members of the Doxapatres family lived (Constantinople, the Peloponnesus, Southern Italy/Sicily) and suggested, also referring to the poem on Athanasius, that Nilus was probably born and raised in the capital, and later returned to the family's homeland Sicily. DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae episcopatum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, pp. 154-157 passim and p. 158 in particular, however, showed that it is very improbable that for his Τάξις Nilus used the official lists of dioceses he would have had access to as a patriarchal notary, which might cast some doubts on a possible post held by him there. In DARROUZÈS, *Sur le De oeconomia Dei de Doxopatri*, p. 293 he specifically utters his doubts on the titles as found in *Vat. gr.* 2019 (cf. n. 22).

(24) Cf. A. P. KAZHDAN, *Doxopatres, Neilos*, in ODB, pp. 660-661.

(25) CARUSO, *Sull'autore del Bios di S. Filareto il giovane: Nilo Doxapatres?* To my knowledge, the edition is still unpublished, despite its announcement, e.g. in the same article, p. 296. The full text translated into Latin is to be consulted in

Finally, Nilus would also have written a *nomocanon* <sup>(26)</sup> and some minor works like two commentaries on poems by Gregory of Nazianzus <sup>(27)</sup>, a poem in honour of Athanasius of Alexandria <sup>(28)</sup>, and glosses on several works by the latter <sup>(29)</sup>.

the AASS, I, pp. 606-618 (6 April). Fragments are to be found in S. CARUSO, *Michele IV Paflagone in una fonte agiografica italo-greca*, in *Studi Albanologici, balcanici, bizantini e orientali in onore di Giuseppe Valentini S.J., Studi Albanesi. Studi e testi*, Firenze, 1986, pp. 261-284; in the excursus after the text in G. ROSSI TAIBBI (ed.), *Vita di Sant'Elia il giovane (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici: Testi, 7)*, Palermo, 1962, pp. 189-191 and passim; and in the introduction to MELINA ARCO MAGRÌ, *Vita di S. Nicodemo di Kellarana (Testi e Studi Bizantino-Neoellenici, 3)*, Rome - Athens, 1969, pp. 27-35. Arco Magrì held the view that the 'monk Neilos' of the Vita of Nicodemus was the same who wrote the Vita of Philaretus; this was denied by CARUSO, *Sull'autore del Bios di S. Filareto il giovane: Nilo Doxapatres?*, p. 297. Chronologically also Doxapatres with a *floruit* 1143-1146 does not really fit in with a date of birth before 1040 of the author of the Vita Nicodemi as proposed by Arco Magrì (p. 30).

(26) Cf. n. 22.

(27) CPG 3048. Cf. n. 22. LEFHERZ, *Studien zu Gregor von Nazianz. Mythologie, Überlieferung, Scholiasten*, pp. 180-187 convincingly rectified the data on these commentaries (e.g. the mss. in which they are transmitted), and showed that there are two commentaries: one certainly authentic on c. I 2, 33 and another probably authentic on c. I 2, 30. The first is signed Nicholas Doxapatres in several manuscripts, the second is transmitted under the name of Nicetas David. Both were (incompletely) incorporated into the commentary of Nicetas David in the edition by Z. Scordylus: *Νικήτα φιλοσόφου τοῦ καὶ Δαβίδ ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τετράστιχα τοῦ μεγάλου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιανζηνοῦ. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ μονόστιχα. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ἐπιγράμματα τὰ εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον παρ' ἄφρασις ... πόνω Ζαχαρίου ἱερέως Σκορδυλίου Κρητὸς τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου Μαραφαρᾶ* (Venice, Franciscus Zanetus, 1563).

(28) Signed Doxapatres, cod. Bas. A III 4, f. Cr-v, edited in PG 25, CCLXXVIII-CCLXXX ('ἔπος in Arium de laudibus Athanasii', sometimes simply referred to as *De laudibus Athanasii*). This is the above mentioned poem (n. 23) in which Doxapatres sketches himself as being in a troubled situation. H. G. OPITZ, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung der Schriften des Athanasius*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1935, pp. 28-30 interpreted the poem as a dedication of an Athanasius-edition by Nicholas Doxapatres to the emperor (which would be John I Komnenos). The supposition of the whole manuscript being prepared by a Doxapatres (and not only the glosses) was already inferred by de Montfaucon (see the preface of the *editio benedictina*, reprinted in PG 25, p. xvi), but as rather often with our author, the question remains if this hypothesis can be positively proved.

(29) Signed Doxapatres, throughout cod. Bas. A III 4. Cf. MERCATI, p. 76, n. 2, in which he underlines the importance of these glosses for an assessment of Nilus' theological thinking.

## b. The *De Oeconomia Dei*

### Manuscript tradition <sup>(30)</sup>

*De Oeconomia Dei* is preserved in six manuscripts which can be classified in two branches. In the western, Italo-Greek branch the most complete text (with two books) is offered by two copies of a lost ms. (written in Messina in 1213 <sup>(31)</sup>): cod. *Matrit. gr.* 4591 (326 ff.) copied by George Basilikos of Constantinople around 1547 <sup>(32)</sup> and cod. *Vat. gr.* 1426 <sup>(33)</sup> (ff. 288<sup>v</sup>-665), copied by Ἰωακείμ Μβούτας around 1534 <sup>(34)</sup>. Both manuscripts have a rather corrupt text. Cod. *Vat. gr.* 696 <sup>(35)</sup> (197 ff.) of the 12<sup>th</sup> century transmits only the first book, but offers a better text. A very late copy of this manuscript, cod. *Vat. gr.* 1945, was made by Francesco Gozzadino in 1650 <sup>(36)</sup>.

(30) Cf. CARUSO, *Per l'edizione*, pp. 276-281; stemma codicum on p. 283.

(31) The question of this 'originale messinese' was extensively expounded by MERCATI, *Per la storia*, pp. 64-79.

(32) G. DE ANDRÉS, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Biblioteca nacional*, Madrid, 1987, pp. 78-81. For this ms. and *Vat. gr.* 1426 see also MERCATI, *Per la storia*, pp. 64-70 and CARUSO, *Per l'edizione*, pp. 250-253.

(33) For this ms. and the cod. *Matr.* see also MERCATI, *Per la storia*, pp. 64-79 and p. 178; CARUSO, *Per l'edizione*, pp. 250-253. For the copyist see P. CANART, *L'écriture de Georges Basilikos. De Constantinople à la Calabre en passant par Venise*, in *The Greek Script in the 15th and 16th Centuries (National Hellenic Research Foundation. Institute for Byzantine Research. International Symposium, 7)*, Athens, 2000, pp. 165-191 (reprinted in P. CANART, *Études de paléographie et de codicologie*, II [ST, 451], Vatican City, 2008, pp. 1235-1261).

(34) MERCATI, *Per la storia*, p. 178, but with the name read Τοῦμβουτα (M. VOGEL & V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance (Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 33)*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 165 read Τοῦμβουτσα). The reading Μβούτας is that of the RGK, III A.

(35) R. DEVRESSE, *Codices Vaticani graeci: codices 604-866 (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti)*, Vatican City, 1950, pp. 172-173.

(36) Cf. the title on f. 1: ΒΙΒΛΟΣ / ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟΥ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΩΣ / Περιέχουσα Ἐκθεσιν τῆς Ἱστορίας τῆς γενέσεως / Ἀντιγραφείσα, καὶ διορθωθείσα, παρὰ Φραγκίσκου Γοζαδίνου ἐκλεκτοῦ ἐπισκόπου / Ζακύνθου καὶ Κεφαλληνίας, / Προστάγματι / Τοῦ ἐξοχωτάτου Καρδινάλειω Αἰωνοσίου Καπωνίου / τοῦ τῆς ἐν Οὐατικάνῳ ἀρχιερατικῆς / Βιβλιοθήκης Βιβλιοθηκαρίου / Ἐτει ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνοάρκου / Οἰκονομίας, αχ'. P. CANART, *Codices Vaticani graeci: codices 1745-1962 (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manus scripti recensiti)*, Vatican City, 1973, p. lxxvii has some doubts about this date.

In the eastern, Byzantine branch there is one important witness, the cod. *Par. gr.* 1277, a composite manuscript<sup>(37)</sup> that transmits on ff. 83-196, in a codicological unit from the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>(38)</sup>, only the first book and the first 39 chapters of the second book, but with a seemingly better text (cf. *infra*). At various instances, this manuscript has a more complete version of the text and a different division of the chapters. The other manuscript of this branch is a 16<sup>th</sup> century epitome (*Vat. gr.* 1768 copied ca. 1583-1585 by Nicephorus Chartophylax, one of Lollino's copyists<sup>(39)</sup>), most probably based on a lost Patmos manuscript<sup>(40)</sup>. The author of this epitome was more or less loyal to the text and did not really change it by paraphrasing, but rather by selecting sentences and even smaller textual units. Sometimes he transposed those fragments; now and then he provided small transitions between different parts to ensure unity. Thus some chapters are quoted almost in their entirety, while some other parts of the text are represented through a few crucial sentences; yet other parts are simply omitted.

#### Previous (partial) editions

A. MAI in *PG* 120, 1292-1296 (originally in his *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, VI, Rome, 1853, p. 542 ss.):

first chapter and the closing paragraph of book I under the name of 'John, deacon of the Great Church of Constantinople'

(37) Very summary description in H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des départements*, Paris, 1898, pp. 284-285. See also P. VAN DEUN, *Maximi Confessoris Opuscula exegetica duo* (CCSG, 23), Turnhout - Leuven, 1991, pp. xc-xci and B. JANSSENS, *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Thomam una cum Epistula secunda ad eundem* (CCSG, 48), Turnhout - Leuven, 2002, pp. LXXIII-LXXV.

(38) Cf. CARUSO, *Per l'edizione*, p. 297. Filippo Ronconi was so kind as to inspect the manuscript (for which I would like to thank him wholeheartedly) and confirmed a dating in the (later) 13<sup>th</sup> century.

(39) P. CANART, *Codices Vaticani graeci: codices 1745-1962*, pp. 94-96. Cf. *RGK*, III, no. 493.

(40) The first part of the mss (ff. 1-146<sup>v</sup>) is a copy of the Ps.-Caesarius text of a particular Patmos mss. (Johannou cod. 161, ff. 156<sup>r</sup>-306<sup>v</sup>: see R. RIEDINGER, *Pseudo-Kaisarios. Überlieferungsgeschichte und Verfasserfrage* (Byzantinsches Archiv, 12), München, 1969, pp. 43-49.) There is also a description in the catalogue of most precious manuscripts of Patmos that matches the (epitome of?) *De Oeconomia Dei* (no. 32 in that catalogue in MERCATI, *Per la storia*, pp. 128-133).

E. MILLER, *Bibliothèque royale de Madrid. Catalogue des manuscrits grecs (Supplément au catalogue d'Iriarte)*, pp. 29-57:

pinax of both books and chapter 41 of book II ('Υπόσχεσις τῶν μελλόντων ἔτι ῥηθεῖναι περὶ τῶν χρησίμων τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δόγματι), based on cod. *Matr. gr.* 4591

S. CARUSO, *Echi della polemica bizantina antilatina*, pp. 403-431:

II, 182 Περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα τοῦ νομικοῦ

II, 183 Περὶ τοῦ ἀζύμου, ὅτι ἔφαγε τοῦτο ὁ Χριστός, καὶ τοῦ Μυστικοῦ Δείπνου

II, 190 Περὶ τῶν ἀζύμων

II, 191 Διατί τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξ ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου, καὶ οὐχὶ ἄλλου τινός

II, 201 Περὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνου ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος

#### General contents

The title of *De oeconomia Dei*, as transmitted in *Vat. gr.* 696, 1426, 1945 and *Matr. gr.* 4591 presents the work as an inquiry into divine economy, the way Christians should live, and a refutation of heresies<sup>(41)</sup>. That last part on the Christian life and against heretics, however, seems to be lost, or maybe it was never written. A particular chapter<sup>(42)</sup> hints at five books, but the work in its transmitted state consists only of two books<sup>(43)</sup>.

These two books deal with the first Adam and his fall, and Christ, the second Adam, who restored the fall. Significantly chapter I, 1, which by means of an introduction, gives an overview of God's *οἰκονομία* towards men from the Creation until the Incarnation, could also be regarded as the introduction to book I and II. Its title (*Τίς ὁ σκοπὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς πρώτης τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πλάσεως καὶ τῆς δευτέρας ἀναπλάσεως διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*) could thus be regarded as subtitle for books I and II. This is exactly what happened in *Vat. gr.* 1768, where it is used as the title of the epitome of books I and II.

The first book (263 chapters) comments the creation of man (and Adam in particular) and his fall, more or less sticking to the chronology of Genesis. In the second book 40 chapters discuss the particular con-

(41) Περὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τέλους οἰκονομίας τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τον ἀνθρωπῶν ἱστορία ἐπωφελής, καὶ περὶ τῆς χριστιανικῆς πολιτείας ὅπως συνέστη, καὶ κατὰ πάντων τῶν αἰρετικῶν.

(42) Chapter II, 41. Edition by E. MILLER, cf. *supra*.

(43) Cf. CARUSO, *Per l'edizione*, pp. 261-264.

stitution of the new Adam from an Christological and Trinitarian point of view, and finally another 162 deal with the life of Christ and evangelical exegesis. In this part the structuring principle is the synoptical chronology of the gospels (44).

Within book I, two sections can more or less be discerned: the chapters 1 - ca. 163 (45) deal with the creation of man (c. 1-30), the trees in paradise and their significance (c. 31-87), the temptation, and the fall (c. 88-163). In the other section (c. 164-245), Nilus dwells upon the garments of skin (Gen. 3, 21) which, as a symbol of the human condition after the fall, are the reason for a lengthy treatment of the bodily, but especially of the spiritual constitution of man. Only at the very end of the second book he resumes the thread of the history of Genesis with comments on the expulsion of Adam and Eve (from ca. c. 255 to the end).

With regard to the sources two authors are clearly predominant, notably Gregory of Nyssa with his *De opificio hominis* (CPG 3154) and Nemesius' *De natura hominis* (CPG 3550 - especially used in the second part of book I). Other frequently quoted authors and works are *Quod deus non est auctor malorum* by Basilius (CPG 2853), the homilies of Chrysostom on Genesis (CPG 4409 and 4410), the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* and the *Quaestiones et dubia* by Maximus the Confessor (CPG 7688 and 7689), and the Damascene's *Expositio Fidei* (*De fide orthodoxa*; CPG 9043). That last work is of special importance to Nilus' treatment of paradise, as John's chapter on it is almost completely used in short dispersed quotations, and as ideas from it underpin entire sections of the *De oeconomia Dei*. Moreover, the very structure of the *De Oeconomia Dei*, the history of salvation centred on the first and second Adam, is similar to the structure of the *Expositio Fidei*. Thus it seems that Nilus did not only integrate quotations from this work in his own treatise, but also a great deal of its purpose (46).

(44) A more complete overview of the contents of the whole work and the authors quoted can be found in CARUSO, *Per l'edizione*, pp. 267-276.

(45) For a more detailed outline of this part of book I, see S. NEIRYNCK, *Nilus Doxapatres' De Oeconomia Dei. In search of the author behind the compilation*, in A. RIGO & P. ERMILOV (eds.), *Byzantine Theologians. The Systematization of their own Doctrine and their Perception of Foreign Doctrines* (*Quaderni di Néa Pólyon*, 3), Rome, 2009, pp. 51-69.

(46) Cf. VASSA CONTICELLO, *La « Fonte della conoscenza » tra conservazione e creazione*, in S. CHIALÀ & L. CREMASCHI (eds.), *Giovanni di Damasco. Un padre al sorgere dell'Islam. Atti del XIII Convegno ecumenico internazionale di spiritualità ortodossa, sezione bizantina* (Bose, 11-13 settembre 2005), Bose, 2006, pp. 177-203.

### Modern evaluations of De Oeconomia Dei

That last feature, the work being largely based on other works, often also through quotations, did not really arouse modern enthusiasm for the work, in contrast to Gozzadino's mainly positive appreciation in his preface to the 'edition' in Vat. gr. 1945. He stresses — to be sure, at a time when ancient texts were much less readily available than they are for modern scholars — the convenience the work can have for the reader as a collection of useful insights.

In modern times, the more or less biblical chronology of the work led Ehrhard to describing it as 'eine katenenartige Gesamtdarstellung (47)'. Beck stressed the scale of the work, calling it the work of a *Summist* (48): on a grand scale, but without much originality (49).

Laurent used a comparable terminology ('une vaste somme théologique') but went further by speaking of 'une tendance très nette au plagiat, particulièrement discernable dans l'œuvre théologique' (50). Gerhard Podskalsky classifies Nilus under the humanistic and dialectic theologians, the theologians who devoted themselves to a theology in which reason and dialectics could play a role, contrary to the more mystical (and later on, Palamite) approach (51), but nevertheless does not credit Nilus with any ability for methodical reflection (52).

(47) In KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte*, p. 209.

(48) H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinische Reich* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII, 2, 1), München, 1959 (= 1977), p. 619.

(49) BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinische Reich*, p. 620: 'Ist die Selbständigkeit seiner Leistung auch nicht groß, so besticht er doch durch die Größe seines Planes'.

(50) LAURENT, *Doxapatris*, col. 770. In fact he expanded the accusation of plagiarism in the case of the *nomocanon* to the considerable use of quotations in the *De Oeconomia Dei*.

(51) One of the main motives of Podskalsky in his writings is to counterbalance the (according to him, one sided) continuing stress of the orthodox churches on the less 'humanist' currents in theology: see G. PODSKALSKY, *Von Photios zu Bessarion. Der Vorrang humanistisch geprägter Theologie in Byzanz und deren bleibende Bedeutung* (*Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa*, 25), Wiesbaden, 2003, pp. 13-15. Cf. G. PODSKALSKY, *Entwicklungslinien des griechisch-byzantinischen theologischen Denkens (bis zum Ende der Turkokratie)*, in *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 47 (1998), pp. 34-43.

(52) 'Ohne die geringste methodische Reflexion hebt sich die theologische "Summe" des Nilos Doxopatres nur durch ihren stofflichen Umfang von vergleichbaren Homilien oder Katechesen ab' G. PODSKALSKY, *Theologie und Philoso-*

All these judgements, mainly based on the lack of originality in the modern sense, did not help to make the *De Oeconomia Dei* an eagerly awaited research subject.

## 2. ON *DE OECONOMIA DEI*, CHAPTER I, 40

### Index fontium

Greg. Naz., Or. 38 = Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Oratio 38 (In Theophaniam - CPG 3010)*

ed. C. MORESCHINI : *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 38-41 (SC, 358)*, Paris, 1990, pp. 104-149

Greg. Nyss., *De opif. hom.* = Gregorius Nyssenus, *De opificio hominis (CPG 3154)*

ed. E. MORELLUS : *S. P. N. Gregorii Nysseni opera quae reperiri potuerunt omnia*, Paris, 1638, reprinted in PG 44, 123-256

Joh. Dam., *Expos.* = Johannes Damascenus, *Expositio fidei (CPG 8043)*

ed. B. KOTTER : *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, II (Patristische Texte und Studien, 12)*, Berlin - New York, 1973

Porphyrius, *Contra Christianos*, fr. 42

ed. A. VON HARNACK : *Porphyrius, Gegen die Christen, 15 Bücher: Zeugnisse, Fragmente und Referate (Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1916.1)*, Berlin, 1916

Severianus, *Homilia in cosmogoniam* 6 (CPG 4194)

ed. PG 56, 484-500

Leont. Neapol., *Vita Symeonis* = Leontius Neapolitanus, *Vita Symeonis Sali (BHG 1677 ; CPG 7883)*

ed. L. RYDÉN : *Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis*, Uppsala, 1963

Soph. Hier., *Vita Mariae Aegypt.* = Sophronius Hierosolymitanus (Sp.), *Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae (BHG 1044 ; CPG 7675)*

Ed. AASS April, reprint PG 87.3, 3697-3726

### a. Context within *De Oeconomia Dei*

As the title of chapter 40 states, it is concerned with the διπλοῦν ξύλον, i.e. the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. In chapter 34 (Περὶ

*phie in Byzanz. Der Streit um die theologische Methodik in der spätbyzantinischen Geistesgeschichte (14./15. Jh.), seine systematischen Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung*, München, 1977, p. 118.

τοῦ ξύλου τῆς γνώσεως) this theme is introduced with a quotation/paraphrase from Nyssa's *De opificio hominis* (the last part of chapter 19 ; PG 44 197, 20-30). In fact, the chapter quoted in chapter 33 (with observations on the food in paradise and the Tree of Life) is continued, exactly at the point where Gregory comes to the Tree of Knowledge. This tree (and its fruit) has both good and bad aspects, and because of this possibly dangerous mixture God prohibited the eating of it, while the snake tempted Eve into eating it. Nilus adds that this tree does not produce any bodily food, because in paradise/heaven man is like an angel (cf. to Mt 22, 30 / Mc. 12, 25).

In chapter 35 a first theory on the Tree of Knowledge is given. The knowledge provided to Adam by the eating is the knowledge of his own nature, a knowledge which is good for the τέλειοι, but not for those who did not yet reach spiritual perfection (paraphrase of *Expositio fidei* 25, 55-60 in which the Nazianzene's Oration 38, 12, 13-18<sup>(53)</sup> is hinted at). After Creation there were fruits so powerful as to give that knowledge (a very physiological explanation in a quote of Nemesius<sup>(54)</sup>), which is good indeed when it is understood as a sign of God's greatness (an idea expressed in *Expos.* 25, 55-57), but bad when it leads to the φροντίς for the own body that diverts man from God (quote of *Expos.* 25, 60-62 and something that seems to be a paraphrase of Nemesius<sup>(55)</sup>). That same idea is confirmed by Maximus' interpretation of Prov. 25, 17<sup>(56)</sup> and another interpretation by 'Nilus' of a verse of Proverbs<sup>(57)</sup>. The chapter is concluded with a few more quotations from John the Damascene. They express that God wanted man to be ἀπαθής and ἀμέριμνος (*Expos.*

(53) The same passage is also transmitted as *Or.* 45, 7, PG 36 632-633 (*In sanctum Pascha*), but as this oration lacks a real critical edition, only *Or.* 38 is referred to.

(54) NEMESIUS, *De natura hominis*, ed. M. MORANI (BSGRT), Leipzig, 1987, p. 6, 22-24.

(55) NEMESIUS, pp. 6, 25 - 7, 4. The paraphrase presents the interest for the body as opposed to God and godly νοήματα, whereas Nemesius writes, less explicitly, on the opposition of care for the bodily vs. care for the spiritual (... ἵνα μὴ ... τῆς σωματικῆς ἐπιμεληθῆι χρείας καταλιπὼν τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς πρόνοιαν ...).

(56) MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Quaestiones et dubia*, 149 : the friend you should not visit too often is the human body.

(57) In most cases, quotations from Evagrius Ponticus are attributed to Nilus Ancyranus. So far, I have been unable to identify the exact source of this quotation.



25, 25-38, referring to Luc. 10, 41), γυμνός and not ashamed (*Expos.* 25, 22-24, paraphrased).

A second theory<sup>(58)</sup> is explained in chapters 36-37. In chapter 36, paraphrasing parts from the Damascene (*Expos.* 25, 54-55.76-78.84-87), our author explains that this knowledge is insight in the human constitution, but that the 'pleasurable food' (ἐνήδονος βρώσις) is the cause of all evil, because it kills the soul and introduces mutability (ρέυσις) and, eventually, mortality. All in all, Nilus seems to be adding a monastic and ascetical tinge in his stress on the dangers of the bodily and pleasure, slightly more pronounced than in Saint John's text.

In chapter 37 the positive effects of insight in nature are highlighted. They can lead man to God, and make him God-like and immortal. This θέωσις by ascending to the Creator through the created is induced with a quotation/paraphrase of *Expos.* 25, 71-74.79-84. The danger of the sensible food is also restated: it satisfies the perishable and makes mortal whoever eats it.

After this overview of the context of ch. 40<sup>(59)</sup> it is obvious that Nilus is using the text of chapter 25 of the *Expositio fidei* as a direct source here: almost the whole chapter was used in chapters 34-37, but put in another order and with 'personal', rather monastic touches added (the explicit disapproval of the bodily, or the reference to θέωσις). Also the at times very physiological treatment (how the ρέυσις was caused by the eating of the fruit) in c. 40 could be inspired by what Saint John says at the end of his c. 25 with an allusion to Matth. 15, 17 / Marc. 7, 18b-19a<sup>(60)</sup>. Another important point for the understanding of c. 40 is that in c. 35 through the quotation of *Expos.* 25, 55-60 a passage of Oration 38 of Gregory of Nazianzus is quoted<sup>(61)</sup>. This passage is quite crucial for

(58) Cf. ἔτι in the title of chapter 40, or the ἐπανάληψις τῆς δευτέρας θεωρίας in the title of that chapter in RGVM.

(59) Chapters 38 and 39 are less relevant for the content of c. 40. Chapter 38 is concerned with the fig leaves in Gen. 3, 7, and c. 39 gives an analogy between the fruits of the Tree of the Cross, understood as the Holy Mysteries (communion), and the Tree of Knowledge: the manner in which they are received determines their effects.

(60) JOH. DAM., *Expos.*, 25, 84-86: φυσικῶς γὰρ ἡ αἰσθητὴ βρώσις τοῦ ὑπεκρεύσαντός ἐστιν ἀναπλήρωσις καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρώνα χωρεῖ καὶ φθορὰν καὶ ἀμήχανον ἀφθαρτον διαμένειν τὸν αἰσθητῆς βρώσεως ἐν μετουσίᾳ γινόμενον.

(61) GREG. NAZ., *Or.* 38, ed. C. Moreschini, discours 38, 12, 10-18: Τὸ δὲ ἦν τὸ ζύλον τῆς γνώσεως (...) καλὸν μὲν εὐκαίρως μεταλαμβάνόμενον (...) οὐ καλὸν δὲ τοῖς

Nilus (the fall was caused by the untidy eating of an Adam still unfit for the knowledge), and reappears in c. 40. Lastly, there is also the more remote but not unimportant influence of Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis*.

## b. Prolegomena to the commentary

In what follows, the sources of Nilus for his 40<sup>th</sup> chapter are investigated. To avoid 'bloße' Quellenforschung, not only quotes or paraphrases of one 'classical' work or another (these are indicated in the apparatus of the text) are singled out, but also the 'real' sources are tried to be found: which texts might be known to Nilus directly, and which ones more probably through some intermediate source? In trying to determine direct sources there is at least one criterion with a degree of probability. If parts of a possible source are also used elsewhere by Nilus in the *De Oeconomia Dei*, it is possible to assume it also was the source in this chapter.

Moreover, the aim is to show that these sources are not at all mindlessly copied, but re-used to function in a new text with its own concerns and goals. In this respect, the 'contemporaneity' of the work will be highlighted by situating it against its background (as far as possible to reconstruct), i.e. the intellectual horizon of a 12<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine monk — be he writing in Sicily<sup>(62)</sup> — by indicating possible parallels or by comparing some passages or ideas with contemporaneous texts and authors. Although most of the sources have a respectable age, they function in a text that was meant for 12<sup>th</sup> century readers with 12<sup>th</sup> century preoccupations, even if Nilus is very often 'hidden' behind the quoted and highly respected Tradition. It is very probable that Nilus' text, one way or another, was influenced by contemporary theology, i.e. exegesis of the Scriptures and the Fathers.

ἀπλουστεροὶς ἔτι καὶ τὴν ἔφεσιν λιχνότεροισι, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τροφή τελεία λυσιτελής τοῖς ἀπαλοῖς ἔτι καὶ δεομένοις γάλακτος (cf. 1 Cor. 3, 2 and 1 Petr. 2, 2). Cf. p. 292-293.

(62) Although there are some 'Sicilian' features in the work (see CARUSO, *Per l'edizione*, p. 271 for mentioning Sicily in chapter 214 and p. 274 for a possible proof of Nilus knowing Latin), the *De Oeconomia Dei* rather seems to be product of a really Byzantine education, received in Calabria or maybe even in the capital. Cf. the conclusion p. 294.

## c. Contents of c. 40 : outline

In this chapter the ideas developed in chapters 36-37 (mostly taken from the Damascene) are elaborated in closer connection to Or. 38, 12 where Gregory of Nazianzus, by stating that Adam did not eat at the right moment (*εὐκαίρως*), underlines the fact that the tree was not evil by nature, nor that God did envy man the knowledge<sup>(63)</sup>. The individuality of Nilus consists in his combining Gregory's rather general, rhetorical and slightly poetic statements in the sermon with a very precise physiological explanation, based on the doctrine of the four elements/humours, of why the eating of the fruit had such disastrous consequences and why this would not have happened at a later time, when Adam would have reached *θέωσις*. Even if it is not unusual to describe the Fall and especially deification and salvation in a more physical and medical language<sup>(64)</sup>, Nilus goes rather far in elaborating that approach.

The broad outline of the chapter is as follows. Adam could eat of the tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil (cf. Gen. 2, 9) *εὐκαίρως*, i.e. when he would have been mature enough<sup>(65)</sup>. This is substantiated with the fact

(63) This closer connection with Gregory is confirmed in c. 48 where the idea of the knowledge for the perfect only is expressly linked with the Theologian.

(64) J. GROSS discusses the (apparently) 'realistic' and 'physical' theory of deification in Irenaeus of Lyons, Methodius of Olympus, Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa : see J. GROSS, trans. P. A. ONICA, *The Divinization of the Christian according to the Greek Fathers*, Anaheim, CA, 2002, resp. pp. 124-162 [150-152 in the original French publication of 1938], 156-157 [195-197], 171-172 [212-214], 222-225 [281-285] and 184-186 [231-233]. Cf. N. RUSSELL, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition (Oxford Early Christian Studies)*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 105-110 passim, [no separate treatment of Methodius], 185-187, 202-203 and 229-230. — The medical image as used in orthodox tradition was expounded by J.-C. LARCHET, *Thérapeutique des maladies spirituelles. Une introduction à la tradition ascétique de l'Église orthodoxe*, Paris, 1997. Very relevant for our theme is e.g. the chapter I, 2 'L'origine première des maladies. Le péché ancestral' (pp. 39-48) or III, 1 'Le Christ médecin' (pp. 287-309).

(65) The idea of Adam still being immature, either in a state between mortality and immortality, either mortal, but still capable of becoming immortal, is an idea that can be found e.g. in the work of Clement of Alexandria, Theophilus of Antioch, or Irenaeus, as an argument to take the edge of Gnostic views. See H. ALTHAUS, *Die Heilslehre des heiligen Gregor von Nazianz (Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie, 34)*, Münster, 1972, pp. 67-70 ; also RUSSELL, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition* : for Clement p. 124 ; Theophilus, pp. 103-105 and

that after his resurrection, Christ, the second Adam, could eat without ruining his post-resurrection perfection. This argument is further supported by the parallel of a Symeon the Fool of Emesa, the popular saint who led an ascetic life of a rather unusual, urban form<sup>(66)</sup>. He did not damage his *ἀπάθεια* by eating (or other rather unascetical actions) as he was in such an advanced stage of saintly perfection. Then Nilus provides a (double) physiological explanation : God created man with a very ingenious constitution in which the four elements (which neutralize each other) are mixed in the right manner, and likewise he made sure the body was not too heavy (or thick, *παχύς*) in order not to hinder the 'light' spirit. When Adam ate, however, he added some of the elements and thus changed the mix, which eventually was destroyed. The eating of something physical also added something 'thick' and caused the spirit to be dragged down.

That last part of this explanation gets an explicit 'perfect' counterpart (Christ after resurrection had become pure 'light' spirit, just as Mary the Egyptian - another popular ascetic saint - in her *ἀπάθεια* was free from all *παχύτης*), but it is not mentioned explicitly how a perfect Adam would have been able to keep stable the mix of the elements while adding more of one element. In the same way it is not made perfectly clear if the problem after the Fall was that the mix (i.e. the body) was destroyed and that the spirit had no more place to live, or that the *παχύτης* thickens, blinds and obstructs the spirit.

Despite these remarks that come to the modern mind, Nilus tries to give a consistent and remarkably precise and physical explanation of the Fall.

## d. Commentary

## Title

The combination *διπλοῦν ξύλον* is rare (only attested in Ephraem Syrus<sup>(67)</sup>, as it seems without connection with this text) but it is the usual term in *De Oeconomia Dei* to indicate the Tree of Knowledge of

Irenaeus, p. 108. It became a wide spread idea and is thus also to be found in e.g. the afore mentioned 38<sup>th</sup> Oration of Gregory of Nazianzus (§ 11).

(66) Life by Leontius of Neapolis, cf. p. 278.

(67) *Democratia* HEMMERDINGER-ILIADOU, *Sermon grec inédit de S. Éphrem sur le bon larron*, in AB, 85 (1967), pp. 429-439. The combination is found twice at pp. 433-434.

Good and Evil. The beginning of the chapter is the same in all manuscripts but in the title and the chapter ending there is a difference between the two branches. In the western branch the chapter is slightly longer<sup>(68)</sup>. Maybe this is a mistake due to titles written in the margin that do not provide a clear chapter ending within the text<sup>(69)</sup>.

In the title the stress is on the question of evil, but in fact only the first part of the chapter is dedicated to refuting the idea that God is the author of evil or an envious God. The rest of the chapter dwells implicitly on the consequences of human free will, the traditional answer to the problem of evil.

#### Text

The first paragraph presents the three assertions that will be rejected: that the tree was evil by nature, that God forbade to eat of it out of envy, and that it was a useless tree if man could not eat of it.

The first two assertions are found in the Nazianzene's *Or.* 38, but its presence in an oration of Stethatus<sup>(70)</sup> indicates that this idea also circulated around the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

On a micro level, there is the combination *ἐνήδονος βρώσις* (l. 2) which occurs also in the *Expositio fidei* 25, 76, i.e. in the chapter which almost certainly served as a basis for Nilus in numerous chapters on this subject. The same pair is also used in a poem on the *Hexaemeron* attributed to Psellus<sup>(71)</sup>, in which similar themes are treated (Adam, the Fall,

(68) It continues 'Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ γνώσις τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐκλήθη, δηλοῦντος τοῦ ὀνόματος, ὅτι ἡ τοιαύτη γνώσις καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ φυτόν σχέσις καὶ διάθεσις', but this seems already part of the next chapter (titled *Διατί γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ ἐκλήθη τοιοῦτον ξύλον*), even if the lack of a verb in that last part of the sentence remains – apart from the question of the authenticity of all titles within the work.

(69) Cf. CARUSO, *Per l'edizione*, p. 279.

(70) In *Or.* 21, 6-7 (NICETAS STETHATUS, *Opusculum et lettres*, ed. J. DARROUZÈS [SC, 81], Paris, 1961, p. 178) he states on the αἰσθησις, which led to the eating of the fruits of the tree: *Οὐδὲ γὰρ κακῶς ἐν ἡμῖν ἡ αἰσθησις ἐφρυτεύθη, οὐδὲ φθονεῶς ἀπηγορεύθη ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν τὸν Θεόν· Ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ βρώσει φαγῆ, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν τε καὶ πονηρὸν οὐ φάγεσθε*. Despite the similarities (because alluding to the same passage of Gregory), generally speaking Stethatus writes in a rather different, more mystical style.

(71) *Poema* 55, v. 100. See the introduction to the poem: PSELLUS, *Poemata*, ed. L. G. WESTERINK (BSGRT), Leipzig, 1992, p. 390 in which Westerink follows Dölger who stated that the language is too vulgar to be Psellus'.

Christ and redemption). It might provide a parallel, but a rather unreliable one, as the elaboration of the themes is very general and the authorship (and by consequence the date) is unsure.

The word *θανατηφόρος* (l. 4) in connection with the tree occurs in two passages of the *In Canticum canticorum* by Gregory of Nyssa<sup>(72)</sup>. It is also found in the 46<sup>th</sup> question of Glycas' *Quaestiones in Scripturam sacram*<sup>(73)</sup>, on why we should keep the days of fasting. In that same passage Porphyry is mentioned as the author of the accusation that the tree itself was evil, an accusation Nilus utters in ll. 4-5. This accusation occurs but late (to the best of my knowledge only in Glycas<sup>(74)</sup>, and in Nilus) and is not included in Harnack's collection of fragments of the *Contra christianos*, neither in the latest edition by Ramos Jurado<sup>(75)</sup>. Most probably this is but a later counterfeit put on the record of Porphyry, who did accuse God of envy in his interdiction to eat of the Tree<sup>(76)</sup>. That accusation of envy occurs also here (ll. 5-6), but it is, strangely enough, not explicitly ascribed to Porphyry, while it does also occur in c. 85 under Porphyry's name, though rather indirectly within a citation from Severianus of Gabala.

Note that Glycas argues that eating of the tree and its fruits is (never) bad as such: by not fasting one would not become unclean, but – much worse – one would violate God's laws. So there is a similar idea being used (Glycas was more or less contemporary with Nilus<sup>(77)</sup>), but in Nilus' argumentation the physical gets a stronger influence on body and mind than for Glycas.

(72) GREGORIUS NYSSENUS, *In canticum canticorum*, ed. H. LANGERBECK (GNO, VI), Leiden, 1960, p. 10, 7 and 11, 3 (prologue; the fruit of the tree was not harmful – *θανατηφόρος* – in itself); 348, 14 and 350, 4 (comm. on Cant. 5, 5 where the Tree of Knowledge is somewhat proleptic called *θανατηφόρον*, since Gregory designates its fruits as containing both good and bad).

(73) MICHAEL GLYCAS, *Εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς κεφάλαια*, I, ed. S. EUSTRA-TIADES, Athens, 1906, p. 32, 4-7.

(74) Also in the 45<sup>th</sup> chapter of Glycas, there is a similar passage, but there the accusation of Porphyry is that the Tree brought dead and ruin.

(75) PORPHYRIUS, *Contra los Cristianos. Recopilación de fragmentos, traducción, introducción y notas*, ed. E. A. RAMOS JURADO, Cadiz, 2006.

(76) Transmitted in SEVERIANUS OF GABALA (fr. 42 HARNACK/fr. 110 RAMOS JURADO).

(77) BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinische Reich*, p. 654. He was an imperial secretary under Manuel Comnenus and involved in a rather famous trial in 1159.

The assertion that God did not create anything of no use (l. 8) could be connected, in a way, with the time honoured-idea that God did not create evil, but this assertion seems to be much closer to an even older general idea, that of God not creating anything in vain (*μάτην*) as found e.g. already in the Aristotelian writings<sup>(78)</sup> or in Epiphanius<sup>(79)</sup>.

In the next paragraph, the positions of the 'adversaries', as presented in the first paragraph, are refuted one by one (be it in a slightly different order), with arguments also expressed in *Or.* 38: nothing is evil by nature, nor did God envy man the eating of the tree, if only at the right moment (ll. 9-15). Then Nilus draws a more complete picture of Adam's (hypothetical) condition if he would have eaten when he was perfect already, mature, and with an adult mind: he would have reached *θέωσις* (obtained by the eating of *τὸ πᾶν ξύλον* - often in the *De Oeconomia Dei* treated as one tree, to be understood as God<sup>(80)</sup>), insight in his own nature, lack of interest in his own body, immortality, and an unbroken union with God (ll. 15-24).

Here Nilus comes closer to the physiological content of his chapter in drawing the parallel between the first Adam after his perfection, and the second Adam after his resurrection (being in a way the completion, the perfection of his godly nature): as in his apparitions after resurrection where Christ is eating<sup>(81)</sup>, the perfect Adam too could eat without doing any harm to his constitution (ll. 21-24). It should be noted that these apparitions, are of importance regarding some Christological issues (c.q. apthartodocetism), but serve here a physiological purpose solely.

The remark on the godly power that shields the risen Christ (ll. 25-26) might be inspired by a passage of the Damascene on the grace that

(78) ARISTOTLE, *De caelo*, I, 4, 271a 33: 'Ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν μάτην ποιοῦσιν.

(79) EPIPHANIUS, *Panarion haereseon* 34-64, ed. J. DUMMER, *Epiphanius*, zweiter Band (GCS), Berlin, 1980 in his refutation of Origen's world view in 39, 5 (p. 460, 23): ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὁ θεὸς ματαίως ἢ χειρόν ἐποίει.

(80) So instead of 'every tree' (Gen. 2, 16), the combination with article leads to the meaning 'the tree of everything', 'the all-tree'. This usage is most probably derived from a passage in GREG. NYSS., *De opif. hom.* (c. 19, PG 197, 4-20: ... Οὐκοῦν ταῦτόν ἐστι τῷ τῆς ζωῆς ξύλῳ τὸ πᾶν ξύλον ...), quoted by Nilus in his chapter 33, and reinforced by passages from another important source as the *Expositio fidei*. (cf. e.g. 25, 52-53: 'Ἀπὸ παντός ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ βρώσει', φησί, 'φάγεσθε: αὐτός γάρ ἐστι τὸ πᾶν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ δι' οὗ τὸ πᾶν.)

(81) Cf. Luc. 24, 41-43 and, however rather vaguely alluded to, Joh. 21, 12-13.

shielded man in paradise before the Fall, but then transposed to the second Adam<sup>(82)</sup>.

In the third paragraph Nilus makes the decisive turn to his slightly idiosyncratic and seemingly original thesis: by a certain type of ascetic perfection 'in the world' that is not at all disturbed (any more) by eating, he illustrates and proofs that eating in itself is not to be blamed for the catastrophe of the Fall. These ascetics are described in a terminology very close to the description of the (hypothetical) perfect and virtuous Adam, who lacks interest for the body, but had instead obtained maturity through fasting, and unity with God. These ascetics are called 'other angels' (l. 30), a typical way to designate them<sup>(83)</sup>, but maybe there is also some influence of *Or.* 38, 11, 14, where Adam is called in this manner, a passage also quoted in *Expos.* 26, 25-35, and alluded to in *Expos.* 25, 49. The remark on how they mix with 'ordinary' people (l. 31) seems already very much applicable to Symeon the Fool, while the quotation of Gen. 9, 3 (l. 33) provides yet another argument for the harmlessness of food in itself.

In one sentence is sketched the essence of Symeon's life (ll. 33-38), possibly influenced by a passage in the prologue of Symeon's *Vita*<sup>(84)</sup>. Nilus gives one example of Symeon's *ἀπάθεια* in a scene (in the bath house<sup>(85)</sup>) that is very close to the *Vita*. The doubts of Symeon's friend John on his own *ἀπάθεια* (ll. 39-41) might as well be connected to the *Vita*, although less clearly<sup>(86)</sup>. The reference to the miracles (ll. 38-39) is

(82) JOH. DAM., *Expos.* 25, 47-48: ... αὐτόν (sc. τὸν θεόν) ἔχων εὐκλεές περιβόλαιον καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ περιβεβλημένος χάριν...

(83) Cf. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Enquête sur les moines d'Égypte (Historia monachorum in Aegypto) (Les moines d'Orient, 4/1)*, Paris, 1964, p. 29, n. 3 for more instances of describing the (early) monastic/ascetic life or aspects of it as ἀγγελικός. Also in later periods a lot of saints are presented as ἄγγελοι ἄλλοι, as reveals a quick search of the TLG database on this combination.

(84) LEONT. NEAPOL., *Vita Symeonis sali*, p. 122: ... ἅπαντες οἱ ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἄνθρωποι οἱ τῷ θεῷ εὐαρεστήσαντες ... ὧν εἷς καὶ οὗτος ὁ πάνσοφος Συμεὼν καθέστηκεν καὶ πολὺ γε τῶν πολλῶν αἰδεσιμώτερος, διότι εἰς τοσοῦτον καθαρότητος καὶ ἀπαθείας ὕψος ἀνέδραμεν, ὥστε διὰ τῶν δοκούντων τοῖς ἐμπαθεστέροις καὶ σαρκωδεστέροις μολυσμὸν καὶ βλάβην καὶ ἐμπόδιον τοῦ πρὸς ἀρετὴν βίου προσγίνεσθαι, διὰ τούτων οὗτος ὁ καθαρῶτατος ὡσπερ μαργαρίτης διὰ βορβόρου ἀμολύντως διώδενσεν, λέγω δὴ διὰ τῆς ἐν πόλει διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀναστροφῆς καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς τοῦ βίου ἀπάτης, δεῖξαι σπεύσας (...) τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ παρεχομένην δύναμιν (...).

(85) LEONT. NEAPOL., *Vita Symeonis*, p. 149.

(86) LEONT. NEAPOL., *Vita Symeonis*, pp. 142-144.

too general to connect with particular miracles in the hagiography. Maybe in this respect it is worthwhile to refer to the popularity and the spread of this *vita*: of Rydén's fifteen main manuscripts of the *vita*, eleven of them date from the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century, five of which have a Southern-Italian origin (next to two with a certain and one with a probable Constantinopolitan origin, and three with an unknown origin<sup>(87)</sup>).

After the parallel with the ascetics, Nilus returns to his physiological purpose. His explanation uses the doctrine of the four humours and some vaguely Aristotelian notions. The Damascene's synthesis on the four humours<sup>(88)</sup>, served most probably as the starting point for his reflections (ll. 44-50). A direct source for his further ponderings in ll. 45-65 on how the unity between those opposite elements was safeguarded by God's skilfulness and accuracy in mixing them, or for the rather detailed and technical metaphor of the builder<sup>(89)</sup> is hard to find. The ideas presented here, as in the *Expositio fidei*, are more or less common-places of the wide-spread, almost canonical Galenism of medieval science. Only their apparition in the context of paradise and Fall is unusual at first sight, although already in the 251<sup>st</sup> question of the *Amphilochia*<sup>(90)</sup> there is a similar passage in which Photius tells that the

(87) Cf. the overview of the manuscripts in RYDÉN's edition, p. 46.

(88) JOH. DAM., *Expos. fid.* 26, 61-70: Χρη εἰδέναι, ὅτι τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα ἐστί· γῆ, ξηρά καὶ ψυχρά· ὕδωρ, ψυχρὸν καὶ ὑγρὸν· ἀήρ, ὑγρὸς καὶ θερμὸς· πῦρ, θερμὸν καὶ ξηρὸν. Ὁμοίως καὶ χυμοὶ τέσσαρες ἀναλογοῦντες τοῖς τέσσασι στοιχείοις· μέλαινα χολή ἀναλογοῦσα τῇ γῇ (ξηρά γάρ ἐστι καὶ ψυχρά), φλέγμα ἀναλογοῦν τῷ ὕδατι (ψυχρὸν γάρ ἐστι καὶ ὑγρὸν), αἷμα ἀναλογοῦν τῷ ἀέρι (ὑγρὸν γάρ ἐστι καὶ θερμὸν), ξανθὴ χολή ἀναλογοῦσα τῷ πυρί (θερμὴ γάρ ἐστι καὶ ξηρά). Οἱ μὲν οὖν καρποὶ ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων συνίστανται, οἱ δὲ χυμοὶ ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν, τὰ δὲ τῶν ζώων σώματα ἐκ τῶν χυμῶν καὶ εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ ἀναλύεται· πᾶν γὰρ συντιθέμενον εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ ἀναλύεται, ἐξ ὧν συνετέθη. These passages also seem to allude to the oppositions between the several combinations of the four elements (cf. our text: 'ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις', 'ἀλλήλων φαρτικά', 'πᾶν γὰρ ἐναντίον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου φθείρεται'), although not explicitly. In itself, the text of John was already inspired by passages of Nemesius.

(89) An allusion to the story of the builder in Matth. 7, 24-27 or Luc. 6, 46-49?

(90) Διὰ τί τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ ἐρπετὰ πεποιήκεν ὁ Θεός; See PHOTIUS, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, ed. L. G. WESTERINK, VI, 1 (BSGRT), Leipzig, 1987, p. 37, ll. 22-35 for the composition of all living beings out of different substances, the harmony of this blend and the possible desintegration.

ideal blend of a body is disturbed if the quantity of one of the humours rises. The description of how the unity of the body was disturbed refers of course, although implicitly, to the Fall, the reason why Adam lost his almost godly status and above all, and on a more 'physical' level, his (potential to) immortality.

Then again he describes how the Creator combined different elements, now focusing on 'heavy' and 'light' elements, and how the *παχύτης* of the body can hamper the spirit. (Note that in contrast to the beginning of the paragraph, where the focus is on the human existence consisting of all four elements, Nilus makes a difference between the body, linked with the 'heavy' water and earth, and the spirit, consisting of fire and air. The same Galenism gets a different, 'platonic' touch here.)

An oration for Lent by Psellus<sup>(91)</sup> provides a rather close parallel in a text that speaks of making the body more light by fasting<sup>(92)</sup> and thus releasing the spirit. Psellus also explicitly mentions the snake that tempted to eat of the Tree.

The idea of fasting that makes the body light, or even makes the body disappear to give way to the spirit, is substantiated in ll. 74-80 with the case of Mary of Egypt<sup>(93)</sup>, who survived for seventeen years on three loafs of bread (ll. 75-77)<sup>(94)</sup> and who, in the reworked version of the life attributed to Sophronius of Jerusalem, once, while praying, was lifted in the air (cf. ll. 74-75)<sup>(95)</sup>. Elsewhere in the *Vita* there is a passage in which the saint explicitly links fasting with keeping the spirit unstained<sup>(96)</sup>,

(91) MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Oratoria minora*, ed. A. LITTLEWOOD (BSGRT), Leipzig, 1985, pp. 1-4, especially ll. 12-38.

(92) Inspired by a passage in the 14<sup>th</sup> oration of the Nazianzene (*Or.* 14, 22, PG 35 885 B).

(93) For all texts relevant to this saint, see BHG 1041z-1044e.

(94) In the section on Mary in the Life of Cyriacus by Cyril of Scythopolis, E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* (TU, 49, 2), Leipzig, 1939, p. 234, a basket of βρεκτά is mentioned; just as in a the passage in Moschus on an anonymous, but very similar saint (PG 87.3, 3049). In the version of Sophronius we find the three loaves of bread explicitly mentioned (PG 87.3, 3716, ll. 28-9), but the seventeen years span of time is less clearly connected to the basket (cf. the whole passage of c. 26-30; PG 87.3, 3716-3717).

(95) SOPHR. HIER, *Vita Mariae Aegypt.*, PG 87, 3708, 64-69: Ὡμνε (sc. abba Zosimas) δὲ, Θεὸν τοῦ λόγου προβαλλόμενος μάρτυρα, ὅτι ὡς εἶδεν αὐτήν (sc. Mary) εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν χρονίσασαν, μικρὸν ἀνακύψας ἐκ τῆς εἰς γῆν κατανεύσεως, ὄρᾳ αὐτήν ὑψωθεῖσαν ὡς ἓνα πῆχυν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῷ ἀέρι κρεμαμένην καὶ οὕτω προσεύχεσθαι.



and this also might have influenced Nilus, as the *Vita* was included in the *Menologion*.

Then Nilus comes to the elaboration of what exactly happened, if not to say went wrong, when Adam did eat of the Tree. The two explanations of the decay of his original state (the perfect blend disturbed, and the light spirit obstructed by the heavy body) complement each other throughout this paragraph.

The eating increased the quantity of a certain element or juice and thus disturbed the harmony of the opposites which kept each other in balance (ll. 81-89). This harmony was even almost destroyed and inevitably dead and sin came into being and caused the need for salvation (ll. 89-91). The wording *δευτέρα ἀνάπλασις*, an allusion to the second creation inspired by St. Paul's *καινή κτίσις* <sup>(96)</sup>, is also used by Psellus in his *Opusculum* 48 <sup>(97)</sup>. It is interesting to see that, in contrast to the ponderings of Glycas on eating (cf. p. 285), for Nilus the food does have harmful effects, unless Adam's constitution would have become more stable after some time.

At the same time the body was also made heavier (ll. 91-93). The effects of these consequences of the Fall are described in two ways. On the one hand the *παχύτης* blinds the spirit, which is the mind's eye, so that it cannot see God anymore (ll. 93-95). On the other hand the (light) spirit is drawn to the earth by that *παχύτης* caused by the food, in which there was a preponderance of earthly and heavy elements (so here the Galenistic theory is touched upon again – ll. 95-100). The image of the blinding is also found in a theological *opusculum* on Gen. 3, 8 by Psellus <sup>(98)</sup>, which our author will quote almost in its entirety in his c. 162. This imagery of the *παχύτης* is used in quite similar wording in c. 18 of the *De opificio hominis* <sup>(100)</sup>, a chapter that is quoted for a very substan-

(96) In 3721, 71-74, being asked by Zosimas to eat at least something: Ἡ δὲ (sc. Mary) δακτύλοις ἄκροις τῆς φακῆς ἀψαμένη, καὶ τρεῖς κόκκους ἀνελομένη, τῷ ἰδίῳ προσήγαγεν στόματι, ἀρκεῖν εἰπούσα τὴν χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὥστε συντηρεῖν τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀμίαντον.

(97) Cf. II Cor. 5, 17; Gal 6, 15 and the passage on creation that is confused, groaning and in pain in Rom. 8, 18-22.

(98) MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Theologica*, I, ed. P. GAUTIER (BSGRT), Leipzig, 1989, p. 183, l. 35.

(99) MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Theologica*, opusc. 72, 101 (*ibidem*, p. 284): ἀπετυφλώθη τὸν νοῦν.

(100) The specific passage is PG 44, 193, ll. 32-37: Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ βαρεῖά τις ἐστὶ καὶ κατωφερῆς ἢ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ῥοπή, πλεῖον τὸ ἕτερον γίνεται μᾶλλον γὰρ τῷ βάρει

tial part in chapter 122 of the *De Oeconomia Dei*. Then Nilus comes back to the original state of man before the Fall, as wished by God (ll. 101-111). Here again pre-Fall and post-resurrection conditions are equated: Adam must have possessed the same *ἀφθαρσία* as the risen Christ. In Glycas' *Quaestiones* we find a remarkable parallel (however, the context is different – his 84<sup>th</sup> chapter deals with the Eucharistic body of Christ) for the body that comes in when the doors are closed, and can escape from the tomb <sup>(101)</sup>. The coming in when the doors are closed is used in Proclus' famous first homily, which had a purely Christological scope <sup>(102)</sup>. This passage was quoted innumerable times in later tradition, so indirectly it must have influenced Nilus. A more physiological interest in that going through physical barriers is already visible e.g. in a homily of Chrysostomus <sup>(103)</sup>, but very likely Nilus' real source was c. 100 of the *Expositio Fidei*, in which John gives an interpretation of the description of the body after resurrection, referring to 1 Cor. 15, 42-44 <sup>(104)</sup>. In its turn

τῆς ἀλόγου φύσεως συγκατασπᾶται τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἥπερ τῷ ὕψει τῆς διανοίας τὸ βαρὺ τε καὶ χοϊκὸν ἀνυψοῦται.

(101) MICHAEL GLYCAS, *Eis τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς κεφάλαια*, II, ed. S. EUSTRAIHADES, Alexandria, 1912, chapter 84, p. 350, 1-15: ἡ (sc. σὰρξ) μὲν γὰρ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερθεῖσα καὶ ἀφθαρτος ἠγέρθη, καθὼς ἐδιδάχθημεν, καὶ λεπτή καὶ κούφη καὶ πνευματικὴ· καὶ λεπτὴ τοσοῦτον ὥστε καὶ ἐσφραγισμένου τοῦ τάφου ἐξελεθεῖν, καὶ τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων εἰσελθεῖν· ἡ δὲ σφραγιασθεῖσα τότε καὶ τῷ τάφῳ δοθεῖσα φθαρτὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἐτύγχανε, ναὶ μὴν καὶ παχεῖα (...). Ἐπειδὴ καὶ γὰρ ἀπήλλακτο πάσης αὐτῆ παχύτητος, ὡς ὁ χρυσοῦς τὴν γλῶτταν φησι (cf. JOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Homiliae in Johannem*, hom. 87, PG 59, 474), πῶς λοιπὸν ἐμφορηθήσεται τις καὶ κρέως καὶ αἷματος;

(102) PROCLUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Oratio prima de laudibus sanctae Mariae* (CPG 5800), PG 65, 684, ll. 5-8: Ἐκεῖνος ἀφράστως ἐγεννήθη, ὁ καὶ τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων εἰσελθὼν ἀκωλύτως οὐ τὴν συζυγίαν τῶν φύσεων ἰδὼν ὁ θωμᾶς, ἀνεκεκράγει λέγων· Ὁ Κύριός μου, καὶ ὁ Θεός μου. (Note 14 of this edition defends the reading 'ἀφθάρτως' although the text reads 'ἀφράστως', while the translation nevertheless gives 'nulla ... corruptione').

(103) JOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Homiliae in Johannem*, hom. 87, PG 59, 474. Cf. n. 101. In this homily on Joh. 20, 24, Chrysostomus describes the body of Christ as follows: Τὸ γὰρ οὕτω λεπτὸν καὶ κούφον, ὡς κεκλεισμένων εἰσελθεῖν τῶν θυρῶν, παχύτητος πάσης ἀπήλλακτο· ἀλλ' ὥστε πιστευθῆναι τὴν ἀνάστασιν, τοῦτο δείκνυται, καὶ ὥστε μαθεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ σταυρωθεὶς, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἀνέστη.

(104) JOH. DAM., *Εκρος.* 100, 92-98: Πάλιν φησὶν ὁ θεὸς ἀπόστολος· Δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν, καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν, καὶ πάλιν· Σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ, ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ· σπείρεται ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δυνάμει· σπείρεται ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ· σπείρεται σῶμα ψυχικόν'

this passage of the Damascene is cited by Glycas in two similar passages<sup>(105)</sup>.

Nilus concludes his chapter with a typical ascetic-monastical idea: he proved with this chapter that the concern for the body is evil, but repeats the thesis that the physical food was not bad in itself (ll. 112-115). The example of Symeon was a good example of this: with an ascetic attitude, he could still eat without danger for his saintly way of life.

That relativity of good and evil, depending on the attitude of man towards the tree, will be the more philosophical theme of the next chapters. Chapters 41-48 are rather epistemological and deal with different types of knowledge, more in particular with good knowledge, that is spiritual and stays with God, and a bad type, that is concerned with worldly and material affairs as a value in itself. Chapters 59-53 are an elaboration of the idea that the evil of the fruit was not absolute and explore how some handlings of the materiality result in good, and other in evil.

#### e. Conclusion to the commentary: sources of the chapter and background of the author

When we closely examine his sources, it is almost certain that Nilus, as in many other instances in his work, used parts of the *Expositio Fidei*, c. q. chapter 26 on paradise, and maybe also part of the 100<sup>th</sup> chapter, on resurrection. This was recognised by the author/copyist of the epitome in Vat. gr. 1768, where at the beginning of what in this compilation corresponds to chapter 40, the title in the margin reads *ἐπιτομή τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ*. There is also a rather clear connection with Gregory's 38<sup>th</sup> Oration (or 45<sup>th</sup>) in the stress on the (un)timely eating, which makes

ἦτοι παχύ τε καὶ θνητόν, 'ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν', ἄτρεπτον, ἀπαθές, λεπτόν τοῦτο γὰρ σημαίνει τὸ 'πνευματικόν', οἷον τὸ τοῦ κυρίου σῶμα μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν κεκλεισμένων τῶν θυρῶν διερχόμενον, ἀκοπίατον, τροφῆς, ὕπνου καὶ πόσεως ἀνευδέες.

(105) MICHAEL GLYCAS, chapter 7, p. 79, 20 - p. 80, 14; chapter 96, p. 456, 16 - p. 457, 15. In both passages he apparently quotes a passage from Isidorus of Pelusium (e.g. ch. 7, p. 80, 3-4: ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνω τῷ παναγίῳ Πνεύματι διοικούμενον (sc. σῶμα), ὡς ὁ Πηλουσιώτης φησὶ θεῖος Ἰσιδωρος) which also seems close to Nilus (ll. 101-102), but I was unable so far to find an exact corresponding passage in the edited works of Isidorus.

acquaintance (in an epitomized version or not) with this oration, in itself already very famous, almost sure. Moreover, Nilus quoted the same theory, together with Gregory's name, in his c. 38.

From the text it is very clear that Nilus knew the *Vita* of Symeon and that he was acquainted with elements from the hagiographical tradition on Mary the Egyptian, but it is difficult to see the use of very widespread and well-known hagiographical themes in terms of quoting a direct source. From the passages similar to the work of authors as Photius and Psellus<sup>(106)</sup> we might induce that Nilus knew the more recent theological and scientific issues<sup>(107)</sup>. More specifically his physiological reading of theological texts seems not unusual for his time<sup>(108)</sup>.

Still, the way he thoroughly thinks through the physical phenomena is rather exceptional, as certainly is the combination of notions and examples from very different areas (more general theological reflections on paradise and Fall, scientific theories on the body, hagiography, Christological ideas).

Even if he is not a brilliant and breathtakingly innovative theologian (something which would have been frowned upon), Nilus at times asks very realistic and rather unusual questions that mainstream theology of his time did not ask<sup>(109)</sup>, at least as far as we know from other works of this period in Byzantine theology, rather neglected by scholars. In the two books of his work we possess, he is not writing polemics (or not mainly in any case<sup>(110)</sup>), however he apparently intended to dedicate a

(106) There are also real quotations from Psellus. In c. 162 his *Theologicon* 72, 21-138 is quoted, and in c. 4 (only preserved in the eastern branch) a passage from *Opusc.* 19 quoted [MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Philosophica Minora*, II, ed. J. M. DUFFY & D. J. O'MEARA (BSGRT), Leipzig, 1989, p. 89, ll. 27-33].

(107) Cf. also the similarities with Glycas, pp. 285-286 and 291.

(108) Maybe it is not completely irrelevant to see a connection with the rationalist tendencies which A. P. KAZHDAN & A. W. EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Berkeley, 1985, pp. 158-163 discern?

(109) Also at this point he seems similar to Glycas. Cf. P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel Komnenos, 1143-1180*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 370-372 and pp. 375-376.

(110) Cf. the chapters in book II edited in CARUSO, *Echi della polemica bizantina antilatina*, even if these seem destined rather for 'internal' Greek use. Nilus plainly expounds the Greek views without elaborate and explicit polemic against the 'Latins' as he does at various instances with e.g. the Bogomils or the Armenians, although this also seems to be a secondary phenomenon, and not the main concern of his first two books.

considerable part of his work to the refutation of heretics<sup>(111)</sup>), but he tries to give a more or less systematic overview of the orthodox faith viewed through the angle of the history of salvation. Also the extensiveness of his work, with quotations that surpass the average length in more common theological writing<sup>(112)</sup>, and his awareness of the more recent scholarly debate might provide him with a place among the intellectuals of his days. All these elements could indicate a Constantinopolitan or Calabrian origin as, in this period in which in Sicily the Greeks only recently were again in a position to fund expressions of Greek culture as books and churches<sup>(113)</sup>, a native Sicilian writing a work of this calibre would be unlikely.

This paper went rather traditional ways of *Quellenforschung* and authoriality, even when the relation to the sources was viewed in a rather dynamic, "authorial" way, and authorship was approached somehow differently, due to the phenomenon of tradition and reception. In any case, the exploration of the rest of the work, in which there are sometimes passages that correspond even less to the modern sense of original authorship, and could easily be viewed as mere quoting, should be carried on, with the edition as an obvious first step.

(111) Cf. the title, n. 41.

(112) Of course, chapter 40, by its lack of a clear sole source, its short quotations and the bulk of vague allusions is not a good example of this phenomenon. In contrast, in the beginning of book I even complete chapters of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis* are quoted.

(113) Cf. P. CANART, *Le livre grec en Italie méridionale sous les règnes Normand et Souabe : aspects matériels et sociaux*, in *Scrittura e civiltà*, 2 (1978), pp. 103-162 for the 'revival' of Italo-Greek culture under the Normans (see especially the conclusion pp. 157-159) and G. CAVALLO, *La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria*, in G. CAVALLO et alii (eds.), *I bizantini in Italia*, Milan, 1986, pp. 542-581. See also S. LUCA, *I Normanni e la 'rinascita' del sec. XII*, in *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 60 (1993), pp. 1-91, who (rather justly) does not want to overrate the 'renaissance' quality of that revival. (p. 89: 'Dunque, dalla visuale bizantina l'epoca normanna, più che un rinascimento, costituisce una appendice, importante e vivace quanto si voglia, ma pur sempre una continuazione quasi nostalgica dell'età bizantina, alimentata dagli italogreci dell'ultima generazione.') For the Greek population on Sicily more in general, and its 'rise' and rather quick decline under the Norman rule, see VERA VON FALKENHAUSEN, *The Greek Presence in Norman Sicily: the Contribution of Archival Material in Greek*, in: G. A. LOUD & A. METCALFE (eds.), *The Society of Norman Italy (The Medieval Mediterranean, 38)*, Leiden - Boston - Cologne, 2002, an article exemplary of the many publications on this subject by von Falkenhausen.

Furthermore, the critical examination of the readership and the function of the work is a path to follow, a path that will very probably lead to the background of the relatively short blossoming of Italo-Greek culture on Norman Sicily in the twelfth century.

### 3. CHAPTER I, 40 : EDITION AND TRANSLATION

#### a. Conspectus siglorum

- R = Vat. gr. 696, s. XII, ff. 38<sup>v</sup>-41<sup>r</sup>  
 G = Vat. gr. 1945, a. 1650 (?), ff. 45<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>r</sup>  
 V = Vat. gr. 1426, ca. 1534, ff. 322<sup>v</sup>-324<sup>v</sup>  
 M = Matr. gr. 4591, ca. 1547, ff. 28<sup>v</sup>-30<sup>r</sup>  
 P = Par. gr. 1277, s. XIII, ff. 106<sup>r</sup>-107<sup>r</sup>  
 L = Vat. gr. 1768, 1583-1585, ff. 162<sup>r</sup>-163<sup>r</sup>

#### b. Some remarks on the edition of ch. 40

All manuscripts are included in the apparatus, except L. Even if G is a *codex descriptus*, this copy provides marginal corrections and emendations by Gozzadino for words he underlined in the body of the text (sometimes he just underlined a problematic reading without offering an emendation). These corrections can be interesting for the text, or for the background of its copyist. Also the number of manuscripts is concise enough not to burden the apparatus when given in full. The emendations of G are indicated 'G<sup>margin</sup>'. In general, lesser divergences and errors in the orthography as word division and iotacism are also given, in so far as they result in another possible relevant grammatical form (e.g. l. 44 *κατανοήσωμεν*, or l. 57 *ἐξ ἀνάγκης* as the more classical form 'restored' in G), or if they might shed light on the relationship between manuscripts (e.g. in title: *ἡμῖ* R, which apparently stood in the subarchetype as it resulted in *ἡμῖν* in V and M, which is very probably in the reading of the 'originale messinese').

From the apparatus it will be immediately clear that RGVM are a separate family, as the errors *φύσιν/φησιν* (for *φύσει*) in l. 5, *οὐδὲ* (for *οὐδὲν*) in l. 12, *τῆς* (for *τοῦ*) in l. 73 and *ὑδατος* (for *ἀέρος*) in l. 99. Next to that there is a considerable number of shared *variae lectiones*: already the title is different in this family, and furthermore there are many instances in which this family has a proper word order. V and M agree

frequently against R and G : normally the reading of MV should be that of the lost Messina codex. See the following errors : ἡμῖν for εἰ μὴ (title), τὴν σωματικὴν for τῶν σωματικῶν (ll. 28-29), ἀνάλυτος for ἂν ἄλυτος (l. 85), ὑπομνής (l. 103) ; and the *variae lectiones κατανοήσομεν* (l. 44), οἰκοδομήσαντος (l. 65). They each also show individual errors : V reads φυτουθῆναι (title), συνίσταν (l. 47), λευτότατον (l. 78), ἐνοπρίζεσθαι (l. 80) ; whereas M reads ἔλεγχον (title), ἐκ τοῦ παντελεῆς (ll. 14-15), τέσσαρα (l. 48), ὑπὲρ νικάς (l. 55) and πρὸς τῇ (l. 100).

The affinity between R and G is especially clear from their agreement against the above mentioned errors of VM. They also share the reading καὶ κατὰ φύσιν in the title, maybe the best illustration in this chapter of G being a copy of R.

L is not included in the apparatus, as it would rather burden the apparatus with indications of where it follows the text or not. In general it is relatively close to P : against the above mentioned errors, where L gives the text (i.e. in ll. 5 and 12), it agrees with P. It agrees also in the passage in ll. 14-15 where RGVM is corrupt (εἰς τὸ παντελές). In several *variae lectiones* it agrees with P (e.g. κατὰ τὸ περισσόν l. 9, word order in l. 12, ἰμάτιον in l. 26, αὐτὸ l. 82, word order in l. 82). Twice it agrees in *variae lectiones* with RGVM : ἐνωθεὶς τῷ θεῷ in l. 20 and the word order in l. 100.

Individual errors are πεφρουμένου (l. 109), individual readings are ἀπὸ τοῦ παντός ξύλου (l. 16), δι' αὐτοῦ ἀναστάσεως (ll. 22-23), ἀσκητῶν (l. 27), εἰργάσαντο (l. 29), ἠβούλετο (l. 101), κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν (l. 113) and προσγίνεται (l. 115).

The manuscript that remains is P, on which the edition is mainly based. The reason for taking P as a privileged witness is that, generally speaking, it has better readings than RGVM, also in quotations where the sources can offer criteria to judge the variant readings. As already mentioned, P supplements lacunae of various degrees, ranging from a few words to several chapters (fragmentarily confirmed by L), and it also divides some chapters differently and even more logically.

The errors of RGVM in this chapter are exemplary of this phenomenon, with as most striking instance ὕδατος (l. 99), which can, by no means, be interpreted as a 'light' element, in contrast with air. In l. 12 οὐδέν avoids repetition of the idea that the tree is not superfluous as already expressed. Furthermore, δὴ (l. 9) and ἑαυτὸν (l. 34) are more than just equivalent *variae lectiones*. Finally there are minor readings of

P which still result in a slightly better or more elegant text : λίαν καλὸν καὶ εὐχρηστον (l. 13) keeps both adjectives together, αὐτῷ ἐνωθεὶς (l. 20) avoids repetition, the extra καὶ ('even' - l. 37) stresses even more the peculiarity of the saint's behaviour, αὐτὸ (l. 82) again avoids repetition, and ἐκ τούτων (l. 85) is perhaps slightly more specific when talking of a unity created from several constituents.

There is only one small omission by P (l. 90, but there is some blank space which suggests that the copyist wanted to indicate that he omitted something unreadable) and an orthographic divergence (not found elsewhere in the TLG), where the reading of RGVM is adopted (l. 64).

## c. Edition

Ἔτι περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ διπλοῦ ξύλου), καὶ κατὰ τῶν οἰομένων κακὸν εἶναι τὸ διπλοῦν ξύλον, καὶ ὡς περισσῶς φυτευθέν.

Ἄλλ' ἐπαναληπτέον τὸν λόγον εἰς τὸ προτεθὲν θεώρημα τῆς σωματικῆς ἐνηδόνου βρώσεως ἣν εἶπον τινὲς εἶναι τὸ ἀπηγορευμένον διπλοῦν ξύλον, καὶ δεικτέον ὡς μάτην πεπλάνηται ὁ ἄφρων Πορφύριος λέγων κακὸν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον ξύλον ὡς θανατηφόρον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αἰτιώμενος τὸν φυτεύσαντα Θεὸν ἢ, εἰ καλὸν φύσει ἦν, ἐφθόνησεν λοιπὸν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς τοῦ καλοῦ μεταλήψεως. Ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶν ὅτι περισσὸν ἦν τὸ φυτευθῆναι αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ εἰ μὴ ἔμελλεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος μεταλαμβάνειν, καὶ ἵνα τί τὸ περισσὸν ἐφύτευσεν ὁ Θεός;

Πρὸς οὓς δὴ φαμέν ὅτι οὔτε φύσει κακὸν ἦν τὸ φυτὸν οὔτε κατὰ τὸ περισσὸν ἐφυτεύθη ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν καλόν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκπερισσοῦ φυτευθέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκ φύσεως εἶχε τὸ κακὸν οὐδὲ αἰεὶ ἦν κακὸν οὔτε περισσὸν ὄλωσ. Οὐδὲν γὰρ κακὸν ἢ περισσὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός, ἀλλὰ κάκεινο ὡς ἐκ Θεοῦ φυτευθέν καὶ λίαν καλόν καὶ εὐχρηστον ὡς εἵπομεν, ἢ δὲ παρὰ καιρὸν χρήσις αὐτοῦ κακὴ καὶ ὀλέθριος καὶ θανάσιμος. Οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἐκωλύετο ἢ τούτου χρήσις, ἀλλὰ πρὸς καιρὸν τινά. Εἰ γὰρ

titulus, 1-2 Ἔτι ... φυτευθέν] ἐπανάληψις τῆς δευτέρας θεωρίας τοῦ διπλοῦ ξύλου καὶ ἔλεγχος τῶν οἰομένων καὶ κατὰ φύσιν (suppl. κακὸν G<sup>ms</sup>) εἶναι τὸ ξύλον τοῦτο καὶ περισσῶς φυτευθῆναι εἰ μὴ (ἡμί R) ἔμελλε λαμβάνειν αὐτὸ ὁ ἄνθρωπος RG; ἐπανάληψις τῆς δευτέρας θεωρίας τοῦ διπλοῦ ξύλου καὶ ἔλεγχος (ἔλεγχον M) τῶν οἰομένων κακὸν φύσιν (κακῶν φύσι) V εἶναι τὸ ξύλον τοῦτο καὶ περισσῶς φυτευθῆναι (φυτουθῆναι V) εἰ μὴ ἡμῖν ἔμελλε λαμβάνειν αὐτὸ ὁ ἄνθρωπος VM

textus, 4 τὸ] iteravit R<sup>corp</sup> | ξύλον] κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν add. RGVM  
5 φύσει] φύσιν R; φησὶν GVM 5-6 ἐφθόνησεν λοιπὸν] λοιπὸν ἐφθόνησεν RGVM 6 καλοῦ] καλλοῦ R 8 ἐφύτευσεν ... Θεός] ὁ Θεὸς ἐφύτευσεν RGVM 9 δὴ] om. RGVM | οὔτε ... κατὰ] οὔτε τὸ περισσὸν V | φύσει] φύσι) P; φύσιν RGM (φύσει G<sup>ms</sup>) | φυτὸν] τοιοῦτον praem. RGVM 9-10 κατὰ ... περισσὸν] τὸ περισσὸν RG; περισσὸν M 11 οὔτε] ἢ M 12 Οὐδὲν] οὐδὲ RGVM | περισσὸν<sup>2</sup>] καὶ μάτην add. RGVM | ἐποίησεν ... Θεός] ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησεν RGVM 13 καλόν ... εἵπομεν] ἦν καλόν ὡς εἵπομεν καὶ εὐχρηστον RGVM 14-15 εἰς ... παντελὲς] ἐκ τὸ παντελὲς R<sup>corp</sup>V; ἄν τὸ παντελὲς G; ἐκ τοῦ παντελὲς M

textus, 4 Cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 38 12, 10-11 = Or. 45 632, 41 5-6 Cf. Porphyrius, frag. 42 Harnack [Sever. Gabal., Hom. in Cosm. 487] 9-14 Cf. Greg. Naz. Or. 38, 12, 10-18 = Or. 45 632, 40 - 633, 3 10 Gen. 1, 31 13 Gen. 1, 31

## d. Translation

Once again on the same (sc. the twofold tree) and against those who think the twofold tree to be evil, and created superfluously.

But we have to pick up the thread and go [back] to the explanation already set out on the physical/bodily fruit of delight that some said to be the forbidden twofold tree, and we have to show that the senseless Porphyry is idly erring when he pretends this tree is evil, being fatal, and that, by doing so, he accuses God who planted it. Or if this tree is good by nature [he argues], then God begrudged man partaking in the good. Others say the planting of this tree in paradise was superfluous if man was not to take it, and [they go on] to what end did God plant the superfluous?

To [all] these we reply that this tree was not evil by nature, nor was it begotten superfluously, but it was, on the contrary, begotten as very good and not superfluously planted, for it did not have evil in it by nature, nor was it evil at any time or completely useless. God indeed did not create anything bad, or useless and in vain, but this also, for it was begotten out of God, was very good and useful, as we said before. It is the premature use of it which was bad, destructive and fatal. The use of it was not forbidden altogether, if only in due time. If Adam had waited



ἀνέμεινεν ὁ Ἀδάμ καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀρκούντως φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς ξύλου ὃ  
 ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἀθανατισθῆναι καὶ θεωθῆναι διὰ τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἐνώσε-  
 20 ως, ἔκτοτε κατεσκέψατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, οὐκ ἂν ἐφρόντισε τῆς τοῦ  
 σώματος συστάσεως, ὡς ἤδη τέλειος γενόμενος καὶ ἀθάνατος, οὐδὲ  
 περιεσπίασθη καὶ ἐχωρίσθη τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἅπαξ αὐτῷ ἐνωθεὶς καὶ Θεὸς κατὰ  
 χάριν καὶ ἀθάνατος γεγονώς. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ εἰ ἔφαγεν ἔκτοτε σωματικὴν  
 βρώσιν ἐφθάρη ἂν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς μετὰ τὴν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνα-  
 στάσεως ἀθανασίαν τῆς σαρκός, ἔφαγε κατ'οἰκονομίαν ἐνώπιον τῶν  
 25 μαθητῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ διατοῦτο ὑπέπεσε τῇ φθορᾷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυμνὸς ὢν οὐκ  
 ἔδωκε γυμνός, ὑπὸ τῆς θείας αὐτοῦ σκεπόμενος δυνάμεως· τίς γὰρ  
 ἔδωκε τῷ Χριστῷ ἀναστάντι ἱμάτιον;

Ἄλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀσκησάντων, μεθ' ὃ τὴν ἀρετὴν τελείως  
 κατῴρθωσαν, καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐδίδαξαν πάντων καταφρονεῖν τῶν σωμα-  
 30 τικῶν, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀπαθὲς ἀπειργάσαντο διὰ τῆς πολυχρονίου ἀσκήσε-  
 ως, καὶ τῷ Θεῷ ἠνώθησαν, τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀξιοθέντες φωτός, ἄγγελοι ἄλλοι  
 γεγονότες ἐπίγειοι, τότε καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανειμίγνυντο καὶ τῶν  
 σωματικῶν ἀδεῶς μετελάμβανον. Τὰ γὰρ ἡδύτερα τῶν βρωμάτων καὶ  
 παχύτερα ἔκτοτε ὡς λάχανα χόρτου αὐτοῖς ἐλογίζοντο. Καὶ τίς τοιοῦτος  
 35 ἀσκητῆς μέγιστος Συμεὼν ὀνομαζόμενος, ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἔγνω τῆς ἀπαθείας  
 εἰς τὸ ὕψος ἤδη ἐληλακότα, μωρίαν ὑποκρινάμενος καὶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον  
 παραγενόμενος, καὶ αὐταῖς ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἀδεῶς συνανεστρέφετο, καὶ  
 ποτε καὶ γυμνὸς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον ἐν ᾧ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐλούοντο  
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν παρεβλάβη ἐκ τούτου. Μυρία γὰρ ἀσυμφανῶς ἀπειργάσατο  
 40 θαύματα ἀλλ' ὁ συνασκῶν αὐτῷ Ἰωάννης οὐκ ἐτόλμησε τῆς ἡσυχίας  
 ἐκστῆναι καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι ποιῆσαι, ὅτι οὐπω ἔγνω ἑαυτὸν φθάσαντα εἰς  
 τοιαύτην ἀπάθειαν.

20 αὐτῷ ἐνωθεὶς] ἐνωθεὶς τῷ Θεῷ RGVM 26 ἱμάτιον] τὰ ἱμάτια RGVM  
 28 πάντων] πάντη RGVM 28-29 τῶν σωματικῶν] τὴν σωματικὴν VM  
 30 ἄλλοι] om. V 34 ἀσκητῆς μέγιστος] μέγιστος ἀσκητῆς RGVM 34-35  
 ἑαυτὸν ... ἐληλακότα] ὡς ἔγνω αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὕψος ἤδη τῆς ἀπαθείας ἐληλακότα  
 RGVM 37 καὶ] om. RGVM 38 ἀπειργάσατο] ἀπηργάζετο RVM; ἀπειργάζε-  
 το G 41 τοιαύτην] τὴν τοιαύτην RGVM

17 Cf. Greg. Nyss., De opif. hom. 197, 18-19 20 Cf. Greg. Naz. Or. 38 12, 23-  
 24 = Or. 45 633, 8-10 21-24 Cf. Lc. 24, 41-43; Joh. 21, 12-13 33 Gen. 9, 3  
 36-38 Cf. Leont. Neapol., Vita Symeonis Sali p. 149, 3-18 39-41 Cf. Leont.  
 Neapol., Vita Symeonis Sali p. 142, 28

until after he had eaten enough of the 'All tree' - which means God -  
 and until after he was made immortal and godly through the union with  
 God, then he would have perceived his own nature. He would not have  
 been worried about his physical constitution nor, being perfect and  
 immortal already, would he have drawn himself away from God and sep-  
 arated himself from Him, because he was at once made one with God,  
 and had become God and immortal by grace. And if he had eaten earth-  
 ly food after this, he would not have perished, because even Christ, after  
 his immortality due to the resurrection of the flesh, ate by means of  
 condescension in front of his pupils, and by doing so, he did not  
 succumb to ruin/death, but even being naked, he did not seem naked,  
 being sheltered by his divine power; for who should have given  
 clothing to the risen Christ?

Many of them who practised asceticism here, after they achieved  
 virtue completely, both taught their mind to despise all things bodily,  
 and made their body dispassionate by their lasting asceticism. They  
 were united with God, worthy of the divine light, and became new  
 earthly angels. Then they also mixed up with people and partook with-  
 out restraint in the bodily, for they regarded the sweeter and thicker  
 food as being the 'green herb'. Someone, that great ascetic called  
 Symeon, because he recognized that he had reached the highest dispas-  
 sion, feigned madness and went into the world. He even associated with  
 women without restraint, and once he went naked into the bath where  
 the women washed themselves, but he was not harmed by this. For  
 secretly he accomplished countless miracles, while his fellow ascetic  
 John did not dare to leave the solitude, and to do something like that,  
 because he recognised not having reached yet such degree of dispas-  
 sion.

Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἔδει τὸν Ἀδὰμ πρὸ τοῦ ἀθανατισθῆναι αἰσθητὴν βρῶσιν  
 φαγεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου κατανοήσομεν· ἡ γὰρ σωματικὴ αὕτη καὶ αἰσθητὴ  
 βρῶσις ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων πάντως ἐστί, καὶ πάντες οἱ καρποὶ ἐκ  
 45 τούτων εἰσίν. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν καρπῶν οἱ τέσσαρες χυμοὶ γεννῶνται καὶ  
 συνίστανται. Ὁ οὖν Θεὸς ὡς ἐν πᾶσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ σώματι τοῦ  
 ἀνθρώπου ἤνωσε τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις εἰσὶ  
 καὶ διατοῦτο ἄμικτα, ὡς καὶ οἱ ἀναλογοῦντες τούτοις χυμοὶ· ἐναντίον  
 γὰρ τῷ θερμῷ τὸ ψυχρὸν, καὶ τὸ ξηρὸν τῷ ὑγρῷ, καὶ διατοῦτο ἀλλήλων  
 50 εἰσὶ φθαρτικά. Πᾶν γὰρ ἐναντίον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου φθείρεται, ἀλλ' ὁ  
 Θεὸς ὡς σοφὸς καὶ δυνατὸς ἤνωσε ταῦτα τὰ ἐναντία, καὶ συνέσχευεν ὡς  
 ἦδει, καὶ συνέχοντο ἀλλήλοις ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ  
 σώματι. Εὐκρᾶσιαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησε διὰ τῆς προσηκούσης καὶ  
 ἀρμοδίου ἐνώσεως ὡς μήτε τὸ θερμὸν ὑπερνικᾶν μήτε τᾶλλα τῶν  
 55 λοιπῶν. Ἀναλόγων δὲ πάντων ὄντων, συνετηρεῖτο ἡ ἔνωσις ἀδιαίρετος.  
 Ἐξανάγκης γὰρ τοῦ ἐνὸς πλεονάσαντος, ἡ ἔνωσις διασπᾶται καὶ τὰ  
 ἠνωμένα διίστανται καὶ ἡ τῷ σώματι ἐνοικοῦσα ψυχὴ ἐξίσταται, μὴ  
 ἔχουσα ὅποι καὶ ἐνοικήσειεν. Ὡσπερ γὰρ εἴ τις διαφόρων εἰδῶν καὶ  
 60 μᾶλλον ἀκαταλλήλων ποιούμενος ἔνωσιν, εἰ βούλεται τι ἐν ἐκ τούτων  
 συνίστασθαι, ἀρμοδίαν ποιεῖται τὴν ἀπάντων μίξιν ἐκείνων, ἵνα μὴ  
 ἀσύστατον εἴη τὸ γινόμενον. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ οἰκοδόμος, εἰ βούλεται οἰκίαν  
 κατασκευάσαι, ἀνάλογον ποιεῖται τὴν μίξιν τοῦ πηλοῦ καὶ τῶν λίθων  
 καὶ τῶν χαλίκων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, καὶ ἀπλῶς ἐμμέτρως ἐκάστη κέχρη-  
 65 ται ὕλη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς οἰκοδομήματος σύστασιν, εἰ μὴ βούλεται  
 εὐδιάλυτον καὶ σαθρὸν ἀποτελεσθῆναι τὸ οἰκοδόμημα. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ  
 Θεὸς ἀνάλογον τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων μίξιν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ  
 ἐποίησατο σώματι, ἐνὸς ἐκάστου στοιχείου ποσότητα τῇ τοῦ ἄλλου  
 ἀρμοδίως συγκεράσας, διὰ τὸ μόνιμον, ἅμα καὶ κοῦφον ποιεῖν τὸ τοῦ

43 κατανοήσομεν] κατανοήσωμεν VM 43-44 ἡ ... βρῶσις] ἡ γὰρ σωματικὴ  
 καὶ αἰσθητὴ αὕτη βρῶσις RGVM 46 συνίστανται] συνίσταν V 47 τέσσαρα]  
 τέσσαρα M 49 τῷ ... ψυχρὸν] τὸ θερμὸν τῷ ψυχρῷ G<sup>acc</sup> 53 αὐτοῖς ... Θεός]  
 ὁ Θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἐνεποίησε RGVM 54 ἀρμοδίου] ἀρμοδίας RGVM [ὑπερνικᾶν]  
 ὑπερνικᾶς M [τᾶλλα] τ'ἄλλα RGVM 56 Ἐξανάγκης] ἐξ ἀνάγκης G  
 58 ὅποι] ὅπου RGVM 60 συνίστασθαι] συστήσασθαι RGVM 62 κατα-  
 σκευάσαι] κατασκευᾶσαν R<sup>acc</sup> VM 63 χαλίκων] χαλύκων P 64 οἰκο-  
 δομήματος] οἰκοδόμησαντος VM 65 οἰκοδόμημα] οἰκοδόμη M 66 τῶν] τὴν  
 praem. RGVM 68-69 ποιεῖν ... σώμα] τὸ σώμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ποιῶν RGVM  
 (ποιεῖν G<sup>mat</sup>)

45-50 Cf. Joh. Dam., Expos. 26, 59-70

That Adam could not eat of the sensible fruit before his becoming  
 immortal ; also from this we shall learn : that bodily and sensible fruit  
 proceeds completely from the four elements and all fruits proceed from  
 them. From the fruits the four humours spring and they are composed  
 from them. God then, as in all things, likewise in the body of man, uni-  
 fied the four elements. These are mutually opposed and hence not  
 intermingling, as are also the juices analogous to them. For the cold is  
 opposite to the heat, and the dry to the liquid, and therefore they are  
 destructive one of another. Every opposite is destroyed by its opposite,  
 but God, as he is wise and mighty, unified those opposites and con-  
 strained them as he could, and they were maintained together, in the  
 human body as in other bodies. God made a proper mixing in them by  
 the proper union of what is fitting, in order that neither the heath nor  
 anything else should prevail. As all things were proportionate, the unity  
 was preserved undivided. If one thing expands, necessarily, the unity is  
 torn apart and the things made one, now part, and the spirit, who lives  
 in the body, departs, because it has nowhere to live in. It is just as some-  
 one who makes a unity out of different and even incongruous forms : if  
 he wants to make something united out of these, he makes the mixture  
 of all these things fitting, in order that the result will not be without  
 cohesion. A builder, for instance, if he wants to construct a house,  
 makes proportionate the mixture of cement, stones, pebbles and the  
 like, and he uses every material in a simply proportionate way for the  
 sake of the constitution of the one structure, if he does not want the  
 structure to end up easily dissolvable and unstable. Likewise God also  
 made a proportionate mixture of the four elements in the human body,  
 blending fittingly a quantity of each element to a quantity of another  
 for stability's sake. He made the human body at the same time light and

70 ἀνθρώπου σώμα, καὶ λεπτότατον ἵνα διὰ τε τῆς ἄνω φερομένης ψυχῆς  
 διὰ τὸ ἄϋλον, καὶ τῶν ἀνωφερῶν στοιχείων, τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τοῦ πυρός,  
 ἀναφέρηται ὅλως ἄνω, καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον διὰ τῶν κατωφερῶν στοιχείων,  
 τοῦ γῆς δηλαδὴ καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ τῆς τούτων παχύτητος, συγκαθέληκη  
 καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κάτω, καθὼς τινὲς τῶν ἀγίων ἐκ νηστείας καὶ τήξεως  
 75 τοῦ σώματος παντελῶς τῷ ἀέρι ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀπηώρητο, ὡς ἡ Αἴγυ-  
 πτία ἐκείνη Μαρία ἢ τοῖς τρισὶ μόνοις ἄρτοις χρόνον ὀκτωκαδέκατον  
 ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διαβιβάσασα καὶ ἔκτοτε τὸν ὅλον χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς  
 ἐν νηστείᾳ διανύσασα. Ἔτι λεπτότατον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐδημι-  
 ουργήθη, ἵνα μὴ ἐμποδίσῃ τὸν ἄϋλον νοῦν διὰ τῆς ὑλικῆς παχύτητος  
 80 πρὸς τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἄϋλα ἐνοπτρίζεσθαι.  
 Εἰ οὖν ἐν τῇ παρὰ Θεοῦ ἐνώσει τῶν στοιχείων εἶαον ὁ Ἄδὰμ τὸ σῶμα  
 καὶ οὐκ ἐπάχυνεν αὐτὸ διὰ τῆς βρώσεως τῆς αἰσθητῆς, καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν  
 τῶν στοιχείων οὕτως καὶ ἐνήλλαξεν ὥστε τοὺς προειρημένους τέσσα-  
 ρας χυμοὺς συμπλακῆναι τῷ σώματι διὰ τῆς τοῦ καρποῦ βρώσεως (ἐκ  
 γὰρ τῶν καρπῶν ὡς εἶπομεν οἱ χυμοί), ἔμεινεν ἂν ἄλυτος ἢ ἐκ τούτων  
 85 ἔνωσις, ὡς τεχνικῶς ἐκ τοῦ τεχνίτου συστάσα. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνος ἠύξησε  
 διὰ τῆς βρώσεως τὴν παχύτητα, καὶ τὴν μίξιν ἠλλοίωσεν, ὡς διὰ τῆς  
 τῶν χυμῶν ἐπειοαγωγῆς πλεονάσαι τὸ θερμὸν ἢ τὸ ψυχρὸν ἢ τί τῶν  
 ἄλλων, ὑπέπεσε τῇ φθορᾷ ἢ πρώτῃ καὶ σοφωτάτῃ καὶ ἔντεχνος σύγκρι-  
 σις τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν διεφθάρη, καὶ οὕτως ἐπῆλθεν ὁ  
 90 θάνατος, διὸ καὶ χρειαί τῆς δευτέρας γέγονεν ἀναπλάσεως. Ἠκολούθησε  
 δὲ τῇ ὀματικῇ βρώσει οὐ μόνον ἢ διαίρεισις τῶν στοιχείων καὶ ἀπλῶς  
 τοῦ συνθέτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ παχύτης τοῦ σώματος, δι' οὗ βαρυνθέντος καὶ  
 παχυνθέντος ὅτε νοῦς ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐσκοτίσθη καὶ οὐκέτι  
 ἠδύνατο τὸ θεῖον κάλλος ἐνοπτρίζεσθαι, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς τὰ κάτω

70 καὶ τῶν] καὶ διὰ τῶν RGVM 71 ἀναφέρηται] ἀναφέρεται RGVM  
 (ἀναφέρηται G<sup>mag</sup>) 72 τοῦ<sup>1</sup>] τῆς RGVM 75 Μαρία] ἡ Μαρία M 76 τὸν ...  
 χρόνον] om. P 77 διανύσασα] διαβιβάσασα RGVM | λεπτότατον] λευτότατον  
 V 77-78 τοῦ ... ἐδημιουργήθη] ἐδημιουργήθη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου RGVM 79 ἐνοπ-  
 τρίζεσθαι] ἐνοπτρίζεσθαι G (ἐνοπτρίζεσθαι G<sup>mag</sup>); ἐνοπτρίζεσθαι 81 αὐτὸ] τὸ  
 σῶμα RGVM | τῆς ... αἰσθητῆς] τῆς αἰσθητῆς βρώσεως RGVM 82-83 τέσσαρας]  
 τέσσαρους (sic) VM 84 ἂν ἄλυτος] ἀνάλυτος VM | ἐκ τούτων] ἐκείνων RGVM  
 88 σοφωτάτη ... ἔντεχνος] ἔντεχνος καὶ σοφωτάτη RGVM 89 τῶν ... καὶ<sup>1</sup>]  
 om. P sed spatium reliquit 94 ἠδύνατο] ἐδύνατο RGM; αἰδύνατο V

74-75 Cf. Sophronius Hier., Vita Mariae Aegyptiaca 3708, 64-69 83-84 Cf. r.  
 44-49 93 Joh. Damasc., Expos. 26, 48-49

thin in order that the body would be lifted up wholly by the spirit, for  
 immateriality's sake, and by the uplifting elements of air and fire, so  
 that it would not also drag down the spirit by the down leading ele-  
 ments, i.e. earth and water, and their thickness, just as some of the  
 saints out of fasting and the diminishing of the body levitated in the air  
 while praying, like Mary the Egyptian who with three loafs of bread  
 only, spent seventeen year in the desert, and from then onwards lived  
 her whole life time through in fasting. Thus the body of man was made  
 very thin, so that it would not hinder by its material thickness the  
 immaterial mind to contemplate the things godly and immaterial.

If Adam had left the body in the unity of the elements it got from God,  
 and if he did not have fatten the body by the sensible fruit (thus chang-  
 ing the unity of the elements : in this manner the four above-mentioned  
 juices got entangled with the body by the eating of the fruit, for the  
 juices, as we said, are out of the fruits), then the unity out of these  
 would have stayed indissoluble, as it was skilfully established by the  
 Craftsman. When Adam by the eating increased the thickness, he also  
 changed the mix, because by the introduction of new juices, the heat or  
 the cold or something else prevailed, and the first skilful and very inge-  
 nious blend of opposites succumbed to ruin, and was almost destroyed.  
 In this way death came upon, and the second creation was needed. Not  
 only followed on the bodily eating the dispersion of the elements and,  
 in sum, the division of the compound, but also the thickness of the body.  
 Because the body became heavy and fat, the spirit, the soul's eye, was

- 95 συγκαθειλεύσθη τῷ σώματι, καὶ πρὸς τὰ γήϊνα, τῶν ἄνω χωρισθεῖσα. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ βρώσις καὶ ἡ πόσις γήϊνος μᾶλλον καὶ ὑδατώδης ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ μετέχει τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κουφοτέρων στοιχείων ἐπ' ἔλαττον, τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βαρυτάτη ἐστὶ καὶ κατωφερής, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ πλέον ταύτης μετέχοντα, ἐπιπλείστον συνεφέλεται πρὸς τὰ κάτω.
- 100 Ἐβούλετο γοῦν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον πνεύματι μόνῳ διοικεῖσθαι καὶ ζωογονεῖσθαι, οὐχ' ὑπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων χυμῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν βρώσεως γεννωμένων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μόνῃς τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ζωογονουμένης καὶ πνεῦμα οὐσίας αὐτὸν συντηρεῖσθαι καὶ συνέχεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ νέου Ἀδάμ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν
- 105 γενόμενον ὡσπερ ἦν τὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως, ἐκτὸς τῆς σωματικῆς βρώσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν χυμῶν μετουσίᾳς καὶ τῆς ἐκ τούτων παχύτητος, πνεύματι μόνῳ διωκεῖτο καὶ ἀπαθὲς ἦν καὶ λεπτότατον, ὡς καὶ τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων εἰσέρχεσθαι, καὶ τοῦ τάφου πεφραγμένου τῷ μεγάλῳ λίθῳ ἐκεῖνῳ ἐξέρχεσθαι, καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ
- 110 μεῖναι ἀφθαρτον.
- Οὕτω πάντοθεν ἀποδέδεικται κακὸν ἢ τοῦ σώματος μέριμνα, καὶ ἡ σωματικὴ βρώσις παρὰ καιρὸν γενομένη τὸν πρέποντα, ὡσπερ καλὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἀβλαβῆ κατὰ καιρὸν τὸν προσήκοντα, ἦτοι μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ἐδραίωσιν καὶ ἔνωσιν ἐξ ἧς ἡ θέωσις καὶ ἡ ἀθανασία ἐπιγίνεται.

95 συγκαθειλεύσθη] συγκαθειλεύσθη V | πρὸς ... γήϊνα] πρὸς ταγήϊνα R ; προσταγή, ἵνα G (προσταγή, ἵνα G<sup>mans</sup>) 98 ἀέρος] ὕδατος RGMV | τοῦτο βαρυτάτη] τοῦ βαρυτάτου M 99 ἐπιπλείστον ... κάτω] ἐπὶ πλέον πρὸς τὸ κάτω συνεφέλεται RGV ; πρὸς τῇ κάτω συνεφέλεται M 101 ὑπὸ τῆς] ἐκ RGVM 102 ὑπὸ μόνῃς] ὑπὸ μόνῃς G ; ὑπομνής VM 105 ὡσπερ] ὡς RGVM 112 τὸν] τὸ RV

107-108 Joh. 20, 19 108-109 Cf. Mt. 28, 2 ; Mc. 16, 3 ; Lc. 24, 2 ; Joh. 20, 1 109-110 Cf. Mc. 16, 19 ; Act. 1, 9

blinded and could not see the godly beauty anymore. It was dragged down together with the body to the things below and to the earthly things, being separated from the things above. For eating and drinking is rather earthly and watery, if it has part altogether in the other more subtle elements, fire and air. Therefore eating and drinking is very heavy and down leading and whatever has a greater part in it, is to the greatest extent drawn to the below. But God wanted man to be inhabited by the spirit only and given life, not by the four elements that sprung from the eating of the fruit, but to be preserved and maintained by the soul only, which was given life by God, and is the immaterial spirit. When the body of the new Adam, Christ, after the resurrection had become like that of Adam before the Fall, exempt from the eating and the partaking in the juices and the thickness caused by them, it was inhabited by the spirit only and it was dispassionate and very thin, so that it could even enter *when the doors were closed*, exit the grave fenced by that big stone, be taken up into heaven, and stay incorruptible.

This way it is proved completely that the concern for the body is bad, as is also the bodily eating that does not happen at the proper moment, just as these things at the proper and fitting moment are good and harmless, i.e. after the settlement in God and the unity [with Him], out of which becoming God and immortality follow.

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#### SUMMARY

The present article wants to bring to the attention of the scholarly world the ongoing edition of Nilus Doxapatres' *De Oeconomia Dei*. A brief *status quaestionis* on the work and life of this 12<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine theologian is followed by a detailed treatment of one particular chapter of *De Oeconomia Dei* (edition, translation and commentary). The commentary especially focuses on possible sources of the work as an indication of the intellectual background of the author, but at the same time also attempts to see the use of patristic material not merely in terms of compiling or quoting. In this way, it tries to suggest a more balanced judgment on the value of this text in particular, and this type of Byzantine theology (post-patristic, non-hesychast and still prior to the major polemics with western Christianity) in general.

PERMANENCES ET MUTATIONS D'UNE SEIGNEURIE  
DANS LA PRINCIPAUTÉ DE MORÉE :  
L'EXEMPLE DE CORINTHE SOUS L'OCCUPATION LATINE

Lorsque l'on évoque Corinthe, les souvenirs d'un brillant passé reviennent à l'esprit : située sur l'isthme qui lie le Péloponnèse à la Grèce continentale et qui sépare les golfes Saronique et de Corinthe, cette cité occupe une place stratégique <sup>(1)</sup> et a connu une histoire mouvementée que ce soit dans l'Antiquité ou à l'époque médiévale lors de l'occupation latine <sup>(2)</sup>. Le passé politique de cette région ayant été déjà étudié <sup>(3)</sup>, notre propos se concentrera sur l'occupation seigneuriale en déterminant les éléments de continuité mais également les facteurs d'évolution à travers les témoignages persistants. En effet, les récentes prospections archéologiques de l'École Américaine permettent de réexaminer l'histoire de cette cité. Alors que les recherches dans ce domaine s'orientent traditionnellement vers les périodes anciennes <sup>(4)</sup>, depuis plus d'une

(1) Cf. *infra*, carte, p. 332.

(2) Dans les sources grecques, le terme de *Latins* prend des sens différents selon la période considérée : reflétant soit l'ensemble des peuples parlant les langues romanes, soit les populations converties au catholicisme romain. S'ajoute à ces nuances, le terme de *Francs* venu au bas Moyen Âge remplacer celui de *Latins* (J. KODER, *Latinoi. The Image of the Other According to the Greeks Sources*, dans C. A. MALTEZOU - P. SCHREINER (éd.), *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII-XV secolo)*, *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenertz o.p.*, Venezia, 1-2 dicembre 2000, Venice, 2002, pp. 38-39).

(3) L'anniversaire de la Quatrième croisade a permis la publication de plusieurs ouvrages collectifs (A. LAIOU (éd.), *Urbs Capta, The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences (Réalités byzantines, 10)*, Paris, 2005 ; I. VILLELA-PETIT (éd.), *1204, La Quatrième croisade. De Blois à Constantinople : éclats d'Empires*, Paris, 2005).

(4) La Corinthe antique inspire les historiens par les nombreuses sources qui y font référence (R. M. ROTHHAUS, *Corinth : the First City of Greece. An Urban History of Late Antique Cult and Religion (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 139)*, Leiden, 2000).

décennie, les archéologues chargés du chantier de fouilles de Corinthe mettent à jour des vestiges de la période franque <sup>(5)</sup>. Du nouveau matériel a été découvert, permettant ainsi de reconstituer la vie de ses seigneurs latins, de la conquête de 1205 jusqu'à la chute de Corinthe aux mains des Grecs à l'aube du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les résultats de ces excavations ne doivent pas pour autant faire oublier les sources plus traditionnelles de type narratif <sup>(6)</sup>, les documents législatifs ou de la pratique <sup>(7)</sup> ayant trait à l'occupation latine, ou encore le témoignage des voyageurs contemporains qui livrent leur version personnelle des faits <sup>(8)</sup>.

Cette étude s'inscrit dans la continuité des travaux historiques portant sur la principauté latine. En effet, à la suite d'Antoine Bon <sup>(9)</sup> qui, à la fin des années 1960, a dressé un tableau de la Morée aux xiii<sup>e</sup> et xiv<sup>e</sup> siècles, d'autres chercheurs ont poursuivi dans cette voie, renforçant par leurs approfondissements la connaissance de cette aire géographique. Toutefois, une étude à la fois historique et archéologique de Corinthe a sa place dans cette dynamique, car elle apporte une eau nouvelle au grand moulin de la recherche sur la Morée.

(5) Les résultats des recherches apparaissent dans *Hesperia, Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*.

(6) Plusieurs versions de la *Chronique de Morée* existent : en ancien français, en aragonais, en grec ainsi qu'en italien. Dans cet article, il sera fait référence aux trois premières : *Livre de la conquête de la princée de l'Amorée, Chronique de Morée (1204-1305)*, J. LONGNON (éd.), Paris, 1911 ; *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea*, A. MOREL-FATIO (éd.), Genève, 1885 ; *The Chronicle of Morea*, J. J. SCHMITT (éd.), Londres, 1904, traduite en français : *Chronique de Morée*, R. BOUCHET (éd.), Paris, 2005. Ouvrages auxquels il faut ajouter les considérations de T. SHAW-CROSS, *The Chronicle of Morea. Historiography in Crusader Greece*, New York, 2009.

(7) Les documents concernant le bas Moyen Âge moréote ont fait l'objet d'une publication importante (*Monumenta Peloponnesiaca, Documents for the History of the Peloponnese in the 14th and 15th Centuries*, J. CHRYSOSTOMIDÈS (éd.), Camberley, 1995). Certains ouvrages plus anciens restent néanmoins incontournables (*Les Assises de Romanie*, G. RECOURA (éd.), Paris, 1930 et plus récemment l'édition critique italienne : A. PARMEGGIANI, *Libro dele Uxanze e statuti delo imperio de Romania, Edizione critica*, Spolète, 1998).

(8) H. DUCHÈNE, *Le Voyage en Grèce. Anthologie du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine*, Paris, 2003.

(9) A. BON, *La Morée franque. Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205-1430)* (*Bibliothèques des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 213), 2 vol., Paris, 1969.



### Une occupation latine durable

Les fondements de Corinthe reposent sur un passé exceptionnel. Ce fut une cité importante et renommée du monde grec antique, qui fut détruite par les Romains, relevée par César et dans laquelle saint Paul fonda l'une des premières églises (10). Si au Moyen Âge, elle devient la capitale administrative et religieuse de l'Achaïe byzantine, son abandon au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle par le stratège de l'Hellade et du Péloponnèse pour Thèbes, révèle le désintérêt progressif pour cette province éloignée (11).

À l'aube du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Corinthe est l'une des premières places fortes attaquées lors de la conquête de la Grèce par les Francs. Sa citadelle, l'Acrocorinthe, est le principal objet de convoitise des seigneurs conquérants. Ils considèrent, et sont pour cela soutenus par la population autochtone, qu'elle est l'une des clefs de la Morée :

« Lors lui fu donné pour conseil que il dust aller tout droit à Corinte pour ce que celui chastel estoit le plus roial de toute Romanie, et que, se il avoit gaaigné celui chastel, que legierement porroit avoir le remenant (reste) dou pays de la Morée » (12).

Tel un verrou, la forteresse apparaît capable d'affaiblir ou de protéger la péninsule : si les chevaliers s'emparent de celle-ci, ils acquerront la supériorité sur toutes les autres places fortifiées. Or, l'Acrocorinthe résiste aux assauts pendant de longues années car les Grecs, retranchés dans la citadelle, tiennent tête aux Francs qui occupent la ville basse (13). Ce phénomène d'opposition, exceptionnel dans l'histoire de la conquête, repose essentiellement sur deux facteurs : le site naturel défensif de l'Acrocorinthe et la puissance de Léon Sgouros (14). Cet archonte grec,

(10) R. ROTHHAUS, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 et suiv. ; A. AVRAMEA, *Le Péloponnèse du IV<sup>e</sup> au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Changements et persistances* (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 15), Paris, 1997, p. 37.

(11) A. BON, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204* (Bibliothèque byzantine. Études, 1), Paris, 1951, p. 160.

(12) *Livre de la conquête...*, *op. cit.*, § 94, p. 31.

(13) G. DE VILLEHARDOUIN, *L'Histoire de la conquête de Constantinople*, J. LONGNON (éd.), Paris, 1981, pp. 129-130.

(14) J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestation à Byzance (963-1210)* (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 9), Paris, 1990, pp. 138-139 ; A. ILIEVA, *Frankish Morea (1205-1262)*, *Socio-Cultural Interaction between the Franks and the Local Population* (Historical Monographs, 9), Athènes, 1991, p. 172.

qui est un notable local (15), organise la résistance de la population autochtone et même après sa mort en 1207, l'opposition animée par un autre archonte se poursuit (16) jusqu'à ce que les assauts répétés et l'usure du siège de l'Acrocorinthe aient raison des derniers rebelles (17). La date de reddition n'est pas connue avec certitude mais il semblerait que Geoffroy de Villehardouin et Othon de La Roche menaient le siège de l'Acrocorinthe lorsque l'empereur les convoqua au parlement de Ravenique en mai 1209. En juin de la même année, lors du traité de Sapientsa conclu entre Geoffroy de Villehardouin et Venise, Corinthe est mentionnée comme l'une des limites territoriales de la nouvelle principauté (18). Enfin, la consécration par le pape d'un archevêché à Corinthe en 1212 est la preuve tangible d'une situation apaisée (19).

En remerciements de services rendus lors de la conquête, Geoffroy de Villehardouin accorde à Othon de La Roche l'Argolide et des droits sur le port de Corinthe (20). Toutefois, il garde l'Acrocorinthe, verrou de la péninsule en tant que fief personnel : elle fait désormais partie du ter-

(15) D. JACOBY, *Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée*, dans *TM*, 2 (1967), p. 421, repris dans *IDEM, Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine* (Variorum Collected Series, 35), Londres, 1975.

(16) A. BON, *La Morée franque...*, *op. cit.*, Paris, 1969, p. 68, n. 3.

(17) N. NIKOLOUDIS, *Λεξικόν τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Πελοποννήσου*, Athènes, 1998, pp. 200-201.

(18) G. L. FR. TAFEL - G. M. THOMAS, *Urkunden zur älteren handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, II, Vienne, 1857 (= Amsterdam, 1964), pp. 96-100.

(19) Les témoignages sur la situation de la Morée au lendemain de la conquête sont peu nombreux, rendant difficile toute appréhension des limites territoriales et des familles installées. En effet, la répartition des terres fournie par la *Chronique de Morée* au lendemain de la conquête est à prendre au conditionnel car la date de rédaction remonte aux années 1225-1228 (J. LONGNON, *Problèmes de l'histoire de la principauté de Morée*, dans *Journal des Savants*, 1946, pp. 156-157 ; D. JACOBY, *La Féodalité en Grèce médiévale*, les « Assises de Romanie » : sources, application et diffusion (Documents et recherches sur l'économie des pays byzantins, islamiques et slaves et leurs relations commerciales au Moyen Âge, 10), Paris - La Haye, 1971, p. 54 ; A. BON, *La Morée franque...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83).

(20) Marino Sanudo Torsello livre cette interprétation des faits : « L'imperator predetto concessa e dono al detto Principe Zuffredo parte d'altri omaggi, che possono esser quelli della Rozia e della Bodonizza, quando il Signor della Rozia Duca d'Attene fu all' acquisto del castel di Coranto, e per esso ebbe Argos e Napoli e 400 Lypero nel Commercio di Coranto, ed è da creder, che per questo fossero obbligati al detto Principe » (Marinos Sanudos Torsello, *Istoria tēs Rōmanias*, E. PAPADOPOULOU (éd.), Athènes, 2000, pp. 104-105).

ritoire du prince de Morée, au même titre que la vallée de l'Eurotas, la Messénie et les conquêtes faites entre 1246 et 1250<sup>(21)</sup>. Or, le sort de la forteresse est à nouveau remis en question au lendemain de la défaite de Pélagonia en 1259 car Corinthe est l'objet de tractations entre les Grecs et les Latins. La cité et d'autres possessions franques entrent dans les donations faites aux Grecs, alors que d'après le *Libro de los fechos*, le capitaine de garnison refuse toute reddition :

« Mais au château de Corinthe, le châtelain qui le détenait ne voulait pas le livrer ni par des privilèges ni par des menaces, disant qu'il préférerait mourir que donner le château »<sup>(22)</sup>.

Corinthe fait ainsi figure de place inexpugnable, car sa situation rend tout siège coûteux en vies humaines et favorise la résistance. Elle compte parmi les possessions de la famille princière, assurant de la sorte une certaine constance malgré le passage de la principauté aux mains des souverains angevins. C'est ainsi que la princesse Isabelle de Villehardouin, à la mort de son mari Florent de Hainaut, peut en faire don en 1301 à son nouvel époux Philippe de Savoie<sup>(23)</sup> qui, en renonçant à la principauté en 1307, laisse les habitants dans le plus grand désarroi<sup>(24)</sup>.

Les difficultés s'aggravent au début de xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle lorsque l'installation des Catalans en Attique, au lendemain de leur victoire de 1311, se conjugue avec l'absence des princes angevins : la situation géographique place Corinthe en première ligne face aux agressions extérieures et la cité est attaquée dès 1312<sup>(25)</sup>. Robert de Tarente reçoit de nombreuses doléances de la part des habitants de la châtellenie dénonçant les attaques répétées du pays par les compagnies catalanes et mentionnant le montant excessif des frais engendrés. Mais, occupé davantage à régler

(21) A. BON, *La Morée franque...*, op. cit., p. 104.

(22) *Libro de los fechos...*, op. cit., § 307 : « Mas el caftiello de Corento, el caftellan que lo tenia non lo quifo dar ni por pregarías ni por menazas, diziendo que mas queria morir que no dar el caftiello ».

(23) A. BON, *La Morée franque...*, op. cit., p. 173.

(24) En 1307, Philippe de Savoie renonce à la principauté de Morée au profit de Philippe de Tarente et se voit octroyer en compensation le comté d'Alba, dans le Piémont (*Livre de la conquête...*, op. cit., p. 402 ; B. GAILLARD, *Les Papes d'Avignon et la maison de Savoie [1309-1409]* [Collection de l'École française de Rome, 247], Paris, 1998, p. 23).

(25) Cf. *infra*, p. 323.

les affaires italiennes que celles de Morée, il n'hésite pas à déléguer son pouvoir à la puissante famille florentine des Acciaiuoli dont le représentant le plus en vue est le sénéchal héréditaire de Sicile, Niccolò Acciaiuoli<sup>(26)</sup>. En 1358, ce dernier reçoit Corinthe à titre de baronnie afin d'en assurer la défense contre les incursions<sup>(27)</sup> et il dispose en outre d'un droit de haute justice<sup>(28)</sup>. Il prend quelques mesures telles que la remise des arriérés fiscaux des habitants<sup>(29)</sup>, la sécurisation du territoire permettant aux vilains en fuite de réintégrer la châtellenie<sup>(30)</sup>, sans oublier l'opération de restauration qu'il mène sur les fortifications de l'Acrocorinthe<sup>(31)</sup>. Ainsi pour un temps, la châtellenie devient la capitale de la Morée, car la puissance de Niccolò Acciaiuoli en fait le véritable maître du territoire, mais lorsqu'il décède en 1365, cette seigneurie est concédée à son fils Angelo<sup>(32)</sup> qui la confie à son cousin Nerio en 1371 afin de la sécuriser en échange d'une somme d'argent.

D'après un état des lieux de la principauté daté de 1377<sup>(33)</sup>, Nerio Acciaiuoli est à la tête d'un tiers des châteaux de la principauté, excep-

(26) A. CARILE, *La Rendita feudale nella Morea latina del XIV secolo*, Bologne, 1974, pp. 47-52 ; C. UGURGIERI DELLA BERARDENGA, *Gli Acciaiuoli di Firenze nella luce dei loro tempi*, Florence, 1962, pp. 203 et suiv. ; É.-G. LÉONARD, Niccolò Acciaiuoli, dans *Dizionario biografico italiano*, Rome, I, 1960, pp. 87-90 ; IDEM, *Histoire de Jeanne I<sup>re</sup>, reine de Naples, comtesse de Provence (1343-1382)*, III, *Le règne de Louis de Tarente*, Monaco - Paris, 1936, p. 2.

(27) La tâche s'avère très difficile car les incursions turques désolent toujours la Corinthie en 1361 (J. LONGNON - P. TOPPING, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle (Documents et recherches sur l'économie des pays byzantins, islamiques et slaves et leurs relations commerciales au Moyen Âge)*, Paris - La Haye, 1969, p. 151 ; J.-A. C. BUCHON, *Nouvelles recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies, fondées à la suite de la quatrième croisade*, II, Paris, 1843, XXV, p. 143).

(28) *Ibidem*, XXV, p. 143.

(29) *Ibidem*, XXVII, p. 155.

(30) *Ibidem*, XXVIII, p. 157 et XXIX, p. 158.

(31) R. CARPENTER - A. BON et alii, *The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town (Corinth. Results of Excavations, 3/2)*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 277.

(32) Plusieurs diplômes confirment Angelo Acciaiuoli comte de Malte et seigneur de Corinthe (J.-A. C. BUCHON, op. cit., XXX, p. 161 ; XXXIII, p. 204 ; XXXV, p. 208).

(33) Antoine Bon opte pour l'année 1377, alors que Carl Hopf date la même liste de fiefs de 1364 (C. HOPF, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Paris, 1873 [= Bruxelles, 1968], pp. 227-230 [« Tables des fiefs de la Morée »] ; A. BON, op. cit., pp. 689-691). La principauté comprend alors cinquante-trois châ-

té ceux du domaine princier, ce qui fait de lui le baron le plus puissant de Morée latine, après le souverain. À ce titre, il mène une politique offensive envers les Catalans du duché d'Athènes et prend le titre de « seigneur de Corinthe et du duché d'Athènes » (34). Bail de la principauté de Morée en 1391, il devient également duc d'Athènes (35) : dès lors, Corinthe n'est plus en position frontalière. Il est intéressant d'étudier les listes de fiefs dressées au cours du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, car elles permettent d'obtenir les limites du territoire de Corinthe, celles-ci variant plus ou moins selon les périodes : du nord au sud la seigneurie s'étend de Vasilika à Agionori et d'est en ouest des monts Géraniens à Saint-Georges de Polyphengos, sans compter les extensions que représentent les dépendances situées en Argolide (36). Une rumeur persistante inclut Corinthe dans la dot de la fille Nerio, Bartolommea, qui épouse en 1384 Théodore Paléologue, despote de Morée (37). En fait, la dot est constituée en numéraire et la cession de la cité, qui ne lui appartient pas, est soumise à condition dans son testament (38). Le seigneur florentin s'éteint à Corinthe en 1394 et, au lendemain de son décès, son territoire couvrant tout le nord-est de la péninsule (39) est soumis aux affrontements entre puissances voisines (40).

teaux dont seize dépendent du domaine princier. Sur les trente-sept restants, Nerio Acciaiuoli en possède douze, soit près du tiers, dont neuf sont en Corinthe.

(34) J.-A. C. BUCHON, *op. cit.*, XLI, p. 223 ; R.-J. LOENERTZ, *Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce, dans Byzantina et Franco-Graeca (Storia e letteratura, 118)*, Rome, 1970, p. 357.

(35) R.-J. LOENERTZ, *Athènes et Néopatras dans IDEM, Byzantina et Franco-Graeca, series altera : articles choisis parus de 1936 à 1969 (Storia e letteratura, 145)*, Rome, 1978, pp. 247-249.

(36) J. H. FIMLEY JR., *Corinth in the Middle Ages*, dans *Speculum*, 7 (1932), p. 489 ; A. BON, *La Morée franque...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 481-484 ; Cf. *infra*, carte, p. 332.

(37) J. CHRYSOSTOMIDÈS, *An unpublished letter of Nerio Acciaiuoli (30 October 1384)*, dans *Βυζαντινά*, 7 (1975), pp. 120-121 ; *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 52, 129, 327.

(38) Francesca peut en hériter à condition que l'héritier légitime ne rembourse pas la somme prêtée en 1371 par Nerio (*Monumenta Peloponnesiaca*, n° 160, p. 315).

(39) En 1394, son pouvoir s'étend de Corinthe à Mégare, et d'Athènes à Thèbes (J. LONGNON, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée [Bibliothèque historique]*, Paris, 1949, p. 331).

(40) J. CHRYSOSTOMIDÈS, *Corinth 1394-1397: Some New Facts*, dans *Βυζαντινά*, 7 (1975), pp. 81-110.

En cette fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, les incursions turques se font de plus en plus pressantes en Morée, attisées par la rivalité gréco-latine des genres de Nerio. En effet, celui-ci a marié ses deux filles à des seigneurs importants : l'aînée a épousé Théodore Paléologue, le despote grec de Morée, quant à la seconde, Francesca, elle est devenue l'épouse de Carlo Tocco, comte de Céphalonie et de Zante. Or, c'est la cadette qui est désignée comme l'héritière universelle (41) et cela ne va pas sans contestations, lesquelles à la fin de l'année 1394 et en 1395 ne font qu'affaiblir un territoire déjà convoité par les Turcs. Finalement, Carlo Tocco, conscient des difficultés causées par un espace aussi exposé, accepte de le céder à Théodore Paléologue, en 1395 (42). Un témoin de cette période chaotique apparaît sous les traits d'un notaire italien revenant d'un pèlerinage en Terre sainte. En dépeignant Corinthe comme un village à l'abandon, n'ayant en tout et pour tout que quarante-cinq foyers, Nicolas de Martoni dresse le tableau d'une cité menacée par les Ottomans, renfermée sur elle-même (43).

Devant les attaques récurrentes des Turcs, Théodore Paléologue fait appel à la protection de la Sérénissime qui décline l'offre en 1397 (44), puis dans un second temps il s'adresse aux Hospitaliers de Rhodes, auxquels il livre Corinthe (45). Leur mission est de lutter contre les infidèles en établissant dans le Péloponnèse une résistance chrétienne plus solide face aux attaques. Ainsi les frères récupèrent entre leurs mains plusieurs forteresses de la région, mais devant le reflux turc, Théodore négocie à nouveau pour récupérer la châtelainie, et le temps de rassembler la somme, les Hospitaliers ne se retirent de la citadelle qu'en 1404, date à laquelle elle redevient grecque (46).

(41) Le testament laisse explicitement Corinthe à Francesca (*Monumenta Peloponnesiaca...*, *op. cit.*, p. 315).

(42) R.-J. LOENERTZ, *Pour l'histoire du Péloponnèse au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, dans *REB*, 1 (1943), p. 185.

(43) H. DUCHÈNE, *op. cit.*, « Nicolas Martoni », pp. 25-26.

(44) La correspondance entre le Sénat vénitien et les interlocuteurs de Corinthe est abondante (*Monumenta Peloponnesiaca*, n° 169, p. 339, n° 170, p. 340, n° 172, p. 343, n° 173, p. 344, n° 192, p. 382).

(45) La présence de l'Ordre précède de trois ans les négociations de 1400 pour la cession d'autres places du despotat (R.-J. LOENERTZ, *op. cit.* [cf. n. 42], pp. 186-189 ; J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes (1310-1421)*, Aldershot, 1974, p. 277 ; A. LUTTRELL, *Venice and the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes in the Fourteenth century*, dans *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 26 [1958], p. 210).

(46) D. A. ZAKYTHINOS, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I, Paris, 1932, p. 160.

Corinthe est donc restée sous domination latine durant deux siècles environ et, malgré les changements seigneuriaux, elle a su conserver sa place dominante dans la principauté de Morée. Devant l'avancée ottomane et le harcèlement des Grecs, les Latins n'ont pu que se résoudre à l'abandonner à ces derniers qui occupent déjà l'est du Péloponnèse. Or, si le passé de Corinthe peut être esquissé à grands traits, il ne faut pas le séparer du mode de vie qui s'y développe et qui permet à chaque habitant de trouver sa place.

### Corinthe : un lieu de sociabilité

L'histoire quotidienne, autre qu'événementielle, donne corps à cette châtelainie. En effet, outre les transferts successifs et les grands événements, elle reste un lieu de vie pour le seigneur, sa cour et la population qui en dépend. Or, c'est précisément cet aspect qui est difficile à cerner. À l'aube du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la prise de possession de la ville basse et ultérieurement de la citadelle, annonce une installation durable des conquérants et la population grecque autochtone côtoie désormais les seigneurs latins y résidant de façon plus ou moins permanente. Lorsque ces derniers n'y demeurent pas, le châtelain chargé de la défense du château, le capitaine à la tête d'une garnison et les sergents s'occupent des affaires courantes<sup>(47)</sup>. Le mode de vie journalier s'organise ainsi, entre citadelle et ville basse, car ces deux éléments d'un même tout ne sont pas orientés vers des occupations comparables. Les différentes versions de la *Chronique de Morée* soulignent d'ailleurs cette dualité entre « chastel » et « cité »<sup>(48)</sup> et si le premier est le lieu de vie du seigneur, il assure également la protection de la seconde.

Pour garantir les moyens d'existence à ses habitants, Corinthe peut compter sur des ressources que les témoignages contemporains s'emploient à décrire comme abondantes. Ainsi, les seigneurs successifs tirent leur puissance des richesses que peut leur procurer le territoire corinthien et qui sont de plusieurs ordres :

(47) Leurs compétences dépassent le domaine strictement militaire, à l'instar du capitaine chargé des affaires judiciaires (*Monumenta Peloponnesiaca...*, op. cit., n° 226, p. 456).

(48) A. ILIEVA, *Images of Towns in Frankish Morea : the Evidence of the « Chronicles » of the Morea and of the Tocco*, dans *BMGS*, 19 (1995), pp. 105-106.

1) Il s'agit tout d'abord de profiter de la situation exceptionnelle de l'Acrocorinthe. Du point de vue militaire tout d'abord, l'une des capitaineries y est fixée pour défendre le passage stratégique représenté par cette province<sup>(49)</sup>. C'est dans cette optique que la forteresse se transmet au sein de la famille souveraine et il est intéressant pour les princes de garder un œil sur les hommes et les marchandises transitant par l'isthme. Le château a pour dessein d'être le centre du fief et il centralise pour cela les fonctions d'un territoire délimité, en organisant la défense et en prévoyant un espace de refuge pour les habitants. Il s'intègre en outre à un vaste projet tactique, car l'Acrocorinthe surveille les frontières et contrôle les communications<sup>(50)</sup>.

2) La situation très favorable de Corinthe est soulignée par la version grecque de la *Chronique de Morée*<sup>(51)</sup>. Ses mouillages exceptionnels hébergent plusieurs ports<sup>(52)</sup>, de part et d'autre de l'isthme, permettant ainsi à cette cité d'être l'une des plus prospères de la péninsule avec Monemvasie notamment<sup>(53)</sup>. Ainsi, les seigneurs profitent-ils directement du développement commercial pour augmenter leurs revenus.

3) Enfin, l'emprise foncière de cette seigneurie est tout aussi rentable, car cette cité et sa région représentent un avantage économique pour les autorités qui y ont développé l'usage des « casaux de parçon » attestés dans *Le livre de la Conquête*<sup>(54)</sup>. Il s'agit d'une exploitation con-

(49) J. LONGNON, *Les Français d'Outre-Mer au Moyen Âge. Essai sur l'expansion française dans le bassin de la Méditerranée*, Paris, 1929, p. 237.

(50) K. M. SETTON (éd.), *A History of the Crusades*, IV, *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, Madison (Wisc.), 1977, p. 213.

(51) *The Chronicle of Morea*, op. cit., vv. 1444-1447, p. 88 : « στήν Κόρινθον νά ἀπέλθουν, / διατὸ ἔνι κάστρον φοβερόν, τὸ κάλλιον τῆς Ῥωμανίας, / καὶ ἔνι τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅπερ γὰρ ἀφεντεύει / ὄλην τὴν Πελοποννησον ὅσον κρατεῖ ὁ Μορέας » ; *Chronique de Morée*, op. cit., p. 89 : « (...) Corinthe, là où était la forteresse la plus redoutable de Romanie, la capitale qui gouvernait tout le Péloponnèse, tout soumis à la Morée ».

(52) Cf. *infra*, carte, p. 332.

(53) *The Chronicle of Morea*, op. cit., vv. 2765-2768, pp. 184-186 : « Τὸ κάστρον τῆς Μονοβασίας κ' ἐκεῖνο τῆς Κορίνθου, / ὡσαύτως γὰρ τοῦ Ἐναπλίου ποῦ ἔνι πλησίον τοῦ Ἄργου, / τὰ ὁποῖα κάστρη εἶχασιν τοὺς πρώτους γὰρ λιμῶνας, / ὅπου ἔρχονταν τὰ πλευτικά τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων ; *Chronique de Morée*, op. cit., p. 106 : « (...) Il vous manque encore quatre châteaux. Le premier est Corinthe, le deuxième Nauplie, le troisième Monemvasia et le quatrième Argos. Ce sont des châteaux très fortifiés, bien approvisionnés : vous ne pouvez espérer les prendre d'assaut ».

(54) *Livre de la conquête...*, op. cit., § 664 et suiv., p. 265.

jointe des terres par les seigneurs latins et les archontes byzantins <sup>(55)</sup>, lesquels ont conservé de grands domaines au lendemain de la conquête et sont restés influents dans la région <sup>(56)</sup>. Par le biais des casaux ce sont les revenus, non pas les terres elles-mêmes, qui sont partagés. Les paysans dépendant de ces exploitations ont ainsi deux seigneurs dont l'intérêt est de réduire voire d'empêcher les accidents pouvant perturber l'exploitation de la terre.

Un épisode narré par le *Livre de la Conquête* corrobore la richesse de la Corinthe. Il est question d'un parent de Florent de Hainaut, Gautier de Liedekerque qui, une fois nommé capitaine de la châtelainie de Corinthe, profite abusivement des ressources locales :

« Et puis que messire Gautier ot l'office de la chapitainerie de Corinte entour .ij. (deux) ans, pour ce qu' il estoit grant despendeur (prodigue) et menoit moult large vie, et que le sien ne lui pooit souffire a la vie et grans beubans (faste) que il menoit, si lui convenoit faire a desplaisir (être déplaisant) a aucunes gens et prendre du leur sans raison, pour maintenir son estat » <sup>(57)</sup>.

Ce gentilhomme, récemment débarqué de sa Flandre natale <sup>(58)</sup>, compte mener un grand train de vie sur son nouveau territoire. Le chroniqueur mentionne justement qu'il se complait dans le luxe, mais cela ne va pas sans quelques accommodements :

« Mais monseignor G(autier) qui estoit afemmes (affamé) de monnoie, laquelle il pansoit avoir de cellui Foty, si lui fist avoir moult fort (pénible) et dure prison ; et a la fin lui fist traire (tirer) deux dens de la goule (bouche). Et quant Foti vit que par autre voie il ne porroit partir des mains de monseignor G(autier), si s'accorda ou lui et lui donna mil perpres (hyperpres) » <sup>(59)</sup>.

Pour obtenir facilement de l'argent, Gautier fait emprisonner et rançonner injustement Photios, un sujet corinthien. Ce dernier, qui dispo-

(55) D. JACOBY, *Un régime de coseigneurie gréco-franque en Morée : les « casaux de parçon »*, dans *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire publiés par l'École française de Rome*, 1975, p. 112 ; repris dans IDEM, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Roumanie latine*, Londres, 1975, n° VIII.

(56) D. JACOBY, *Les archontes ...*, op. cit., p. 421.

(57) *Livre de la conquête...*, op. cit., § 663, p. 265.

(58) I. ORTEGA, *Les Lignages nobiliaires dans la Morée latine (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles). Permanences et mutations*, thèse de doctorat soutenue en novembre 2008 à l'Université Paul-Valéry, Montpellier III, p. 61.

(59) *Livre de la conquête...*, op. cit., § 670, p. 267.

se de revenus, est l'un des Grecs possédant des casaux de parçon aux confins du territoire ainsi que des espèces sonnantes et trébuchantes qui lui permettent de sortir de prison. Un tel épisode est remarquable dans la chronique ; en effet, l'auteur confronte la machination du seigneur latin face à l'innocence du Grec. En prenant parti, il dénonce les abus de ses compatriotes car rançonner une région ne se fait qu'aux dépens de ses habitants : Corinthe a suffisamment de ressources pour soutenir de tels excès, mais ces abus entretiennent une méfiance respective entre les populations locales et les résidents du « noble chaste de Corinte » <sup>(60)</sup>. Toutefois, il s'agit là d'un cas particulier, car le seigneur est traditionnellement chargé de la protection, de l'administration et de la justice au sein de son territoire et le plus souvent il est apprécié, contrairement à ses officiers assumant des tâches plus ingrates. Dans tous les cas, il impose le respect par son mode de vie.

En effet, en s'appuyant sur de nombreux atouts, Corinthe peut tirer avantageusement parti du déploiement de faste inhérent à la cour de son château. Dès lors, la forteresse est l'un des lieux de représentation de la noblesse latine de Morée, mais aussi le siège de la cour du seigneur. Il en est de même des autres dépendances du territoire de Corinthe qui hébergent, selon les occasions, la famille seigneuriale ou des membres de la noblesse latine de passage. En 1393, la régente de Céphalonie Maddalena Buondelmonti <sup>(61)</sup>, résidant à Vasilika, adresse une lettre à Donato Acciaiuoli dans laquelle elle lui donne des nouvelles de sa famille <sup>(62)</sup>. Ainsi, tous les châteaux de Corinthe sont-ils à même de recevoir, temporairement ou plus longuement, des membres de la noblesse au faite du pouvoir.

La magnificence de la cour seigneuriale se reflète, entre autres, dans sa composition et dans les festivités qu'elle organise. Elle représente également l'un des hauts lieux de la diffusion des valeurs chevaleresques et en dépit des absences occasionnelles du seigneur, Corinthe accueille à plusieurs reprises la cour itinérante du prince, notamment à l'occasion des grandes assemblées composées de barons. La *Chronique de Morée* évoque une réunion convoquée à l'initiative du prince Philippe de Savoie :

(60) *Livre de la conquête...*, op. cit., § 191, p. 68.

(61) Maddalena Buondelmonti est la mère de Carlo Tocco, époux depuis 1388 de Francesca Acciaiuoli, fille de Nerio.

(62) *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca...*, op. cit., n° 120, p. 231 ; cf. *infra*, carte, p. 332.



« Lors manda (ordonna) (...) a toute maniere de gent qui terre tenoient de lui, que, a l'entrée dou moys de may, deüssent tous estre a Corinte ou il devoit estre personnellement ou toute sa baronnie de la Morée, pour faire .j. (un) general parlement (...). Et quant ce vint a l'yssue dou moys d'avril, après la Pasque, cescuns (chacun) s'appareilla (se prépara) pour aller a la noble cité de Corinte » (63).

Il s'agit d'un rassemblement organisé en 1304, afin de régler les problèmes politiques entre souverains voisins. Une telle concentration nobiliaire à un parlement général en ce lieu répond à plusieurs attentes. Il se trouve que l'Acrocorinthe est l'une des meilleures places fortes de toute la principauté : sûreté des lieux, espace de débat et situation accessible à tous les barons concernés font de Corinthe une place idéale pour une telle assemblée. Convoquée afin de se prononcer sur les affaires politiques de la principauté (64), elle est aussi prétexte à l'organisation d'un grand tournoi (65), épisode sur lequel s'achève le *Livre de la Conquête* :

« Si envoya par toute la Romanie et par toutes les ysles de mer ses messages ; et leur commanda de crier comment .vij.(sept) pelerins, qui estoient venus d'outre mer, appelloient de joute tous chevaliers qui voudroient venir jouter a cheval perdre et cheval gaaignier ; et que les joutes devoient durer .xx.(vingt) jours et estres faictes a la cité de Corinte. Et puis fit faire le harnois (armure) qu'il convenoit pour .vij.(sept) chevaliers, d'unes armes de chendal ( tissage léger) vert a coquilles d'or semées. Et puis fit faire les liches ( lices) moult nobles. Et quant les joutes furent commenchies, si joustoient cil dedens, cescun en son ranc, a ceaux dehors » (66).

Alors que la noblesse moréote est réunie, sept chevaliers débarquèrent et demandèrent à l'affronter. Beaucoup de contemporains considèrent la principauté comme une excellente école de chevalerie et les joutes font partie intégrante des réjouissances chevaleresques, car dans ce type de combat l'aspect ludique a pris le pas sur le côté martial (67). Le chroniqueur, dans cet extrait, décrit la préparation des combattants

(63) *Livre de la conquête...*, op. cit., § 1008-1009, pp. 393-394.

(64) *Les Assises de Romanie...*, op. cit., § 9, pp. 163-164, § 19, pp. 169-170 ; A. PARMEGIANI, op. cit., pp. 121, 126.

(65) R. BARBER - J. BAKER, *Les Tournois*, Paris, 1989, p. 118.

(66) *Livre de la conquête...*, op. cit., § 1016, p. 397.

(67) J. FLORI, *La Chevalerie en France au Moyen Âge (Que sais-je ?, 972)*, Paris, 1995, pp. 55-56 ; R. BARBER, J. BARKER, *Les tournois*, Paris, 1989, p. 42.

ainsi que leurs boucliers qui portent les armes de leur maison. Tout en étant des rencontres courtoises, les joutes semblent organisées rigoureusement : l'élite de la chevalerie s'affronte tout en respectant le statut de chacun des combattants. Les réjouissances durent vingt jours et nécessitent des déploiements massifs de victuailles, d'équipements et d'hébergement, néanmoins cette rencontre chevaleresque reste exceptionnelle par son importance et sa durée (68).

Ainsi, les châteaux et plus particulièrement celui de Corinthe sont les hauts lieux de la sociabilité seigneuriale, et cela durant toute la période d'occupation latine (69). Dans la vie quotidienne, ils sont témoins des occupations diverses, exceptionnellement, ils accueillent des fêtes et des réjouissances variées. Cependant, les données permettant de reconstituer cet aspect de l'histoire sont infimes comparées aux éléments politiques et pour combler partiellement les lacunes des sources écrites dans le domaine de la vie quotidienne, l'archéologie apporte de nouvelles données.

### L'éclairage archéologique

Les récentes découvertes archéologiques permettent de dissocier précisément les différentes phases d'occupation de Corinthe. Au préalable, il faut distinguer l'installation au sein de la citadelle de l'Acrocorinthe de celle qui s'est effectuée plus rapidement dans la ville basse.

Lors de la conquête, l'Acrocorinthe résiste pendant cinq années et cela démontre, si besoin en est, la qualité exceptionnelle du site. En effet, la forteresse sise sur un piton rocheux de plus de cinq cents mètres, bénéficie d'une visibilité dégagée sur plusieurs kilomètres à la ronde (70). Comme dans d'autres places fortes franques, les nouveaux résidents ont réutilisé le matériel de construction des époques antérieures et ont profité de sa position pour asseoir leur politique défensive. Les vestiges du château attestent son emploi militaire : un donjon domine l'ensemble de la forteresse au plus haut point, se mêlant aux

(68) I. ORTEGA, *Les Lignages nobiliaires...*, op. cit., pp. 453-458.

(69) il en est de même en Occident (G. DUBY, *Convivialité*, dans Ph. ARIÈS - G. DUBY (éd.), *Histoire de la vie privée*, II, *De l'Europe féodale à la Renaissance*, Paris, 1999 (1<sup>re</sup> éd. 1985), pp. 71-73.

(70) A. CASSI RAMELLI - S. TAMARI, *I castelli della Morea*, dans *Castellum*, 21 (1981), pp. 10-11.

protections byzantines et aux reconstructions vénitiennes de l'époque moderne. Composé de deux cours et d'une tour située sur le mur qui les divise, il est construit à l'endroit où les défenses naturelles sont les plus fortes <sup>(71)</sup>.

Au lendemain de la conquête, l'Acrocorinthe reste un fief de la famille des Villehardouin. D'après la version aragonaise de la *Chronique de Morée*, Guillaume, prince de 1246 à 1278, y aurait fait bâtir une résidence <sup>(72)</sup> et entrepris des travaux de réparations sur les fortifications <sup>(73)</sup>. C'est au cœur de cette place forte imprenable que les princes choisissent d'installer leur hôtel des monnaies <sup>(74)</sup> ; du moins en est-il ainsi durant une partie du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, avant que les frappes monétaires ne soient réalisées à Clarence, cité plus proche de l'Italie, et par là-même au cœur du trafic avec le Levant <sup>(75)</sup>. Le lieu de cette installation reste cependant indécis : soit dans la citadelle pour en assurer la protection, soit dans la ville pour une meilleure accessibilité <sup>(76)</sup>. Ainsi, durant deux siècles, le château est marqué par l'occupation de grands seigneurs latins, ce qui lui confère une place majeure parmi les premières forteresses de la principauté <sup>(77)</sup> et dans la région, il est relayé par un réseau de places fortes qui contrôlent le territoire <sup>(78)</sup>. De plus, ses capacités d'accueil sont importantes et jamais démenties tout au long de l'histoire de la Morée latine. En tenant compte de sa situation géographique centrale, la citadelle apparaît comme un lieu unique et au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, sur le chemin de la Terre sainte, Ludolf de Sudheim qui visite Corinthe trouve le site remarquable <sup>(79)</sup>. En effet, les Acciaiuoli qui en

(71) K. M. SETTON, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-217.

(72) *Libro de los fechos...*, *op. cit.*, § 216.

(73) R. L. SCRANTON, *Medieval Architecture (Corinth. Results of Excavations, 16)*, Princeton, 1957, p. 84.

(74) K. ANDREWS, *Castles of the Morea*. The original 1953 text with a foreword by Glenn R. Bugh (*Gennadeion Monographs, 4*), Princeton (N.J.), 2006 (1<sup>re</sup> éd. 1953), p. 136 ; D. M. METCALF, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford*, Londres, 1983, pp. 67 et suiv.

(75) Un travail récent dresse un portrait complet de cette cité à l'époque de l'occupation latine : A. TZAVARA, *Clarentza. Une ville de la Morée latine (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, thèse Université Paris I, 2004, pp. 284-295.

(76) A. BON, *La Morée franque...*, *op. cit.*, p. 475.

(77) *Ibidem*, p. 476.

(78) *Ibidem*, pp. 481-484.

(79) R. CARPENTER - A. BON, *op. cit.*, p. 139 ; L. DE SUDHEIM, *Le chemin de Terre sainte*, dans D. RÉGNIER-BOHLER (éd.), *Croisades et pèlerinages. Récits, chroniques et voya-*

ont le contrôle pendant presque quarante années, se sont attachés à améliorer économiquement leur territoire et à perfectionner les fortifications <sup>(80)</sup>.

Or, les récentes fouilles archéologiques permettent de connaître plus précisément la vie quotidienne des habitants durant l'occupation latine, en dégagant des quartiers entiers d'habitation au sein de la cité. En effet, depuis le début des années 1990, les prospections de l'École Américaine d'Archéologie ont permis de mettre à jour un large périmètre composé de plusieurs constructions remontant aux XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Le premier bâtiment est un complexe muni d'une cour centrale, occupant les hauteurs qui se trouvent à l'ouest de l'emplacement du forum romain. Durant les six saisons de fouille, suffisamment de matériel a été trouvé pour tenter une reconstitution <sup>(81)</sup> : cet édifice s'apparente à un hospice ou un hôpital <sup>(82)</sup>, qui accueillait provisoirement les pèlerins, les malades et les pauvres sur le chemin de la Terre sainte. Les gages ou les jetons toscans déterrés attestent sa fréquentation internationale, quant aux plus influents des pèlerins ou des voyageurs d'une façon générale, ils sont vraisemblablement hébergés au château, auprès du seigneur et de sa cour. Le bâtiment 1 est subdivisé en de nombreuses pièces dont la fonction n'est pas toujours affirmée, cependant, les archéologues ont noté la présence d'une pharmacie, d'une infirmerie ou d'un dortoir, d'une cuisine ainsi que d'un cellier. C'est donc un ensemble important, répondant aux besoins des pèlerins et comparable à l'hôpital de Saint-Sanson situé dans la même ville, qui a été octroyé à l'ordre de Saint-Jean de l'Hôpital en 1309 <sup>(83)</sup>. Les cicatrices relevées dans le bâti dévoilent l'importance du sac des Catalans en 1312 et prennent la forme de nouvelles constructions, de reconstructions, ou encore d'emploi d'un nouveau style. Il est vrai qu'en des temps où les matériaux sont onéreux, les vestiges des temps passés sont une source facilement exploitable et le matériel de réemploi est attesté à tous les niveaux, aussi bien au cœur

*ges en Terre sainte, XII<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1997, p. 1045 : « Dans ce pays d'Achaïe, se trouve aussi Corinthe, une superbe ville fortifiée en haut d'une colline. Je n'en connais pas d'aussi forte ; même si elle était assiégée par le monde entier, elle ne manquerait ni de blé, ni de vin, ni d'huile, ni d'eau ».

(80) R. CARPENTER - A. BON, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

(81) Cf. *infra*, p. 331.

(82) *Hesperia*, 64. 1, 1995, pp. 1-60, pp. 3-9.

(83) *Ibidem*, 65. 1, 1996, p. 38.

de la ville basse que du château. Enfin, une étude affinée a permis de relever plusieurs étapes de construction relatives au bâtiment 1<sup>(84)</sup>, notamment après 1312, date à partir de laquelle l'édifice a été reconstruit<sup>(85)</sup>. Effectivement, malgré cet épisode tragique, les relations entre Orient et Occident se poursuivent et le trafic des hommes et des marchandises s'accroît de façon significative.

Quant au second bâtiment<sup>(86)</sup>, il peut être assimilé à un monastère ou un couvent, constitué de pièces ayant différentes fonctions. Ainsi, est-il doté d'une église de style byzantin qui est employée comme chapelle funéraire et dont certaines parties sont antérieures à l'occupation franque du site<sup>(87)</sup>. Mais l'on peut aussi y trouver des salles à usage plus courant servant de lieu de stockage, de restauration et de services divers. Un cimetière, situé à proximité, a été mis à jour et l'étude de ses tombes, grâce à l'ostéologie, a permis de déceler les maladies chroniques les plus courantes au sein de la population<sup>(88)</sup>. Sa localisation est intéressante, car il est intégré au couvent pour en faciliter l'usage et une cour privée, longeant le flanc ouest du bâtiment, mène directement à l'Acrocorinthe<sup>(89)</sup>. En fait, la ville basse et la citadelle qui la domine au sud forment un tout. Les relations tissées entre ces deux pôles sont de différentes natures, à l'instar de l'approvisionnement et de la défense qui reposent avant tout sur les besoins vitaux. Cette construction, qui a été gravement touchée par un tremblement de terre au début du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>(90)</sup>, a également subi les ravages des Catalans en 1312. En moins de douze années, ce sont donc plusieurs cicatrices qui ont marqué le paysage urbain de Corinthe et ont entraîné de lourdes réparations. Cependant, durant la première moitié du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle, cette cité commerciale florissante parvient à surmonter les outrages de cette période.

(84) *Ibidem*, 65. 1, 1996, p. 36.

(85) *Ibidem*, 65. 1, 1996, p. 16.

(86) Cf. *infra*, p. 331.

(87) *Hesperia*, 64 (1995), p. 11.

(88) *Ibidem*, 67 (1998), pp. 237-242.

(89) *Ibidem*, 65 (1996), p. 30.

(90) Les séismes sont courants dans cette région, où ils sont attestés depuis l'Antiquité ; néanmoins deux épisodes sismiques importants ont marqué la Corinthe l'un en 1300, l'autre en 1303 (E. GUIDOBONI - A. COMASTRI, *Catalogue of Earthquakes and Tsunamis in the Mediterranean Area from the 11th to the 15th Century*, Rome - Bologne, 2005, pp. 332-337 ; A. AVRAMEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-46).

Enfin, d'autres constructions sorties de terre ont été étudiées par l'École Américaine : construits à flanc de coteaux, ces bâtiments ont vu leurs plans évoluer et leurs fonctions ne sont pas toujours déterminées. Les archéologues distinguent pêle-mêle une forge, une boucherie<sup>(91)</sup> et des boutiques constituées de plusieurs pièces longeant une rue de marché<sup>(92)</sup> dont l'activité peut être subordonnée à l'influence en Morée des marchands italiens et surtout vénitiens après la reprise de Constantinople par les Grecs en 1261<sup>(93)</sup>. Il est important de noter la localisation de tous les bâtiments mis à jour : en effet, il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une excroissance urbaine supplémentaire mais d'une volonté délibérée d'organiser l'expansion de la ville, car il faut des moyens financiers importants pour assurer ce type de constructions<sup>(94)</sup>.

En changeant d'échelle et en adoptant une grille d'étude affinée, on se rend compte de l'importance de la poterie, du matériel céramique et des objets en tous genres découverts lors des excavations. En effet, les « trésors » archéologiques mis à jour lors de ces fouilles sont composés de matériel de verre, d'amphores et de pots de toutes sortes. Ils permettent de reconstituer les éléments d'une cuisine, les matériaux employés pour servir la noblesse, les ustensiles quotidiens dont les Latins disposent et leurs préférences artistiques. De fait, dans la région de Corinthe, une facture spécifique de la poterie perdure à travers les différentes phases d'occupation et les artisans locaux continuent de fabriquer leurs marchandises après la prise de la ville par les Francs. Ils façonnent une production fine qui persiste à être décorée dans un style local<sup>(95)</sup>, assurant par là-même une continuité de forme et de style entre le xii<sup>e</sup> siècle byzantin et le xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle latin. Les séries de poteries de type protomaïolique mises à jour témoignent de la persistance des importations, en particulier en provenance de l'Italie du Sud<sup>(96)</sup>, et ce

(91) L'étude des restes a conclu à la présence d'une cour servant de lieu de découpage des animaux de boucherie (*Hesperia*, 67 [1998], pp. 234-235).

(92) *Ibidem*, 67 (1998), p. 229.

(93) M. BALARD, *Les Latins en Orient, XI<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 2006, p. 220.

(94) *Hesperia*, 67 (1998), p. 261.

(95) *Ibidem*, 64 (1995), p. 16.

(96) Les ateliers corinthiens produisent une vaisselle influencée par les importations italiennes qui sont en augmentation à la fin du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle (V. FRANÇOIS, *La vaisselle de table à Byzance : un artisanat et un marché peu perméables aux influences extérieures*, dans *XX<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Collège de France-Sorbonne, 19-25 août 2000*, I, Paris, 2001, p. 100).

succès commercial peut être rapproché de l'allégeance des princes de Morée au souverain angevin en 1267 : les liens entre les deux péninsules sont alors renforcés aussi bien d'un point de vue politique que commercial<sup>(97)</sup>. Ultérieurement, ces deux domaines sont à nouveau liés en ce qui concerne les marchandises originaires de Pise et datées de la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les découvertes de ces poteries sont peut-être à mettre en rapport avec l'arrivée des Acciaiuoli, banquiers toscans dont l'influence est grandissante au sein de la principauté. Ainsi, l'adéquation entre le matériel découvert et l'histoire de la Morée est très forte car le pouvoir politique se reflète dans les flux de poterie importée. Or, progressivement, l'importation de marchandises vernies de l'étranger étouffe la manufacture locale dans la seconde décennie du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, car elles sont de meilleure qualité<sup>(98)</sup> et les goûts de la noblesse accentuent ce mouvement.

Ce quartier découvert, s'il n'est pas directement lié à la noblesse latine, permet de mieux cerner la vie quotidienne de celle-ci. En effet, si les nobles ne résident pas dans la ville basse, bien qu'il n'y ait pas de preuve contraire pour les plus désargentés d'entre eux, ils fréquentent ces mêmes lieux. Ils les traversent pour monter au château, ils sont approvisionnés par les artisans locaux et ils tirent directement profit de la richesse de la cité grâce aux diverses taxes perçues<sup>(99)</sup>. De plus, ils ont la faculté de doter généreusement une institution telle que l'hôpital, leurs cadets ou leurs filles peuvent intégrer le couvent et ils peuvent être enterrés dans la chapelle funéraire lorsque celle de la forteresse est insuffisante. De fait, citadelle et ville basse constituent deux espaces étroitement liés, dépendants l'un de l'autre.

L'éclairage archéologique prend ainsi tout son sens lorsque l'on connaît l'intérêt des Angevins pour la principauté au lendemain du décès de Guillaume de Villehardouin (1278) et la politique locale de développement menée dès lors. Les changements attestés par les fouilles résultent de cette dynamique et témoignent d'une certaine évolution durant l'occupation latine.

(97) *Hesperia*, 64 (1995), pp. 21-22.

(98) *Ibidem*, 67 (1998), p. 261.

(99) Un droit sur la circulation des biens et marchandises est perçu par le seigneur de Corinthe, notamment sur la boucherie (J. LONGNON - P. TOPPING, *op. cit.*, p. 162).

## Conclusion

Les frontières changeant relativement souvent dans la principauté de Morée, les forteresses connaissent des sorts variables selon le déroulement des conflits entre puissances voisines. Certaines ont un rôle déterminant à une époque puis, en se retrouvant loin d'une frontière, tombent dans l'oubli. Ce revers de fortune ne concerne pas le « noble château de Corinthe »<sup>(100)</sup> qui a une situation unique à l'entrée de l'isthme qui porte son nom. L'occupation pendant près de deux siècles de son site par les seigneurs latins, tels des héros mythologiques et par les chevaliers assimilés jadis à des centaures<sup>(101)</sup>, laisse des empreintes désormais perceptibles sur son sol. La cohabitation entre les seigneurs et la population locale grecque semble s'y être particulièrement bien passée et des structures spécifiques ont été mises en place. Un juste équilibre entre la permanence notée au fil des siècles et les mutations engendrées par l'occupation latine a permis une installation durable au sein de cette cité jusqu'à l'aube du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Aux siècles suivants, Corinthe voit ses murailles reconstruites par les Byzantins<sup>(102)</sup>, puis elle devient un objet de convoitise entre les Turcs et les Vénitiens qui se l'arrachent successivement<sup>(103)</sup>. En 1713, la conquête de la citadelle par les Turcs marque une reprise en mains vigoureuse de la population locale et elle inspirera au siècle suivant le poème de Lord Byron, *Le siège de Corinthe* (1816)<sup>(104)</sup>. L'histoire de cette ville est ensuite marquée par la cicatrice indélébile du tremblement de terre de 1858 qui la détruisit et l'actuelle Corinthe se situe à quelques kilomètres

(100) *Livre de la conquête...*, *op. cit.*, § 195, p. 69.

(101) J.-A. C. BUCHON, *De l'établissement d'une principauté française en Grèce, après la Quatrième croisade*, dans *La Revue de Paris*, Paris, juillet 1842, pp. 10 et suiv.

(102) Manuel Paléologue engage la restauration de ses fortifications en 1413, nécessaire après l'épisode sismique qui a eu lieu dans le golfe de Corinthe en 1402 (A. CASSI RAMELLI - S. TAMARI, *I castelli della Morea*, *op. cit.*, p. 12 ; E. GUIDOBONI - A. COMASTRI, *Catalogue...*, *op. cit.*, p. 547).

(103) Corinthe poursuit son recul démographique et apparaît comme un bourg agricole à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle (N. et I. BELDICEANU, *Corinthe et sa région en 1461 d'après le registre TT 10*, dans *Sudost-Forschungen*, 45 [1986], p. 43).

(104) L. TRAYIANNOUDI, *A very life in ... 'Despair in the land of honourable death': Byron in Greece*, dans R. A. CARDWELL (éd.), *The Reception of Byron in Europe*, II, Londres - New-York, 2004, p. 430.

au nord de son ancien site <sup>(105)</sup>. Cette catastrophe naturelle n'en fut pas moins le conservateur du patrimoine culturel de la cité, préservant son emplacement initial des constructions modernes et permettant d'approcher, de façon très ponctuelle encore, le mode de vie des habitants de Corinthe et de leurs seigneurs durant l'occupation latine.

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#### SUMMARY

Corinth, which can be defined as the lock of the Peloponnesus for its site both unassailable and standing at the entrance of its eponymous isthmus, was occupied by the Latins as early as the 13th century and continued to be related to the princely or baronial power until the beginning of the 15th century. However, and besides its political and military interest, Corinth turns out to be a signiory, as brought to light by historical sources, and notably archaeological finds, which have testified to its wealth and to the various influences, western as well as indigenous, that it inherited as long as the Latin occupation lasted.

(105) Cf. *infra*, carte, p. 332.

#### LES DIFFÉRENTS SEIGNEURS DE CORINTHE

Il s'agit de répertorier les grands seigneurs qui ont tenu de façon personnelle Corinthe, qu'ils soient princes, châtelains ou despotes.

**Geoffroy I<sup>er</sup> de Villehardouin**  
prince de Morée de 1210 à 1228/30

**Geoffroy II de Villehardouin**  
prince de Morée de 1228/30 à 1246

**Guillaume II de Villehardouin**  
prince de Morée de 1246 à 1278

À la mort de Guillaume II, la principauté est sous gouvernement angevin, excepté lors du règne de sa fille :

**Isabelle de Villehardouin, princesse**  
- mariée à Florent de Hainaut, prince de 1289 à 1297  
- régnant seule de 1297 à 1301  
- mariée à Philippe de Savoie, prince de 1301 à 1307

Toujours sous suzeraineté angevine, Corinthe est aux mains des Acciaiuoli, d'origine florentine :

**Nicolò Acciaiuoli, seigneur de Corinthe de 1358 à 1365**

**Angelo Acciaiuoli, seigneur de Corinthe de 1365 à 1371**

**Nerio Acciaiuoli, châtelain <sup>(106)</sup> de Corinthe de 1371 à 1394**

**Francesca Acciaiuoli <sup>(107)</sup> et son époux, Carlo Tocco, 1394-1395**

Théodore Paléologue, despote de Morée, obtient Corinthe (1395-1397) avant de la céder à un ordre militaire :

**Les Hospitaliers, 1397-1404**

(106) Il tient Corinthe de son cousin Angelo, puis de son fils Roberto (J.-A. C. BUCHON, *op. cit.*, XXXVII et XXXVIII, pp. 212-217).

(107) Elle tient Corinthe au même titre que son père (*Ibidem*, pp. 212-217).



## LES RECONSTITUTIONS ARCHÉOLOGIQUES

Avec ce plan, c'est un quartier entier de Corinthe à l'époque de la domination latine qui est dévoilé<sup>(108)</sup>. Les activités, nombreuses et variées, se répartissent selon les unités fouillées.

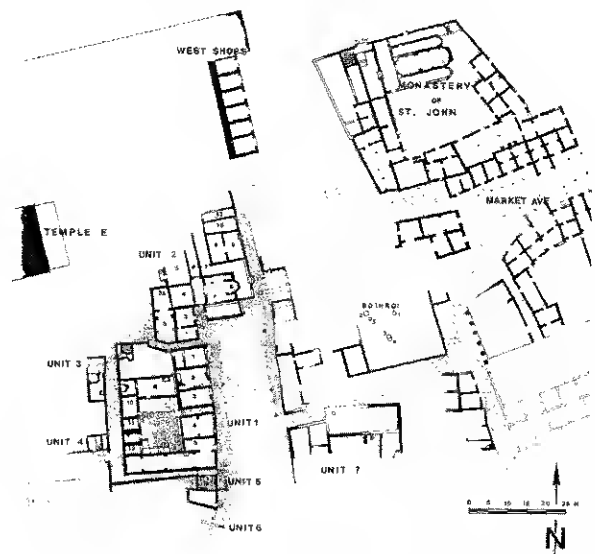


FIG. 1. — Plan du quartier sud, sud-est de Corinthe durant la période franque (dernier quart du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle).

Il s'agit d'une reconstitution de l'hôpital, grâce aux découvertes archéologiques de l'École Américaine durant six saisons de fouilles dans les années 1990<sup>(109)</sup>. Ces coupes permettent d'apprécier l'importance de l'édifice, son caractère fonctionnel ainsi que la composition et l'agencement des salles de styles bien différents.

(108) *Hesperia*, 67 (1998), p. 224.

(109) *Ibidem*, 65 (1996), pp. 11 et suiv.

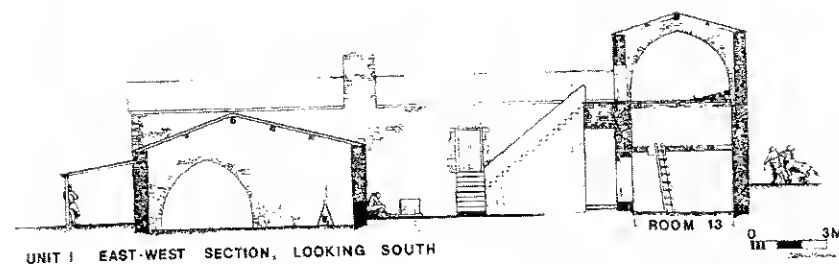


FIG. 5. — Plan en coupe du bâtiment 1.

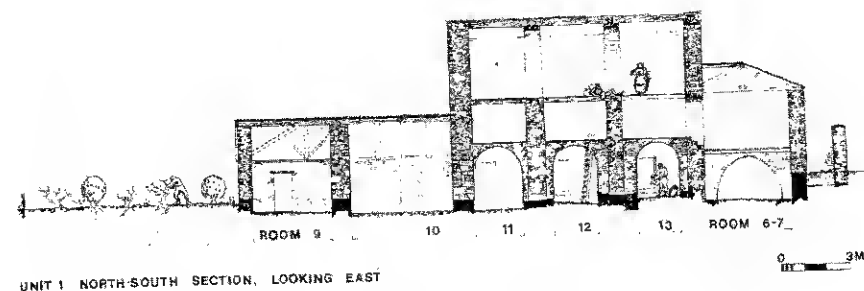


FIG. 6. — Plan en coupe du bâtiment 2.

(110) J. H. FINLEY JR, *op. cit.*, p. 489.

(111) A. BON, *La Morée franque...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 481 et suiv.

## LE TERRITOIRE DE CORINTHE

Il convient de rappeler que les toponymes mentionnés peuvent recouvrir une orthographe différente selon les sources et que des désaccords apparaissent entre les auteurs au sujet des emplacements précis de ces lieux, depuis longtemps oubliés. Si John H. Finley <sup>(10)</sup> s'inspire de la liste des fiefs dressée en 1377 pour délimiter le territoire de Corinthe, c'est pourtant l'étude topographique récente et plus complète d'Antoine Bon qui a été retenue <sup>(11)</sup>.

Les grandes cités du nord-est du Péloponnèse :

○ Mégare

Les limites de la Corinthe :

- les châteaux forts :

● St Basile

les barrières naturelles :

Monts Géraniens

Les dépendances en Argolide :

x Piada

Corinthe au fil des siècles :

- son implantation :

■ cité antique et médiévale

■ Acrocorinthe

■ ville moderne

- ses ports :

▲ Léchaion



## CALLISTO I PATRIARCA, I 100 (109) CAPITOLI SULLA PUREZZA DELL'ANIMA. INTRODUZIONE, EDIZIONE E TRADUZIONE (\*)

Il patriarca Callisto I († 20 giugno 1364) <sup>(1)</sup> è una figura nota agli studiosi di storia e letteratura bizantine. Dopo essere stato discepolo di Gregorio il Sinaita sull'Athos, già verso la fine degli anni '30 e all'inizio del decennio successivo è tra i notabili del Monte Santo, come sappiamo dalla *Vita* di Atanasio della Meteora e dalla sua sottoscrizione del *Tomo Aghioritico*. Egli ha un posto di primo piano nella nomenclatura athonita durante gli anni della guerra civile, quando è membro della commissione che guida l'Athos mentre il *protos* Isacco è trattenuto a Costantinopoli. Dopo la fine della guerra civile e con la vittoria del Palamismo è per due volte patriarca di Costantinopoli (1350-1353, 1355-1364).

Abbiamo mostrato in un'altra sede che Callisto I compose, oltre alle opere da tempo note <sup>(2)</sup>, *100 Capitoli sulla purezza dell'anima*, conservati da un unico manoscritto, l'odierno *Matsouki Ecclesiae S. Parasceuae* (olim *Monasterii Bylizas* 5), dei quali la *Filocalia* edita da Nicodemo l'Aghiorita e Macario di Corinto (1782) presenta una selezione di 14 capitoli <sup>(3)</sup>. Se già

(\*) Un vivo ringraziamento ad Athanasios Makris e alla comunità di Matsouki (Ioannina) per la loro ospitalità e amicizia. La nostra riconoscenza va ancora una volta a Margherita Losacco che ha riletto l'intero testo.

(1) Sul quale v. in primo luogo PLP, 10478 ; G. PODSKALSKY, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien 865-1459*, München, 2000, pp. 298-305 ; M.-H. CONGOURDEAU, *Deux patriarches palamites en rivalité : Kallistos et Philothée*, in *Le patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople aux XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles : rupture et continuité. Actes du colloque international, Rome, 5-6-7 décembre 2005 (Dossiers byzantins, 7)*, Paris, 2007, pp. 37-53.

(2) Per le quali è indispensabile lo studio di D. B. GONIS, *Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου Καλλίστου Α'*, Athinai, 1980.

(3) Cfr. A. RIGO, *I Capitoli sulla purezza dell'anima del patriarca Callisto I*, in *BZ*, 100 (2007), pp. 779-784.

la data del codice di Matsouki (anni 60 del XIV secolo) è un elemento inequivocabile a favore della paternità di Callisto I, che ci permette di escludere che la centuria fosse stata scritta dagli omonimi Callisto Angelicude Catafugiota Meleniceota o Callisto II Xanthopoulos, un raffronto di questi capitoli con gli altri scritti di Callisto I (4) — l'Encomio di Giovanni Nesteutes (BHG 892) (5), la Vita di Gregorio il Sinaita (BHG 722) (6), l'Omelia sulla Dormizione della Madre di Dio (BHG 1112m) (7), l'Omelia sulla decollazione di Giovanni il Battista (BHG 858v) (8), l'Omelia sull'esaltazione della croce (BHG 424) (9), e le omelie e didascalie ancora inedite (10) — conferma definitivamente la nostra attribuzione.

I numerosi parallelismi presenti nei capitoli con le opere risalenti sia al primo sia al secondo patriarcato di Callisto I non permettono una datazione precisa della centuria. Possiamo però osservare che i capitoli 63-66, rivolti contro "i sapienti del di fuori", riecheggiano in modo evi-

(4) Crediamo che al riguardo sia sufficiente un semplice sguardo alle note che accompagnano la traduzione del testo dei 100 Capitoli.

(5) H. GELZER, *Kallistos' Enkomion auf Johannes Nesteutes*, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 29 (1886), pp. 59-89 (testo: pp. 64-89); su questo scritto cfr. X. LEQUEUX, *Jean Mauropous, Jean Mauropodès et le culte de saint Baras au monastère du Prodrome de Pétra à Constantinople*, in *AB*, 120 (2002), pp. 101-109.

(6) H.-V. BEYER, *Kallist I patriarh Konstantinopolja, Žitie i dejatel'nost izve vo svjatih otca našego Grigorija Sinaita*, I, Ekaterinburg, 2006, pp. 106-226; A. DELIKARI, *Άγιός Γρηγόριος ο Σιναΐτης. Η δράση και η συμβολή του στη διάδοση του ησιχασμού στα Βαλκάνια (Ελληνισμός και κόσμος των Σλάβων, 6)*, Thessaloniki, 2004, pp. 312-348 (testo greco). Sulla Vita di Gregorio e queste due edizioni torneremo altrove.

(7) *Όμιλία εις την Κοίμησιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου: ΣΟΡΗΘΡΟΝΙΟΣ* di Leontopolis, *Ό οἰκουμενικός πατριάρχης Κάλλιστος ὡς ἐκκλησιαστικός ρήτωρ*, in *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος*, 8 (1911), pp. 114-119.

(8) *Όμιλία εις τὴν ἀποτομὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ τιμίου Προφήτου Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου: ivi*, pp. 120-128.

(9) *Όμιλία εις τὴν ὑψωσιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ: ivi*, pp. 128-137; già edita da I. GRETSER, *Opera omnia de sancta cruce*, II, Ingolstadii, 1616, pp. 1347-1363.

(10) Le cinquanta omelie e didascalie conservate dall'Athos *Chiland. 8 (229)*, ff. 82<sup>v</sup>-337<sup>r</sup> (cfr. Sp. P. LAMPROS, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I, Cambridge, 1895, pp. 28-29; GONIS, *Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον*, pp. 124-126), le due omelie (e un frammento) del *Patmos 366*, ff. 412<sup>r</sup>-423<sup>v</sup> (cfr. GONIS, *Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον*, p. 127) e le cinque dell'Athos *Stavron. 62 (927)*, ff. 278<sup>r</sup>-294<sup>v</sup> (cfr. LAMPROS, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I, p. 82; GONIS, *Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον*, p. 126).

dente la polemica del patriarca contro Niceforo Gregoras, alla quale egli consacrò diversi interventi nel triennio 1357-1359 (11). Sempre in questo senso sono forse leggibili i capitoli 21, 23-25, 48, 68, dedicati alla luce della Trasfigurazione di Cristo sul monte Tabor. Crediamo perciò che i 100 Capitoli siano stati scritti da Callisto verso il 1360.

Va aggiunto che in quest'opera, indirizzata chiaramente a un pubblico monastico (v. però le righe iniziali del capitolo 109 e il 56 dove egli parla dei laici) come altri suoi scritti, l'Omelia sulle quattro virtù generali (*Όμιλία περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων γενικωτάτων ἀρετῶν καὶ μοναχικῆς πολιτείας*) e l'Omelia alle monache (*Όμιλία πρὸς μοναζούσας*), Callisto I sembra apparentemente rivolgersi a un anonimo interlocutore (capitoli 1, 4, 18, 19, 41, 42, 50, 58, 82, 96, 102, 109). Questi incisi potrebbero però essere dovuti a semplici ragioni d'ordine retorico e formale.

Il titolo del manoscritto di Matsouki parla di 100 Capitoli sulla purezza dell'anima, mentre in realtà i capitoli sono 109. In un codice della biblioteca dell'El Escorial andato perduto nell'incendio del 1671 (12) i capitoli di Callisto I erano 106.

Il 100 è il numero tradizionale del genere letterario dei capitoli (*kephalaia*) da Evagrio il Pontico in poi (13), anche se sono note serie di estensione diversa, in particolare i 150 capitoli dello pseudo-Macario l'Egiziano nella "parafrasi di Simeone il metafraste" (14) e i 150 capitoli di Gregorio Palamas (15). Conosciamo serie organizzate sulla base di altri principi, e per questo motivo articolate in un numero differente di capitoli: così l'acrostico (Teognosto (16), Gregorio il Sinaita) (17) o la simboli-

(11) Cfr. le opere analizzate da GONIS, *Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον*, pp. 166-194, 197-199.

(12) Escorial. A. III. 5 (581), cfr. RIGO, *I Capitoli sulla purezza dell'anima*, pp. 782-783 e più in basso.

(13) Al riguardo I. HAUSHERR, *Centuries*, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, II, Paris, 1953, coll. 416-418; E. VON IVÁNKA, *ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΑ. Eine byzantinische Literaturform und ihre antike Wurzeln*, in *BZ*, 47 (1954), pp. 285-291; A. GUILLAUMONT, C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique, Traité pratique ou Le moine*, I (SC, 171), Paris, 1971, pp. 113-117.

(14) CPG 2413, *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, III, Athinai 1960<sup>3</sup>, pp. 171-234.

(15) P. K. CHRESTOU et alii, *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ συγγράμματα*, V, Thessaloniki, 1992, pp. 37-119.

(16) 74 capitoli (invece di 79): *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, II, Athinai, 1960<sup>3</sup>, pp. 255-271.

(17) 137 capitoli: ivi, IV, pp. 31-62.

ca delle cifre <sup>(18)</sup> (i 153 capitoli *Sull'orazione* di Evagrio il Pontico e i 153 pesci della pesca miracolosa del Vangelo di Giovanni <sup>(19)</sup>, i 3 capitoli sulla preghiera e la purezza di cuore di Gregorio Palamas e le tre persone della Trinità) <sup>(20)</sup>. Le iniziali dei capitoli del patriarca Callisto I non formano però un acrostico e la cifra 109 non sembra avere nessuna implicazione d'ordine simbolico. Crediamo perciò che all'inizio i capitoli fossero 100 e formassero appunto una centuria. Soltanto in un secondo momento divennero 109. La maggiore estensione degli ultimi *kephalaia* (in particolare del 109) ci fa ritenere che ci troviamo di fronte ad aggiunte successive. È anche possibile che qualche scriba abbia erroneamente suddiviso un capitolo in due, dando così vita a una centuria abnorme. Una testimonianza in tal senso sembra essere fornita dalla serie di 14 capitoli edita dalla *Filocalia* (v. più in basso), nella quale i capitoli 12 e 13 formano un unico capitolo (anche se è pure ipotizzabile l'inverso e cioè che i due capitoli siano stati riuniti dall'anonimo compilatore). L'ipotesi che l'errata numerazione dei capitoli derivi dalla distrazione di qualche copista sembra confermata dal fatto che nel codice perduto dell'El Escorial i capitoli erano 106. Dobbiamo aggiungere infine che entrambi i fenomeni (aggiunte successive e errori degli scribi) non sono inusuali nella storia del testo e nella trasmissione dei *kephalaia*.

\*  
\* \*

Nei Capitoli sulla purezza dell'anima, Callisto I si basa, per il quadro generale, su Giovanni Climaco (l'unico autore, oltre a Gregorio di Nazianzo, a essere esplicitamente citato), quando vede nel timore di Dio, nella fuga dal mondo e nell'ubbidienza e nella sottomissione i necessari preliminari dell'itinerario spirituale (capitolo 2).

Egli ribadisce a più riprese la tradizionale bipartizione tra pratica (*praxis*), che consiste nell'opera dei comandamenti, e contemplazione (*theoria*) (capitoli 40, 46, 61, 95). Quest'ultima a sua volta si articola, come aveva detto una volta per tutte Evagrio il Pontico, in contemplazione degli enti e contemplazione di Dio (capitoli 64-65).

(18) Al riguardo P. VAN DEUN, *La symbolique des nombres dans l'œuvre de Maxime le Confesseur*, in *Bsl*, 53 (1992), pp. 237-242.

(19) *Sull'orazione*, prologo: *Φιλοκαλία*, I, pp. 176-177.

(20) CHRESTOU, *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμά συγγράμματα*, V, pp. 157-159.

Da un'altra prospettiva, Callisto parla di quattro tappe, o quattro virtù: la "legge introduttiva", l'etica, la pratica e la contemplazione (capitoli 2, 39, 87). Secondo Callisto l'attività centrale è la pratica interiore, cioè la preghiera, accompagnata dalla sobrietà (*nepsis*) (capitoli 18, 43, 46, 100), dall'attenzione (*prosochè*) (capitolo 96). Per l'orazione egli conduce dapprima un'analisi preliminare dell'uomo: sensi, anima e sue potenze, ragione, mente e cuore. La sottomissione e l'armonizzazione dei sensi (capitolo 5), accompagnate dall'unificazione delle tre facoltà dell'anima (capitolo 6), permettono di innalzarsi alla preghiera e alla contemplazione. A proposito di questo processo e per l'orazione, egli utilizza a più riprese (capitoli 9, 11, 17, 18, 19) la bella immagine della cetra e del citaredo.

La preghiera, indicata come la ripetizione continua nel cuore del Nome di Gesù e lo stato di perseverante memoria della mente (capitoli 6, 10, 11, 19, 46, 53, 76), suscita un piacere e un'esultanza indicibili. « L'anima, battuta, per così dire, con la continua invocazione e memoria di Gesù, brucia sempre nell'amore di Dio per la continuità dell'invocazione. Poi comincia anche a irradiare, come conviene, emettendo la sua bellezza naturale » (capitolo 53), e rende di fuoco il corpo dell'orante (capitoli 37, 14).

In questi capitoli Callisto ritorna a più riprese, con uno spirito diverso, ma con un'impostazione e con termini analoghi a quelli delle altre sue opere, sulla teofania del Sinai e sulla Trasfigurazione sul monte Tabor (capitoli 20, 21, 23-25, 47-51, 68-69) – temi che erano stati oggetto degli interventi di Gregorio Palamas e che in quegli anni erano al centro delle discussioni teologiche e in particolare degli interventi di antipalamiti quali Niceforo Gregoras. Callisto collega la teofania e la Trasfigurazione alla vita nella separatezza e nella solitudine, là figurata dal deserto e dal monte. La salita sulla montagna è l'ascesa al vertice della pratica (*praxis*) (capitolo 25) o alla contemplazione degli enti (capitolo 68). La Trasfigurazione di Cristo è la trasformazione dell'orante al vertice della sua ascesa spirituale (capitoli 25, 68). All'ascesa sul monte della pratica e della contemplazione degli enti segue infatti l'entrata nella "tenebra mistica" e la contemplazione (capitolo 68).

Il patriarca Callisto I fissa comunque la sua attenzione sulla preghiera, sulla ripetizione del Nome divino, vista come un'opera interiore compiuta nel cuore e consistente nel concorso sinfonico di tre elementi che formano l'uomo interiore: l'anima (riconvertita nelle sue potenze), la ragione e la mente. È la preghiera a condurre alla visione e alla trasformazione luminosa dell'orante.

Resta da aggiungere che Callisto, in questa dottrina dell'orazione, come attività per eccellenza dell'uomo interiore, nelle indicazioni sulla lotta ai pensieri e alle suggestioni demoniache e in altri aspetti ancora, riecheggia a più riprese gli insegnamenti presenti nelle opere del suo maestro, Gregorio il Sinaita. Dobbiamo però osservare che Callisto, anche quando tratta della preghiera interiore e della "discesa della mente nel cuore", non parla mai delle tecniche psicofisiche propagate dai manuali dello pseudo-Simeone il Nuovo Teologo e di Niceforo l'Athonita e dal suo stesso maestro. I suoi accenni al metodo, sia pur riconoscibili, appaiono velati e difficilmente comprensibili da un lettore inconsapevole e non istruito al riguardo.

\* \* \*

I 100 (109) Capitoli sulla purezza dell'anima di Callisto I sono conservati da un unico manoscritto.

M Matsouki *Ecclesiae S. Parasceuae (olim Monasterii Byzilas 5)*, cart., XIV s. (anni 60), 295 × 220, ff. 564<sup>(21)</sup>.

Estesa raccolta ascetico-spirituale (Evagrio il Pontico, Cassiano, Apoftegmi, Giovanni Climaco, Isacco il Siro, Giovanni Climaco, Esichio di Batos, Filoteo di Batos, Elia l'ekdikos, Niceta Stethatos, Pietro Damasceno, Gregorio il Sinaita, ecc.).

Ai ff. 387<sup>v</sup>-393<sup>v</sup> Τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κυροῦ Καλλίστου κεφάλαια ρ' περὶ καθαρότητος ψυχῆς· πῶς κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτὴ καθαίρεται καὶ εἰς θεωρίαν ἀνάγεται.

Anche per l'opera di Callisto, come in gran parte del manoscritto<sup>(22)</sup>, il copista di M, al momento di eseguire le rubriche in rosso, ha aggiunto in margine numerose glosse esplicative (che hanno numerosi paralleli nei lessici più comuni) a singoli termini, oltre ad alcune integrazioni e correzioni (1. 5, 11, 41. 2, 107. 2). Ecco le glosse che nel codice accompagnano i Capitoli sulla purezza dell'anima:

(21) Cfr. G. N. GHIANNAKIS, G. P. SABBANTIDIS, *Τὸ χειρόγραφο τῆς Βύλιζας στὸ Μάτσοῦκι Ἰωαννίνων*, in *Δωδώνη*, 12 (1983), pp. 253-261; A. RIGO, *Il monaco, la Chiesa e la liturgia. I Capitoli sulle gerarchie di Gregorio il Sinaita (La mistica cristiana tra Oriente e Occidente, 4)*, Firenze, 2005, pp. XXI-XXIV, XXIX-XXXIII; K. N. KONSTANTINIDIS, G. K. MAVROMATIS & I. CH. NESSERIS (ed.), *Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἰωαννίνων. Κατάλογος ἔκθεσης*, Ioannina, 2009, pp. 54-58 (nr. 24) e tav. XXV per il f. 207<sup>v</sup>.

(22) Cfr. RIGO, *Il monaco*, pp. XXIII-XXIV.

1. 4 ἐφικέσθαι	καταλαβεῖν
1. 5 πάντη	παντελῶς   δυσάναντες δύσκολον τὸ ἀνελεθεῖν
1. 10 διαμείβων	μεταλλάττων   ὡς εἰκός ὡς πρέπον
2. 1 συνέχει	συντηρεῖ, περισφίγγει   ταυτησί ταύτης
2. 2 συνέχεσθαι	διακρατεῖσθαι
2. 4 ὑπερεξήρηται	ὑπέρκειται
2. 5 συναμιλλᾶται	συναγωνίζεται, συντρέχει
2. 6 εὐοικότι	ὁμοιουμένῳ
2. 10 ἐντεῦθεν	ἀπὸ τούτου
2. 11 ἐλόμενος	θέλων
2. 12 ἄμα	ὁμοῦ
2. 15 ἀποβαλλόμενος	ἀπορρίψας
4. 2 τὰς ἐμφάσεις	τὰς δηλώσεις
5. 3 θημονίαν	σωρόν
6. 2 ὡς εἰκός	ὡς πρέπον
7. 5 οἱ τηνικαῦτα	οἱ τότε
7. 6 τὸ τηλαυγές	τὸ καθαρὸν
8. 2 συναθροισθῆναι	συναχθῆναι   αἵρεται ὑψοῦται   ἐπομένην ἀκολουθοῦσαν
9. 2 ἐκθηλύνειν	καταθέλλγειν
9. 3 ὑποσείντος	ὑποκάτωθεν κινουῦντος   εὐρύθμως εὐτάκτως
10. 2 ἐντεύξεως	δεήσεως
10. 3 ἀμιλλᾶται	συναγωνίζεται
10. 4 ἀπόμοιρα	ἀπορροή
11. 3 σκοπιᾶς	σκοπιᾶ ὁ ὑψηλὸς τόπος   ὀλικῶς ὀλοτελῶς   κατόχου δεσμίου
11. 5 ἐνδεδεχοῦς	συχνῆς
12. 1 μύσωμεν	κλείσωμεν
12. 3 ἀλλόμενον	πηδῶν
13. 2 ἀλλόμενον	πηδῶν
15. 3 συναμιλλᾶται	συντρέχει
15. 4 ἐφικτόν	δυνατόν
16. 2 χωρεῖ	εἰσέρχεται
16. 4 τὸ ἄνω	τὸ ἄνω
17. 3 προσερείδων	στηρίζων
17. 5 ἄλλεται	πηδᾷ
18. 4 ἀλοῦσα	ληφθεῖσα
19. 2 ἐνδεδεχῶς	ἐπιμόνως
20. 1 ἐφεῖται	ἐνδίδοται, συγκεχώρηται
20. 2 ἀριδήλως	φανερῶς
20. 3 ἀλλοιοῦσθαι	μεταβάλλεσθαι
21. 5 προσανέχοντα	προσέχοντα, προσκεκολλημένα   τῇ θηλῇ τῷ μαστῷ
21. 6 προσανέχοντες	προσκεκολλημένοι, προσέχοντες
25. 1 ὡς εἰκός	ὡς πρέπον
25. 4 εἰσδύναι	εἰσελεθεῖν
26. 3 βρίθοντες	βαροῦντες
27. 5 ἐξεχομένου	συνερχομένου
27. 6 εἰσηγουμένου	διδάσκοντος
30. 5 εἰσδύντος	εἰσελθόντος



31. 1 δραστική	ἐνεργής		
33. 2 περί τούτου	κύκλω αὐτοῦ	ἡ στεγανότης	ἡ στερρότης
33. 4 ὡς εἰκός	ὡς πρόπον		
34. 1 ὀλικῶς	ὀλοτελῶς		
34. 2 ἄξων	ἀξώνιον		
34. 4 ἀρυομένας	ἀντλούσας		
37. 1 τρισολβία	τρисуδαίμων, τρισόπλουτος		
37. 2 ἀλλομένω	πηδῶντι		
38. 4 προσήκοντος	πρέποντος		
38. 6 δέλτοις	βίβλοις		
39. 2 ἀνηγμένον	ἀνερχόμενον, ἠύξημένον		
40. 1 τετρακτύς	τετράς		
41. 1 ὡς εἰκός	ὡς δέον		
41. 3 ῥαδίως	εὐκόλως		
42. 5 ἐπιβάλλειν	ἐπιχειρεῖν		
44. 1 ἡ θρυαλλίς	τὸ κοινῶς λεγόμενον φυτίλλιν		
44. 4 ἀλοῦσα	κρατηθεῖσα		
44. 13 ἐκφαντορικῶς	φανερῶς, λαμπρῶς		
44. 14 παινομένης	λιπαινομένης		
44. 16 ἐκτείνεται	ἐξαπλοῦται	πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες	πρὸς τὸ ἀνωφερές
45. 1 ἐκτελεῖ	ποιεῖ		
45. 3 τῇ αἴγλη	τῇ λαμπηδόνι		
46. 2 ἀπασχολεῖται	ἀποχωρεῖ		
48. 4-5 μὴ οἰοί τε ὄντες	μὴ δυνατοί		
49. 1 ὡς εἰκός	ὡς δέον		
51. 1 ἀμιγές	ἄμικτον		
59. 1 νήχεσθαι	κολυμβᾶν, πλέειν		
60. 3 ἀσκαρδαμκτί	χωρὶς τοῦ μύειν		
61. 2 αἰωρούμενος	ὑψούμενος	χειραγωγούμενος	ὀδηγούμενος
61. 5 ὀλικῶς κάτοχος γίνεται	ὀλοτελῶς δέσμιος γίνεται		
62. 1 κατόπτρου δίκην ἐπέχει	ὁμοίως ἔχει κατόπτρω		
62. 2 οὐλάς	τὰ τραύματα	τὴν τοῦ ὕελου διαύγειαν	τὴν τοῦ ὕαλιου καθαρότητα
62. 4 κηλίδας	ρύπους		
63. 5 συγγινόμενος	ἐνούμενος		
64. 3 ἄπαγε	οὐδαμῶς, οὐχί		
65. 2 ἐντεῦθεν	ἐκ τούτου	κορίζονται	κερδαίνουσι
65. 4 θεραπευνίδια	δούλην		
66. 1 μέτριον	ταπεινόν		
67. 1 ὀλικῶς	ὀλοτελῶς		
67. 2 πλησιφαῆ	πλησιφαῆς λέγεται καὶ ἡ πλήρης σελήνης ἡμέρα		
67. 3 ἀμαυροῦται	σκοτίζεται	τηνικαῦτα	τότε
67. 5 βολίδων	ἀκτίνων		
67. 9 ἐσμός	ἡ πληθὺς		
68. 8 συναποβαλλόμενοι	συναπορρίψαντες		
71. 4 φύραμα	ζύμην		
71. 12 ἐφάμιλλος	ἴσος, ὁμοιος		

71. 13 στοιχειωθέντι	διατυπωθέντι, ὀδηγηθέντι, μαθόντι
73. 4 σχεδόν	παραμικρόν
73. 7 τῷ ὄντι	ὡς ἀληθῶς
73. 9 μέθεξιν	ἔνωσιν
74. 1 ἀλλομένου	πηδῶντος
74. 4 ῥῆον	εὐκόλον
75. 1 ἄλλεται	πηδᾷ
75. 2 ἀλλόμενον	πηδῶν
75. 5 ἠπίως	ἡμέρας, πράως
76. 2 ἀφειδῶς	ἀνελεημόνας, ἀκρατῶς
76. 3 χραίνειν	μιαίνειν
76. 4 βέβηλος	μιαρός, ἀκάθαρτος   βολίσιν ἀκοντίοις
76. 5 βάλλωμεν	τρώσωμεν
78. 1 ἐπέχει	διασφύζει, ἐμφαίνει
81. 3 ὑπαινίττεται	συμβολικῶς δηλοῖ
83. 2 ὀπηνίκα	ὀπότεν δέ, ὅτε δέ
84. 2 ἀπαρτίσαι	τελειῶσαι
84. 4 ἐντεῦθεν	ἐκ τούτου
85. 2 ἡ γάρ	ὡς δέ
86. 1 ἡ μείωσις	ἡ ἐλάττωσις
87. 3 ἀνάρθρων	ἀτρανώτων, ἀτυπῶτων   ἐνάρθρων εὐδήλων, τετυπωμένων
91. 1 ἐπέχει	ἐμφαίνει
91. 2 πάντη	παντελῶς
93. 1 διαύγεια	λαμπρότης
93. 5 περιαιρεθέντος	ἐξαρθέντος
94. 2 θρυαλλίδα	θρυαλλίς ἐστὶ τὸ κοινῶς λεγόμενον φυτίλλιν
101. 3 ἀλούς	ληφθείς
103. 3 κάτοχος	δέσμιος
104. 1 λόχους	ἐγκρύματα
104. 5 κάντεῦθεν	καὶ ἐκ τούτου
105. 5 μὴ ἀποκάμης	μὴ χαυνωθῆς, μὴ ἀκηδιάσης   ἀντέχων ἀντιστάμενος
109. 2 οἶμαι	ὑπολαμβάνω   ἀντιποιοῦμένοις ἀντεχομένοις
109. 4 μετουσίας	μετοχῆς
109. 6 ὀνίνησι	ὠφελεῖ
109. 9 ἦτταν	νίκην
109. 11 δραπέτης	φυγᾶς
109. 13 ἡρετίσατο	προέκρινεν
109. 15 ἐπόμενος	ἀκολουθῶν
109. 18 ἀνθέλκεται	ἄγει
109. 22 σύνεδρον	συγκάθεδρον
109. 26 ὡς ἐντεῦθεν	ὡς ἐκ τούτου
109. 31 ἀμαυροῖ	σκοτίζει
109. 33 τὸν μονιόν	τὸν ἄγριον χοῖρον
109. 43 ἐπέχει	ἀποσφύζει

I capitoli di Callisto I erano conservati in un codice oggi perduto, l'Escorial. A. III. 5 (581), come sappiamo dalla descrizione di questo manoscritto fatta verso il 1600 da Nicola de la Torre: *Eidem attributa* [sc. Callisto I patriarca] *capitula 106 ad interrogationem quomodo animae purgentur usque ad visionem Dei* (23).

Dalla centuria di Callisto I fu in seguito estratta una breve serie di 14 capitoli, intitolati *Capitoli sulla preghiera* (*Τοῦ μακαρίου Καλλίστου τοῦ πατριάρχου κεφάλαια περὶ προσευχῆς*). La serie più breve è stata edita nella *Filocalia* (24).

I 14 capitoli si ritrovano nell'*Athos Pantokrat.* 98 (1132), ff. 66<sup>r</sup>-67<sup>v</sup> (XVIII secolo), assieme ad altro materiale (Teofane il monaco: *Scala*, Gregorio il Sinaita, Simeone il Nuovo Teologo, estratti delle *Vite* di Massimo il Kausokalyba e di Gregorio Palamas in demotico) che ritroviamo nella *Filocalia* (25). Da menzionare anche il *Sinait. gr.* 1612, copiato nell'anno 1844 a Santa Caterina del Sinai dal monaco Paisios del Peloponneso, dove i 14 capitoli (*Τοῦ μακαρίου Καλλίστου τοῦ πατριάρχου κεφάλαια ἑδ' περὶ προσευχῆς*) figurano ai ff. 16<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>v</sup> (pp. λα'-λς'), assieme a testi di contenuto spirituale tratti dalla *Filocalia* (26).

Indichiamo di seguito le corrispondenze tra la serie dei 14 capitoli e la centuria:

<i>Filocalia</i> (F)	M
1	17
2	18
3	19
4	12-13
5	35
6	37
7	34

(23) G. DE ANDRÉS, *Catálogo de los códices griegos desaparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, El Escorial, 1968, pp. 264-265; v. anche la notizia di E. MILLER, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escorial*, Paris, 1848, pp. 372-373.

(24) *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, Venezia, 1782, pp. 1100-1102 = PG 147, coll. 813-817, ristampati nella seconda e terza riedizione della *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, Athinai, 1893<sup>2</sup>, pp. 411-412 e IV, Athinai, 1961<sup>3</sup>, pp. 296-298.

(25) Cfr. LAMPROS, *Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I, p. 102.

(26) Cfr. V. N. BENEŠEVIĆ, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum qui in monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur*, 3/1, Peterburg, 1917, p. 107.

8	38
9	45
10	46
11	56, 57 ('Ο δ' ἔρημικὸς βίος - αὐτά)
12	74
13	87
14	96

Presentiamo il testo dei *Capitoli sulla purezza dell'anima* del patriarca Callisto I sulla base di M, collazionato, per i capitoli comuni, con la serie dei 14 capitoli edita in F.

M *Matsouki Ecclesiae S. Parasceuae* (olim *Monasterii Bylizas* 5), ff. 387<sup>v</sup>-393<sup>v</sup>  
 F *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 296-298.

Τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κυροῦ Καλλίστου κεφάλαια  
ρ' ἐπεὶ καθαρότητος ψυχῆς· πᾶς κατὰ μικρὸν αὕτη καθαίρεται καὶ εἰς θεωρίαν  
ἀνάγεται

α' Εἰ βούλει, ἀγαπητέ, μαθεῖν πῶς καθαίρεται ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ εἰς θεωρίαν Θεοῦ  
ἀνάγεται, κατὰ τὸν τῆς κλίμακος τρόπον νοεῖ τὴν ταύτης νοερὰν ἀνοδὸν.  
"Ἐστὼ δέ σοι σαφές τὸ παράδειγμα· ὡς γὰρ ἀδύνατον τὸν εἰς ὕψος ἀρθῆναι  
βουλόμενον ἐφικέσθαι εἰ μὴ δι' αὐτῆς τῆς χειροποιήτου κλίμακος τῶν βαθ-  
5 μίδων, οὕτως οὐ ῥάδιον πάντη, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσάναντες πρὸς ὕψος ἀρθῆναι τῆς  
εἰς Θεὸν θεωρίας τὸν κατὰ Θεὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ καθαρῆναι τὸ σύνολον, καὶ τὰς  
κηλίδας τὰς ψυχικὰς ἐκτρίψασθαι τε καὶ ἀφανίσει· ἡ γὰρ πρώτη βαθμὶς τὴν  
δευτέραν πάντως εἰσάγει καὶ πρὸς τὴν τρίτην χωρεῖ, καὶ αὕτις ἀκωλύτως ἀνά-  
γεται οἷονεὶ διὰ τῶν νοητῶν βαθμίδων τῆς ἀρετῆς, πρὸς τὴν τελευταίαν καὶ  
10 ἀκροτάτην, κατὰ τάξιν διαμείβων αὐτάς, καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς ποιεῖται τὰς ἀναβά-  
σεις. Ἄμα γὰρ τῷ ἀναδέξασθαι τῆς ὑπακοῆς τὸν ζυγὸν τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
ἀθλητὴν καὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος κινήσεις ἀποβάλλεσθαι, ῥάδιως ἢ ταπεινώσις  
ἐξαυθεὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀπαθείας ὄρος αὐτῷ ἐπιγίνεται, καί, ὡς εἶπεῖν,  
κατὰ τὸν τῆς κλίμακος θεϊότατον Ἰωάννην πρὸ τοῦ βαδίσαι ἔφθασεν ὁ χωρὶς  
15 αἵματος μάρτυς καὶ χωρὶς πληγῶν στεφανίτης.

1.

M

14-15 Gregorio di Nazianzo, *Funeris oratio in laudem Basilii magni*, 57, 5 : F. BOULENGER, *Discours funèbres en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée* (Textes et documents, 6), Paris, 1908, p. 176.

5 ἀλλὰ s. l. add. (in rosso) M || 11 τῷ : τὸ M | τὸν ante τοῦ Χριστοῦ s. l. add. (in rosso) M

(27) In modo simile iniziano anche i capitoli 17 e 96. L'espressione ricorre in un'altra opera di CALLISTO, *Διδασκαλία περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν*, *Athos Chiland*, 8 (229), f. 93<sup>v</sup> (Εἰ δέ καὶ ἔτι μαθεῖν βούλει, ἄκουε συνε- τῶς).

(28) L'immagine della scala, che deriva evidentemente da GIOVANNI CLIMACO, si ritrova anche in altri scritti di CALLISTO, nell'*Encomio* di GIOVANNI NESTUTES (ὡσανεὶ βαθμίδας ἐν κλίμακι χρυσοειδεῖς ἐκεῖνον προθεῖναι, μίαν τῆς ἐτέρας ἐξεχο- μένην, ἐναρμονίως τοῖς αἰρουμένοις δι' αὐτῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἀκωλύτως ἀνάγε- σθαι, GELZER, *Kallistos' Enkomion*, pp. 77, ll. 34-78, l. 3 e ancora : κατὰ τὸν τῆς κλίμακος τρόπον, ivi, p. 86, ll. 18-19) e nella *Vita* di GREGORIO IL SINAITA, dove egli parla dell'ascesa della scala spirituale (καθάπερ εἰς ἀνάβασιν πνευματικῆς κλίμακος) (14 : BEYER, *Kallist I*, p. 138).

(29) Il termine «ascese» (ἀναβάσεις) (cfr. Sal. 83, 6) compare anche in cap. 9. 7. La sua provenienza biblica è esplicitata da Callisto in altre opere. Nella

Del santissimo patriarca di Costantinopoli messer Callisto 100 capitoli sulla  
purezza dell'anima : come a poco a poco si purifica e si innalza alla contempla-  
zione

1. Se, mio caro, vuoi imparare (27) come l'anima è purificata e innalzata alla contemplazione di Dio, considera la sua ascesa intellettuale in modo analogo all'immagine della scala. L'esempio ti sia chiaro : come è impossibile per chi vuole salire in alto raggiungere il suo scopo se non per mezzo dei gradini di una scala fatta da mani d'uomo, così non è affatto facile, anzi è difficile, per l'uomo di Dio salire alla sommità della contemplazione verso Dio o essere purificato completamente e consumare e far svanire le macchie dell'anima, il primo gradino conduce senza dubbio al secondo e procede verso il terzo e così via via egli si innalza senza impedimenti, tramite gli intellettuali gradini della virtù, verso l'ultimo e più elevato, superandoli secondo il loro ordine (28) e, come conviene, effettua le ascese (29). L'atleta di Cristo, assieme all'accettazione del giogo dell'ubbidienza, rigetta i movimenti del corpo. Facilmente l'umiltà fiorisce su di lui e il limite dell'impassibilità in lui sopraggiunge. Per parlare con il molto divino Giovanni Climaco, «il martire senza sangue e il vincitore senza ferite» (30) arriva prima di intraprendere il cammino.

Ἐπιτομή εἰς τὴν πέμπτην κυριακὴν τῶν νηστειῶν leggiamo : «E non solo dispo- nendo le ascese profetiche nel cuore investiga la conoscenza di Dio, ma anche confessa e rende grazie, e con la ragione sobria e pura durante la notte» (καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰς ἀναβάσεις τὰς προφητικὰς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ διατιθέμενος ἐξερέονα τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ γνώσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξομολογεῖτο καὶ ἠψυχάρισται, καὶ ἠψυχόντι καὶ καθαρῶ τῷ λογισμῷ κατὰ τὴν νύκτα), *Athos Chiland*, 8 (229), f. 147<sup>v</sup>. Nella *Vita* di GREGORIO IL SINAITA, il rimando è ancora più chiaro (καὶ ἀναβάσεις, κατὰ τὸν Δαυίδ, τίθεσθαι ἐν καρδίᾳ), 19 : BEYER, *Kallist I*, p. 174.

(30) GREGORIO DI NAZIANZO, *Funeris oratio in laudem Basilii magni*, 57, 5 : F. BOULENGER, *Discours funèbres en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée* (Textes et documents, 6), Paris, 1908, p. 176. Qui Callisto commette per disatten- zione un errore, attribuendo queste parole a Giovanni Climaco. La citazione, da lui particolarmente amata, ritorna (senza il nome dell'autore) in un contesto molto simile, quando egli scrive : « Quindi, come è opportuno, portiamo il giogo dell'ubbidienza di Cristo ... La perfetta sottomissione con facilità com- porta la suddetta mortificazione delle passioni e conduce chi la possiede all'im- passibilità, come è detto : 'Dall'ubbidienza deriva l'umiltà, dall'umiltà l'impas- sibilità' [GIOVANNI CLIMACO, *Scala paradisi*, 4 : PG 88, col. 709<sup>v</sup>]. Chi rinnega la pro- pria volontà segue Dio notte e giorno. Costui è martire nella ragione e vincito- re nell'uomo interiore (μάρτυς ἐστὶ κατὰ διάνοιαν καὶ στεφανίτης κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον) », *Ἐπιτομή περὶ ὑποταγῆς*, *Athos Chiland*, 8 (229), f. 330<sup>v</sup>. E di nuovo, più in basso nella stessa opera (οὗτος δέ ἐστιν, ἀδελφοί, ὁ χωρὶς αἵματος μάρτυς καὶ χωρὶς πληγῶν στεφανίτης, f. 331<sup>v</sup>).

β' Τάξις γὰρ πάντα συνέχει οὐ μόνον τὰ τῆς κτίσεως ταυτησι ὥστε διακυβερναῖσθαι καὶ συνέχεσθαι ὕψω φιλίας καὶ τάξεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς νοερᾶς τῶν ἀγγέλων φύσεως· πρώτης φημί καὶ μέσης καὶ τελευταίας τάξεως καὶ ἱεραρχίας ἐνθεωρουμένης αὐτῇ· τοσοῦτον ὑπερεξήρηται πάντων τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν καθὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος συναμιλλᾶται τούτῳ τῷ τῆς τάξεως ἀγαθῷ, κλίμακι ὡς εἴρηται ἐοικότει, οὐ χωρὶς ἕτερον τι ἀγαθὸν τελεσθῆναι ἀδύνατον. Καὶ τοίνυν, εἰ βούλει μαθεῖν ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἀναλαβοῦ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβον· οὐ γὰρ φόβος ἐντολῶν τήρησις κατὰ τὸν γρήγορον νοῦν. Τούτου γὰρ τοῦ φόβου ἐν ἡμῖν βλαστάνειν ἀπαρχομένου, ῥάδια ταῦτα πάντα 10 γενήσεται· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἄρχεται πρῶτον ἡ μελέτη τῆς τοῦ κόσμου φυγῆς, καὶ τούτου ὡσαυεὶ γενομένου, ὁ κατὰ Θεὸν ζῆν ἐλόμενος τὸν τῆς ὑπακοῆς καὶ ὑποταγῆς ὑποδύεται δρόμον· καὶ ἅμα τὸν εἰσαγωγικὸν ἐκπαιδεύεται νόμον καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἠθικὴν ἐπιβαίνει ῥαδίως | καὶ αἰθὶς πρὸς τὴν πράξιν χωρεῖ 15 βαθμηδὸν τοῦ τῆς τελειώσεως δρόμου. Τότε τοίνυν τὸ βάρος πάντων τῶν σαρκικῶν κινήσεων ἀποβαλλόμενος ὁ νοῦς, καὶ αὐτὰς, ὡς εἶπευ, τὰς νοερὰς κινήσεις, ἱερατεύειν ἡγεμονικῶς ἄρχεται, καὶ τὰς νοερὰς θυσίας ἐκτελεῖν μυστικῶς διὰ τῆς καθάρσεως· ὡς ἐγκαινισθῆναι κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Δαβὶδ πνεῦμα εὐθὲς ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῶς στηριχθῆναι. Τότε τοίνυν καὶ ἡμεῖς 20 εἰς ἀνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

γ' Ναὸς Θεοῦ καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἐστὶ κυρίως ὁ λογικὸς ἄνθρωπος· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ τελειοῦνται αἱ νοεραὶ θυσίαι καὶ λατρεῖαι μυστικῶς κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον.

2.

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17-18 Sal. 50, 12, 14. || 19-20 Ef. 4, 13

3.

M

(31) Al timore di Dio CALLISTO dedica un'intera opera, la *Διδασκαλία τετάρτη περὶ φόβου Θεοῦ*, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), ff. 121<sup>v</sup>-126<sup>r</sup>, nella quale afferma, tra l'altro, che « κεφάλαιον δὲ τούτων καὶ οἶονεὶ κορωνίς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβος καθέστη-κε » (f. 121<sup>v</sup>).

(32) Su queste tappe dell'itinerario spirituale, v. più in basso n. 55.

(33) V. anche capitolo 30, 9 e cfr. il capitolo 4. Altrove CALLISTO scrive al riguardo: « ... Nell'altare di Dio che è veramente l'uomo razionale, come è scrit-

2. L'ordine tiene insieme tutte le cose non solo di questa creazione, così da governarle e tenerle insieme con il limite dell'amicizia e dell'ordine, ma anche quelle della natura intellettuale degli angeli – intendo dire il primo, l'intermedio e l'ultimo ordine e gerarchia che sono in questa contemplabili. Tanto questo bene eccelle rispetto a tutti gli altri, proprio come anche il genere umano lotta assieme a questo bene dell'ordine, simile, come si è detto, a una scala, senza il quale è impossibile realizzare qualsiasi altro bene. Se vuoi dunque apprendere questa scienza, prendi su di te il timore di Dio, perché il timore di Lui è custodia dei comandamenti nella mente vigile. Quando questo timore inizierà a spuntare in noi, tutte queste cose diventeranno facili <sup>(31)</sup>. In seguito, inizia dapprima la meditazione della fuga del mondo e, quando ciò si è quasi realizzato, colui che ha scelto di vivere secondo Dio intraprende la corsa dell'ubbidienza e della sottomissione. Allo stesso tempo, egli apprende la legge introduttiva, con facilità ascende all'etica, e poi procede alla pratica, gradualmente nella corsa della perfezione <sup>(32)</sup>. Allora la mente, dopo aver deposto il peso di tutti i movimenti della carne e, per così dire, gli stessi movimenti intellettuali, inizia a celebrare, essendosi posta a guida, e a compiere misticamente i sacrifici intellettuali tramite la purificazione, in modo da rinnovare su di lei, come dice il divino Davide, uno spirito retto ed essere sostenuta da uno spirito che la guidi (cfr. Sal. 50, 12, 14). Allora anche noi saremo trasformati e trasfigurati, come conviene, con l'ubbidienza a Cristo, « nell'uomo perfetto, nella misura della pienezza di Cristo » (Ef. 4, 13).

3. Tempio di Dio e altare è veramente l'uomo razionale. In lui si celebrano misticamente i sacrifici e i culti intellettuali, nell'uomo interiore <sup>(33)</sup>.

to: 'Dio non dimora in templi fatti da mano d'uomo' (At. 7, 48), ma nelle nostre anime ... Il nostro cuore, fratelli, è chiamato trono di Dio, mensa e altare » (... ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὅπερ ἐστὶ κυρίως ὁ λογικὸς ἄνθρωπος καθὰ φησιν· οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς ...). H γὰρ καρδία ἡμῶν, ἀδελφοί, θρόνος Θεοῦ λέγεται καὶ τράπεζα καὶ θυσιαστήριον), *Διδασκαλία περὶ τῆς προσκυνήσεως τοῦ σταυροῦ*, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), f. 140<sup>r</sup> e nel passo identico della *Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν ὕψωσιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ*: SOPHRONIOS, *Ὁ πατριάρχης Κάλλιστος*, p. 136. CALLISTO riprende evidentemente quanto aveva scritto il suo maestro GREGORIO IL SINAITA: « Vero santuario (ἱερατεῖον ἀληθινόν), anche prima della vita futura, è il cuore senza pensieri mosso dallo Spirito. Qui tutto si celebra e si dice in modo spirituale». «L'operazione intellettuale della mente che offre misticamente, quale pegno di Dio, l'agnello sull'altare dell'anima (ἐν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς θυσιαστηρίῳ) e vi prende parte è un santuario spirituale (ἱερατεῖον πνευματικόν) prima della fruizione futura che oltrepassa la mente » (*Capitoli con acrostico*, 7: *Φιλοκαλία*, IV, pp. 31-32; 112: ivi, p. 51); cfr. RIGO, *Il monaco*, pp. 21-22.

δ' Ἰερέαν νόει μοι, ἀδελφέ, τὸν ἡγεμονεύοντα νοῦν τῆς ψυχῆς, ὑπερέτην δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν, ὄξυτάτην οὖσαν πρὸς τὰς ἐμφάσεις τοῦ Πνεύματος· ἐν οἷς ὁ νοῦς πάντα καλῶς διαγιγνώσκων, στολὰς ἐξυφαίνει θεοειδεῖς τῆ ψυχῆ.

ε' Ὡς γὰρ τὸ πῦρ διὰ τῶν ἀνθράκων καὶ τῆς ὕλης ἐξάπτει καὶ δι' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ὕψος ἅμα χωρεῖ, οὕτω καὶ ψυχὴ διὰ τῆς ἐργασίας τῶν ἐντολῶν στοιβάδα ἑαυτὴν ἐμποιεῖ, καὶ ἀρετῶν θημιωῖαν, δίκην ἀνθράκων, κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἀνθρώπον ἐξάπτουσα καὶ ἀφανίζουσα τῆ θεῖα πυρώσει τὰς ἑαυτῆς κηλίδας.

ς' Ἡ πράξις τῶν ἐντολῶν ταπεινοῖ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν· ἡ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ μνήμη τῷ νοῖ ἐνωθεῖσα, ὡς εἰκός, ἡμεροῖ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ ἀγιάζει τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς τριμερές, καὶ τούτων ὁμοῦ συναφθέντων ῥαδίως πρὸς θεωρίαν ἀνάγεται ὁ κατὰ Θεὸν ἄνθρωπος.

ζ' Ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνθρακες, τοὺς μὲν παρόντας θερμαίνουσι, τοὺς δὲ πορρωτέρω φωτίζουν καὶ τὸ τῆς νυκτὸς σκότος ἀποδιώκουσι· οὗτοι δὲ οἱ νοητοὶ ἀνθρακες τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸν μὲν ἔσω λαμπρύνουσι, τὸν δὲ ἔσω πύρινον ἀπεργάζονται, καθὰ καὶ τὸν Μωϋσέα ἐκείνου, τὸν ἔχοντα τοὺς ἐρημικοὺς ἀνθρακας τῆς θεοπτίας ἐκείνης, οὐκ ἠδύναντο ὅλως προσβλέψαι οἱ τηρικαῦτα ὁμιλοῦντες αὐτῷ, διὰ τὸ τηλαυγὲς καὶ ὑπέρλαμπρον τῆς δόξης τοῦ προσώπου ἐκείνου ὥστε καὶ καλύμματος ἐδεήθησαν.

η' Πέντε τῆς ψυχῆς αἱ αἰσθήσεις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῦ σώματος· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ταύτας συναθροισθῆναι καὶ ὁμοιοῆσαι καλῶς αἴρεται ὁ νοῦς, ὡς ἐπομένην καὶ

4.

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5.

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6.

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7.

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4-7 Cfr. Es. 34, 29-30, 35

4 Μωσέα M

8.

M

1 τὸ M

4. Fratello, considera sacerdote la mente che dirige l'anima, assistente la ragiane che è molto pronta alle manifestazioni dello Spirito. Così la mente, ben distinguendo ogni cosa, tesse per l'anima vesti divine.

5. Come il fuoco si accende con i carboni e la legna e per mezzo di questi si leva verso l'alto, così anche l'anima con l'opera dei comandamenti fa di sé un cumulo e un mucchio di virtù che brucia come carboni nell'uomo interiore e con la fiamma divina fa svanire le sue macchie.

6. L'opera dei comandamenti umilia il corpo e la mente. La memoria di Dio <sup>(34)</sup> unita alla mente, come conviene, ammansisce la facoltà irascibile e santifica le tre parti dell'anima <sup>(35)</sup>. Quando queste sono riunite, l'uomo di Dio si innalza con facilità alla contemplazione.

7. Mentre i carboni posti nel fuoco riscaldano i presenti, illuminano quelli che sono più lontano e cacciano la tenebra della notte, questi carboni intelligibili dell'anima fanno risplendere l'interiorità e rendono fiammeggiante l'esterno, come Mosè che possedeva i carboni del deserto in seguito alla visione divina e quelli che allora gli parlavano non potevano assolutamente guardarlo per la luminosità e lo splendore della gloria del suo volto cosicché avevano bisogno di un velo (cfr. Es. 34, 30-35).

8. Cinque sono i sensi dell'anima, come quelli del corpo. Nell'unificarli e renderli concordi, la mente si eleva in modo eccellente, in quanto possiede il deca-

(34) Sulla «memoria di Dio» (μνήμη τοῦ Θεοῦ) CALLISTO ritorna anche nei capitoli 19. 3 e 109. 44. In altri parla della «memoria di Gesù» (μνήμη τοῦ Ἰησοῦ) (capitoli 46. 2, 95. 7), della «memoria e invocazione di Gesù» (μνήμη καὶ ἐπίκλησις τοῦ Ἰησοῦ) (capitoli 11, 5-6, 53. 2-3) o, in modo più elittico della «buona memoria» (capitolo 101. 1) e dell'«attività della mente» (capitoli 100, 3, 109, 32-33). La pratica qui evocata è evidentemente quella della preghiera di Gesù. CALLISTO non ne parla nelle altre sue opere, se non in un breve passo della Vita di GREGORIO IL SINAITA, 12 : BEYER, *Kallist I*, p. 132.

(35) CALLISTO accenna anche altrove alla tripartizione dell'anima e alla riconversione delle potenze psichiche. Nella *Ὀμιλία εἰς τὴν ἕκτην κυριακὴν ἧτοι τῶν βατῶν*, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), f. 153v parla della santificazione delle tre parti dell'anima per mezzo del digiuno, della continenza e della preghiera. Sulla riconversione delle potenze ritorna nella *Διδασκαλία πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὡς ἡ ἀντιλογία τῆς καθαρᾶς ψυχῆς ἐστι κίνημα*, f. 93v.



συμφωνοῦσαν πνευματικῶς ἔχων τὴν δεκάλογον τῶν αἰαθήσεων· τούτων δὲ μὴ συναφθεῖσῶν καλῶς εἰς ἕψος ἀρῆται τὸν νοῦν ὅλως ἀδύνατον.

θ' Κιθάρα τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνδριάς οὗτος πνευματικῆ· ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐκείνη κατασκευασθεῖσα τῷ εὐήχῳ τῆς φωνῆς ἔλκειν οἶδε καὶ ἐκθηλύνειν τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς διὰ τοῦ ἤχου, ὑποσείουτος τὴν χεῖρα πρότερον εὐρύθμως διὰ τοῦ πλήκτρον τοῦ ταύτην κατέχοντος ἐν χερσίν, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· 5 πλήκτρον μὲν γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος καθέστηκε, χορδὰς δὲ νοήσεις τὰς αἰαθήσεις τοῦ σώματος, συγκρούονται δὲ μυστικῶς διὰ τῆς τοῦ νοῦς νήψεως καὶ ἅμα τὰς ἀναβάσεις ἢ ψυχὴ δέχεται καὶ τὰς θείας ἐλλάμψεις τοῦ Πνεύματος.

ι' Κατέκονα οὐσα ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ γίνεται τρανώτερον τε καὶ τελώτερον ἀνακαινίζουσα τοῦτο διὰ τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἐντεύξεως· ἐν οἷς καὶ τρανώτερον ἐνορᾷ τοῖς θείοις καὶ ὑπὲρ αἰσθησιν καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς ἀμιλλᾶται, ὡς ἀπόμοιρα οὐσα τῆς δόξης Θεοῦ.

ια' Τῆς ψυχῆς ὄφθαλμὸς ἔστιν ὁ νοῦς ἡγεμονεύων τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὅλου τοῦ σώματος· καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καθορᾷ τὰ ὀρώμενα ὡς ἀπὸ τινος σκοπιᾶς, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ νοῦς ὀλικῶς γενομένου κατόχου, καὶ εἰς τὸν κάτω βυθὸν ἀποβλέποντος καὶ τὸ τῆς διανοίας πτερόν ὑπαιείοντος καὶ 5 ὑποκινουόντος, ὡς τι πλήκτρον διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐνδελεχοῦς μνήμης, ἄρρητος ἡδονὴ ἐπιγίνεται καὶ ψυχῆς ἀγαλλίασις.

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11.

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(36) L'immagine della cetra ricorre poi nei capitoli 9, 11, 19. CALLISTO, riprendendo un'assimilazione corrente, vede nella cetra il cuore. Poi identifica le

logo dei sensi che la segue e le si accorda in modo spirituale. Se questi sensi non si uniscono bene, è completamente impossibile che la mente s'innalzi verso l'alto.

9. Una cetra spirituale è questo uomo (36). Come la cetra è fabbricata per accompagnare con l'armonia la voce e rilassa le anime degli uomini con il suono e dapprima chi l'ha nelle mani la pizzica armoniosamente con il plectro, così anche l'uomo. Dal momento che come plectro è stato stabilito il Verbo di Dio, considera quali corde i sensi del corpo che suonano armoniosamente in modo mistico, grazie alla sobrietà della mente. Allora l'anima riceve le ascese e le divine illuminazioni dello Spirito.

10. L'anima è "a immagine" e diventa "a somiglianza" di Dio in modo più chiaro e più perfetto, quando lo rinnova con la supplica a Dio. In ciò vede in modo ancora più chiaro le cose divine e, al di sopra della sensibilità, lotta assieme agli esseri intellettuali, perché è partecipe della gloria di Dio.

11. La mente è l'occhio dell'anima che guida i sensi di tutto il corpo. Tramite gli occhi il corpo vede le cose visibili come da un posto di vedetta, così anche la mente, quando è diventata interiormente salda e guarda in giù, verso la profondità e mette in moto e muove l'ala della ragione (37), come una specie di plectro, con l'invocazione di Gesù e la perseverante memoria, sopraggiunge un indicibile piacere e un'esultanza dell'anima.

corde con i sensi del corpo e il plectro con il Verbo di Dio (9) o con la ragione (λόγος) (11; il passo in 19. 1-3 è confuso). L'immagine della cetra che illustra la pratica della preghiera e della sobrietà (νήψις) era già stata utilizzata in un contesto simile da Teolepto di Filadelfia, *Λόγος περὶ νήψεως καὶ προσευχῆς*, 45; R. E. SINKIEWICZ, *Theoleptos of Philadelpheia, The Monastic Discourses (Studies and Texts)*, 111), Toronto, 1992, p. 144 (τῆ συνεχεῖ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ τῆ κρουομένη ὡς ἐν κιθάρα τῆ καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ). Per il citaredo v. capitoli 17, 18.

(37) Sull'ala della ragione (τὸ τῆς διανοίας πτερόν) v. anche capitolo 16. 3 e l'Encomio di GIOVANNI NESTEUTES: GELZER, *Kallistos' Enkomion*, p. 74 (τὸ τῆς διανοίας ἐν Πνεύματι πτερόν ἀνυψώσας). Nella *Ὁμιλία περὶ παραινέσεως*, *Athos Chilind.* 8 (229), f. 252r CALLISTO dice che è l'attenzione a rendere alata la ragione (ἢ γὰρ προσοχὴ καθαίρει τὸν νοῦν, πτεροῖ τὴν διάνοιαν, λάμπει τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, καὶ ὅλως εἰπεῖν τὸ τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν ὀπτικὸν λάμπρον τε καὶ φωτεινὸν ἀπεργάζεται).

ιβ' Ἐὰν μὴ τὰς αἰσθήσεις τοῦ σώματος μύσωμεν, οὐκ ἂν τὸ ἀλλόμενον ὕδωρ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀναβλύσοι, ὃ ὁ Κύριος τῇ σαμαρείτιδι ἐκείνῃ ἐχαρίσατο, ζητοῦσα γὰρ τὸ αἰσθητὸν τοῦτο ὕδωρ, τὸ τῆς ζωῆς εὐρεῖν ἐνδον εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀλλόμενον.

ιγ' Ὡς γὰρ ἡ γῆ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἅμα προχέει, οὕτω καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς καρδίας κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει τοῦτο ἀλλόμενον καὶ πηγάζον οἰοεὶ τὸ πατρικὸν φῶς, ὅπερ ὁ Ἀδάμ ἐκείνος διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς προσαπάλεαεν.

ιδ' Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἤχθη εἰς θάνατον τῷ προσλήμματι τῆς σαρκός, ἵνα οὐ μόνον καθαγάσῃ τὴν ἡμετέραν γῆν, τὸ διανοητικὸν φημί τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἐκείνην περιβολὴν τοῦ σώματος, ἣν ὁ Ἀδάμ πρὸ τῆς παρακοῆς ἐνεδύσατο, ἀποχαρίσθαι· λέγω δὲ τὸ φωτεινὸν ἐνδυμα, τὴν χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος.

ιε' Ὡς περ τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ ἴδιον τὸ θερμαίνειν πάντως καὶ τὸ φωτίζειν, οὕτω τῆς ψυχῆς ἴδιον τὸ κατ'εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν· διὰ μὲν τοῦ κατ'εἰκόνα τοῖς ἀγγέλοις συναμιλλᾶται, διὰ δὲ τοῦ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἐξομοιοῦται Θεῷ καθόσον ἐστὶν ἐφικτόν, καὶ αὐτῷ προσκολλᾶται.

ισ' Καὶ ὡς περ ἴδιον τοῦ πυρὸς πρὸς τὸ ὕψος χωρεῖν διὰ τὸ κοῦφον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ δραστηκὸν καὶ πρὸς κίνησιν ὀξύτατον ὅταν πρὸς τὴν ὕλην χωρεῖ, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ, ἀκίνητος οὖσα, τῷ τῆς διανοίας περὶ ὀξύτατην παρέχει τὴν κίνησιν

12.  
MF  
1-3 Cfr. Gv. 4, 14

13.  
MF  
3 προσαπάλεσε F

14.  
M

15.  
M

16.  
M

12. Se non chiudiamo i sensi del corpo <sup>(38)</sup> non potrà sgorgare in noi l'acqua zampillante che il Signore donò alla Samaritana. Ella cercava infatti l'acqua materiale e trovò l'acqua della vita che zampillava dentro di sé (cfr. Gv. 4, 14) <sup>(39)</sup>.

13. Come la terra ha per natura l'acqua e allo stesso tempo la fa sgorgare, così anche la terra del cuore possiede per natura quest'acqua zampillante che sgorga come la luce del Padre che Adamo perse a causa della disubbidienza.

14. Cristo fu condotto alla morte per noi con l'assunzione della carne non solo per santificare la nostra terra, intendo dire la parte razionale dell'anima, ma anche per donare quella veste primigenia del corpo che Adamo indossava prima della disubbidienza, intendo dire l'abito luminoso, la grazia dello Spirito <sup>(40)</sup>.

15. Come è senza dubbio proprio del fuoco il riscaldare e l'illuminare, così è proprio dell'anima l'essere "a immagine" e "a somiglianza". Con l'"essere a immagine" lotta assieme agli angeli, con l'"essere a somiglianza" è resa simile a Dio, per quanto è possibile, e si unisce a Lui.

16. Come è anche proprio del fuoco il levarsi in alto per la leggerezza e l'essere attivo e molto impetuoso nel movimento, quando si avvicina alla legna, così dell'anima. Dal momento che è priva di movimento, ottiene il movimento impetuoso verso l'alto grazie all'ala della ragione. L'essere "a immagine" giun-

(38) Queste parole acquistano significato se ricordiamo che nella *Ὀμιλία εἰς τὴν ἕκτην κυριακὴν ἤτοι τῶν βαίλων*, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), f. 152<sup>v</sup>, basandosi su Sir. 14, 23, CALLISTO parla dei sensi come «porticine» (θυρίδες). E così nella *Ὀμιλία περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων γενικωτάτων ἀρετῶν καὶ περὶ μοναχικῆς πολιτείας*, f. 321<sup>v</sup> ritorna sui «briganti spirituali», cioè i demoni, che di nascosto penetrano «attraverso le porticine, intendo dire i sensi» (διὰ τῶν θυρίδων, φημί τῶν αἰσθήσεων). In un altro scritto (*Διδασκαλία περὶ τῆς προσκυνήσεως τοῦ σταυροῦ*, f. 140<sup>v</sup>) parla invece della bocca come «porta» del cuore e dell'anima.

(39) L'episodio di Gesù e la Samaritana (Gv. 4, 6-27) è evocato e commentato a più riprese da CALLISTO in questi capitoli (35, 37, 74, 75) e in altre opere, *Διδασκαλία εἰς τὴν κυριακὴν τῶν μυροφόρων*, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), f. 162<sup>v</sup>, *Διδασκαλία δογματικὴ*, ff. 166<sup>v</sup>, 167<sup>v</sup>, *Διδασκαλία δογματικὴ κατὰ τοῦ Γρηγοῦρα καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ διδασκάλων*, f. 180<sup>v</sup>.

(40) Idee simili sono espresse nel capitolo 93. 2-6 e nella *Vita di GREGORIO IL SINAITA*, 14 : BEYER, *Kallist I*, p. 140 : « Ὡς περ ἄρα πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως ἐτύγγαχεν ὦν Ἀδάμ ἐκείνος ὁ προπάτωρ ἡμῶν, σκεπόμενος μὲν πρότερον τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ χάριτι τοῦ ἀπείρου ἐκείνου φωτός, ὕστερον δὲ διὰ τὴν πικράν, οἴμοι, παράβαιν γυμνωθεὶς τῆς φωτεινοῦς δόξης ἐκείνης καὶ ἐλλάμψεως ».

πρὸς τὸ ἀναυτες· τὸ γὰρ κατ' εἰκόνα πρὸς τὸ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἀνατρέχει ραδίως.  
5 ἑλκτικὸν γὰρ ὄν, ἔλκει καθάπερ ἡ μαγνήτης τὸν σίδηρον.

ιζ' Εἰ βούλει μαθεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, μίμησαι ὡς ἐκ παραδείγματος τὸν  
κιθαρωδόν· κάτωθεν μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὑποκλίνει τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν  
προσερείδων τῷ ᾄσματι ὑποσεῖ τὸ πλῆκτρον διὰ τῆς χειρός· καὶ ἅμα τῶν  
χορδῶν τεχνικῶς συγκρουομένων ἀλλήλαις ἡ κιθάρα τὸ μέλος ἐκπέμπει, καὶ ὁ  
5 κιθαρωδὸς ἄλλεται τῇ τοῦ μέλους γλυκύτητι.

ιη' Ἔστω σοι, ὦ φιλοπονῶτατε καὶ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος ἐργάτα, σαφές τὸ  
παράγγελμα καὶ μὴ ἀπίσται· νήφων γὰρ ἐκείθεν ὡς ὁ κιθαρωδός, πρὸς τὸ  
βάθος δηλαδὴ τῆς καρδίας, ραδίως ἔξεις τὸ ζητούμενον· ψυχὴ γὰρ ἔρωτι θείῳ  
ἀλούσα κατάκρας, στραφῆναι εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω οὐ δύναται· ἐκολληθῆ γὰρ φησὶν ὁ  
5 θεὸς Δαβὶδ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ὀπίσω σου.

ιθ' Κιθάραν νόει μοι τὴν καρδίαν, ἀγαπητέ, χορδὰς δὲ τὰς αἰσθήσεις,  
πλῆκτρον δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν, ἵτις διὰ τοῦ λογικοῦ ὑποκινεῖ τὸ πλῆκτρον ἐνδε-  
λεχῶς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ μνήμη· ἐξ ἧς ἡδονὴ τις ἄρρητος τῇ ψυχῇ ἐπιγι-  
νεται καὶ τῷ καθαρῷ νοῦ τὰς θείας αὐγὰς ἐνοπτρίζεται.

17.  
MF

18.  
MF

4-5 Sal. 62, 9

1 καὶ om F || 2 παράγγελμα : παράδειγμα F

19.

MF

2 ὑποκινεῖ : κινεῖ F

(41) Immagine che ritorna a più riprese in altri scritti di CALLISTO. Così nella  
*Διδασκαλία εἰς τὴν κυριακὴν τῶν μυροφόρων* : «Come il magnete per natura  
attrae il ferro, così anche l'amore di Dio ci attrae misticamente» (καθάπερ γὰρ  
ἡ μαγνήτης κατὰ φύσιν ἔλκει τὸν σίδηρον, οὕτω καὶ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔρως ἔλκει

ge con facilità all'essere "a somiglianza", che infatti è attrattivo e attira come  
fa il magnete con il ferro (41).

17. Se vuoi imparare la verità, imita l'esempio del citaredo (42). Costui infatti  
piega la testa in basso e, applicando l'orecchio al canto, muove il plettro con la  
mano. Mentre le corde vibrano assieme con arte, la cetra emette il suono e il  
citaredo è trasportato dalla soavità della musica.

18. Oh molto operoso lavoratore della vigna, ti sia chiaro l'esempio e non  
dubitare. Essendo là sobrio come il citaredo, cioè nella profondità del cuore,  
avrà con facilità quello che cerchi. Infatti l'anima, completamente attratta dal-  
l'amore divino, non può tornare indietro (43), perché, dice il divino Davide,  
«l'anima mia si stringe a te» (Sal. 62, 9).

19. Mio caro, considera come cetra il cuore, come corde i sensi, come plettro  
la ragione che con il principio razionale muove di continuo il plettro, che è la  
memoria di Dio (44). Da questa memoria sopraggiunge nell'anima un certo pia-  
cere ineffabile e, con la mente pura, rispecchia i bagliori divini.

ἡμᾶς μυστικῶς), *Athos Chiland.* 8 (229), f. 163<sup>v</sup>, nel discorso *Κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
Γρηγοῦρα*, f. 210<sup>r</sup> (ὡς γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν ἡ μαγνήτης ἔλκει τὸν σίδηρον ..., οὕτω καὶ  
ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς καθαρθεὶς ἀνέλκεται ὑπὸ τῆς θείας ἀγῆλης ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς  
ἀκτίνος τοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡλίου) e nella *Vita di GREGORIO IL SINAITA*, 16 : BEYER,  
*Kallist I*, p. 150.

(42) Nella *Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν ἕκτην κυριακὴν ἤτοι τῶν βαΐων*, *Athos Chiland.* 8  
(229), f. 151<sup>v</sup> CALLISTO parla, a proposito della mente, del citaredo e del suonatore  
di flauto (... καὶ κιθαρωδὸς μὲν καὶ ἀλητῆς οἶδεν ἐξισοῦν τὰς χορδὰς καὶ  
τῷ πλῆκτρῳ ὑποσαίνειν)

(43) Cfr. anche capitoli 79, 4-5, 44, 4, 46, 4-5. Nel discorso *Κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
Γρηγοῦρα*, *Athos Chiland.* 8 (229), f. 210<sup>r</sup> CALLISTO parla della sospensione dei movi-  
menti dei sensi e della mente che allora «per lo stupore rimane immobile in  
Dio, ferita dal desiderio dell'amore di Dio (τετρωμένης τῷ ἔρωτι τῆς ἀγάπης  
Θεοῦ), così da non percepire per nulla né se stessa né qualcosa d'altro, ma solo  
quella luce desiderabile e il fulgore divino». Similmente nella *Vita di GREGORIO IL  
SINAITA*, 13 : BEYER, *Kallist I*, p. 134, dove il santo dice : «Un'anima che aderisce a  
Dio e ferita dal suo amore (τῷ τούτου ἔρωτι τρωθεῖσα) è temprata in modo  
splendido e ha oltrepassato tutta la creazione».

(44) Questo passaggio è confuso : il plettro è immagine della ragione del-  
l'uomo (v. più in alto n. 36), ma qui CALLISTO lo identifica anche con la memoria  
di Dio.

κ' Πάντα ὅσα ἐφέϊται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πράττειν πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Θεὸν βίον καὶ πρὸς τὴν κρείττονα καὶ τελωτέραν ἀνάβασιν ἀριδῆλως ὑπέδειξεν ἡμῖν ὁ Σωτὴρ, ὥστε καὶ ἀλλοιοῦσθαι τὴν καλὴν ἀλλοίωσιν δι' αὐτῶν καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, μεταμορφοῦσθαι ἐκ δυνάμεως εἰς δύναμιν ὡς εἰκός.

κα' Ἐν ἐτέρᾳ μορφῇ γέγονεν ὁ Χριστός, ὡς ὁ θεὸς φησὶν εὐαγγελιστῆς Λουκάς, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἵνα διὰ τούτου λάθῃ τοὺς μαθητὰς πρὸς μικρὸν καὶ ταύτη πρὸς μείζονα πόθον διερεθίσῃ καὶ ἐκκύσῃ ὡς οἶμαι εἰς θεοσέβειαν, καθάπερ αἱ θήλειαι πρὸς τὰ ὑπομάζια μικρὸν συστελλόμεναι κλαυθυρίζειν 5 παρασκευάζουσι προσανέχοντα τῇ θηλῇ· καθάπερ ἐκεῖνοι καιομένην εἶχον τὴν καρδίαν προσανέχοντες τοῖς ῥήμασιν Ἰησοῦ.

κβ' Χριστὸς δὲ διὰ μέσου τῶν παρανόμων πολλάκις διήρχετο μὴ βλεπόμενος ὄλως, τῇ φυσικῇ δόξῃ τῆς αὐτοῦ θείας σκεπόμενος φύσεως, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τούτου θεράποντες καὶ τοῦ μέτρου τῆς ἡλικίας φθάσαντες κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν θεῖον· οὐδὲ γὰρ μόνον τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν δαιμόνων μέσον ἀβλαβεῖς 5 διετηρήθησαν χάριτι σεσωσμένοι τῇ ἐνοικουσίᾳ αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέσον ἀνδρῶν τὸ παράπαν ἔμειναν ἀθεώρητοι, ὡς ὁ θεὸς Γρηγόριος ὁ θαυματουργὸς καὶ μέγας Ἰωαννίκιος καὶ ὅσοι πλείστοι τῶν θείων πατέρων.

κγ' Τυπικῶς μὲν ἐδοξάσθη τὸ πρόσωπον Μωϋσέως καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, μετεμορφώθη λαμπρῶς· ὁ γὰρ λαλῶν αὐτῷ Θεὸς τὴν μορφήν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ πρὸς δίκην ὑπέδειξεν, ἐξαστράπτουσαν τῇ αἴγλῃ τοῦ Πνεύματος.

20.

M

4 Cfr. 2 Cor. 3, 18

21.

M

1 Cfr. Lc. 9, 29 || 5-6 Cfr. Lc. 24, 32

22.

M

3 Cfr. Ef. 4, 13

23.

M

1-3 Cfr. Es. 34, 29-30

20. Il Salvatore ci ha chiaramente mostrato tutto quello che è permesso che gli uomini facciano per la vita conforme a Dio e per l'ascesa più eccellente e perfetta e con questo provino la bella trasformazione e, per così dire, si trasfigurino di potenza in potenza (cfr. 2 Cor. 3, 18), come conviene.

21. «Cristo si trasfigurò» (cfr. Lc. 9, 28), come dice il divino evangelista Luca. Per questo motivo egli abbandonò i discepoli per un poco: al fine di eccitare in loro un desiderio più grande e trarli, come credo, alla santità, come le mammelle per un istante sottratte ai lattanti li fanno piangere affinché siano dediti alla poppata, e come quelli che avevano il cuore che bruciava perché ascoltavano le parole di Gesù (cfr. Lc. 24, 32).

22. Spesso Gesù passò in mezzo agli empi completamente inosservato, perché celava con l'apparenza fisica la sua natura divina. Così anche i suoi cultori e coloro che, sono giunti alla misura della pienezza <di Cristo>, secondo il divino Paolo (cfr. Ef. 4, 13). Non solo furono preservati indenni in mezzo alla schiera dei demoni, protetti dalla grazia che inabitava in loro, ma rimasero anche completamente invisibili in mezzo agli uomini, come il divino Gregorio il taumaturgo <sup>(45)</sup>, Ioannikios il grande <sup>(46)</sup> e la maggior parte dei divini Padri.

23. Il volto di Mosè fu glorificato in modo figurato e, per così dire, egli fu trasfigurato in modo splendido. Dio che parlava con lui fece apparire le sembianze del suo volto come di fuoco: egli brillava per il bagliore dello Spirito (cfr. Es. 34, 29-30).

(45) GREGORIO DI NEOCESAREA IL TAUMATURGO († 270 circa), cfr. R. JANIN, *Gregorio Taumaturgo*, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VII (1966), coll. 214-217; P. NAUTIN, *Grégoire dit le Thaumaturge*, in *DHGE*, XXII (1988), coll. 39-42. CALLISTO evidentemente si riferisce alla prodigiosa invisibilità del santo durante la persecuzione di Decio (250-51) cfr. GREGORIO DI NISSA, *Laudatio*: G. HEIL, J. P. CAVARNOS, O. LENDLE, *Gregorii Nysseni Sermones*, II (GNO, X/1), Leiden - New York - København - Köln, 1990, pp. 47-49.

(46) Ioannikios († 3 novembre 846), uno dei santi del periodo del secondo Iconoclasmo, noto anche per i suoi spettacolari carismi, cfr. A. KAZHDAN, N. PATTERSON-ŠEVČENKO, *Ioannikios*, in *ODB*, II (1991), pp. 1005-1006; *Byzantine Defenders of Images. Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation*, edited by A.-M. Talbot, Washington D.C., 1998, pp. 243-254 (D. F. Sullivan). CALLISTO evoca qui alcuni episodi delle *Vitae* di Ioannikios nei quali il santo si rendeva invisibile, v. *Vita* di Pietro: J. VAN DEN GHEYN in *AASS Nov.*, II, 1, Bruxelles, 1894, pp. 426 e 413, 424, 409.

κδ' Ἐδοξάσθη Χριστὸς οὐ χάριτι, οὐδέ τυπικῶς, μάλλον μὲν κατὰ φύσιν τὴν οἰκείαν, τὸ πρόσωπον ἔδοξάσθη ἵνα δείξῃ τὴν κεκρυμμένην θεότητα καὶ τοῦ Μωυσέως λαμπρότερον.

κε' Χάριτι δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς μεταμορφούμεθα, ὡς εἰκός, ποῦ μὲν διὰ τὸ καθόμοίωσιν, ποῦ δὲ διὰ τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς πρόσλημμα, ὅπερ ὁ Κύριος προσελάβε τοῦ δι' οὗ καὶ μέλη Χριστοῦ χρηματίζομεν κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν θεῖον· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ἡμᾶς ὑπερναβῆναι τὸν ὅρον τῆς πρακτικῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ εἰς τὸν γνόφου εἰσδύναται τὸν μυστικόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρία, τότε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλοιούμεθα καὶ μεταμορφούμεθα κατὰ τὴν κρείττονα καὶ τελωτέραν ἀλλοίωσιν, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος ὁ θεῖος ἡμᾶς ἐκδιδάσκει εἰς τρίτον οὐρανὸν ἀρπαγείς καὶ ἀρρήτων ῥημάτων ἀκροασάμενος.

κς' Καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ φοίνικος ῥίζα τοὺς κλάδους ἐκφέρει καὶ προβάλλεται τοὺς καρπούς, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς ἀπὸ ῥίζης διὰ τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος μέλη Χριστοῦ πάντες γεγόναμεν βρίθοντες τοὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καρπούς.

κζ' Ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν ἡμᾶς ὁ σωτήριος ἀπεφώνητο λόγος· πῶς τοίνυν, ἀγαπητέ; Κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, πνεύματι γὰρ εἰπὼν οὐχ ὡς τοῦ ἡμετέρου πνεύματος μόνον δεδυημένου πρὸς τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τοῦ συμπληροῦντος τοῦτο Πνεύματος θείου διὰ τὸ συγγενές, τὸ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν δηλαδὴ ὡς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐκείνου ἐξεχομένου καὶ τὰ βάθη ἐρευνώντος καὶ τὰ ἀπόκρυφα ἐντεθθεν γινώσκοντος, καὶ ὡς δεῖ προσκυνεῖν τότε εἰσηγούμενον αὐτῷ μετὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος.

24.

M

3 Μωσέως M

25.

M

3 1 Cor. 6, 15 ; 12, 26, 27 || 7-8 Cfr. 2 Cor. 12, 2-4

26.

M

2-3 1 Cor. 6, 15 ; 12, 26, 27

27.

M

1 Gv. 4, 24 || 5 Cfr. 1 Cor. 2, 10

(47) Ritroviamo la stessa immagine in un'altra opera di CALLISTO, la *'Ομιλία εἰς τὴν ἕκτην κυριακὴν ἤτοι τῶν βαΐων*: «Miei cari, i rami delle palme e degli

24. Cristo non fu glorificato per grazia né in modo figurato, ma piuttosto in modo conforme alla sua natura. Il suo volto fu glorificato perché egli mostrasse la divinità nascosta e in modo più splendente di Mosè.

25. Anche noi siamo trasfigurati, come conviene, per grazia sia nel nostro «essere a somiglianza» sia nella carne che il Signore ha assunto. In questo modo diventiamo «membra di Cristo» (cfr. 1 Cor. 6, 15 ; 12, 27), secondo il divino Paolo, con la nostra salita oltre il limite della virtù pratica e l'entrata nella tenebra mistica che è la contemplazione di Dio. Allora anche noi ci trasformiamo e ci trasfiguriamo secondo la trasformazione più eccellente e perfetta, come ci insegna il divino Paolo, rapito al terzo cielo e ascoltatore di parole ineffabili (cfr. 2 Cor. 12, 4).

26. Come la radice della palma fa crescere i rami e produce i frutti, così anche noi, come da una radice, diventiamo tutti, grazie al corpo del Signore, «membra di Cristo» (cfr. 1 Cor. 6, 15 ; 12, 27), ricolmi dei frutti della giustizia (47).

27. Il Verbo salvatore ha dichiarato che « noi dobbiamo adorare in Spirito e in verità » (1 Gv. 4, 24). In che modo, mio caro ? Nell'uomo interiore. Ha detto infatti « in Spirito » non perché il nostro spirito sia da solo capace di farlo, ma grazie allo Spirito divino che lo completa per affinità, cioè l'essere «a somiglianza», perché esso dipende dalla sua verità e investiga le profondità (cfr. 1 Cor. 2, 10) (48) e conosce quindi le cose nascoste e anche come si deve adorare, introdotto a ciò dallo Spirito.

alberi ci indicano la pratica e la contemplazione .... Le palme <indicano> la purificazione dell'anima perché sono bianche ed estese in altezza. I rami degli alberi sono in verità privi di frutti, mentre quelli delle palme sono fecondi e ricolmi di frutti» (Οἱ γὰρ τῶν φοινίκων κλάδοι καὶ οἱ τῶν δένδρων, ἀγαπητοί, τὴν πράξιν καὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ὑπεμφαίνουσι .... Οἱ δὲ φοίνικες τὴν κάθαρσιν τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς λευκοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἐκτεταμένοι εἰς μῆκος· ἄκαρποι γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς οἱ κλάδοι τῶν δένδρων, τῶν δὲ φοινίκων γόνιμοι πάνυ καὶ βρίθοντες), *Athos Chiland.* 8 (229), f. 153<sup>v</sup>. Cfr. anche *Encomio* di GIOVANNI NESTEUTES : GELZER, *Kallistos' Enkomion*, p. 84, ll. 9-10.

(48) Un passo parallelo (v. anche capitolo 61. 5) nella *'Ομιλία εἰς τὴν ἕκτην κυριακὴν ἤτοι τῶν βαΐων*, *Athos Chiland.* 8 (229), ff. 152<sup>v</sup>-153<sup>v</sup> : «La gloria di Dio può condurre e innalzare l'uomo ai movimenti intelligibili e lo rende capace di guardare e vedere le profondità e le cose nascoste, dal momento che gli occhi si sono trasformati per grazia divina», Nella *Διδασκαλία δογματικὴ κατὰ τοῦ Γρηγοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ διδασκάλων*, f. 179<sup>v</sup> parla di coloro che depongono i desideri carnali e sono totalmente intenti a Dio e «investigano misticamente le profondità di Dio» (μυστικῶς ἐξερευνῶσι τὰ βάθη τοῦ Πνεύματος) (così anche più avanti, f. 186<sup>v</sup>).



κη' Ἐδει γὰρ ὁμοῦ πάντας τοὺς τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ τειχισθέντας μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Πνεύματος εὐχεσθαι ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ μὴ βαπτολογεῖν ὄλως· ἀψευδὴς γὰρ ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος ὅτι· οὐδεὶς δύναται λέγειν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν εἰ μὴ ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.

κθ' Νοῦς γὰρ ἀποστὰς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρίας, ἢ κτηνώδης γίνεται διὰ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν σαρκικῶν κινήματων, ἢ δαιμονιώδης ὡς τὸ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας καὶ κενοδοξίας παράπτωμα ἐπισυρόμενος ἢ ἐλαυνόμενος διὰ τοῦ θυμικοῦ μέρους τῆς ψυχῆς.

λ' Καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς εἰσβαλὼν τῷ θεωρουμένῳ, εἴτε κυκλοφορικόν ἐστίν εἴτε καὶ τρίγωνον κατὰ τοὺς γεωμετρικὸν ὀσκοῦντας, ἀποσκοπῶν ἐκεῖθεν τὸ σκοπούμενον ἐξετάζει σοφῶς, εἴτε γεωμετρικόν ἐστίν εἴτε κοί ἀριθμητικόν, καὶ ἅμα ῥαδίως ἔλκει τὴν ἐπιστήμην διὰ τῆς ὀρατικῆς καὶ διανοητικῆς ὄψεως, οὕτω μοι νόει καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ νοός· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν εἰσδύοντος πρὸς τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς τομεῖον, καθόπερ κέντρῳ τινὶ προσκολλάται μετὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἢ ψυχῆ καὶ εὐθὺς ἅμα μετὰ τοῦ ὀύλου κοί ἀκτίστου συμπλέκεται τῇ ἀγάπῃ Θεοῦ καὶ ὀλικῶς ἐνωθεῖσα ἐξομοιοῦται Θεῷ καθόσον ἐστὶν ἐφικτόν· ἐντοῦθο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ λογικὸν θυσιαστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

λα' Ἐλκτικὴ γὰρ οὐσα κοί δραστικὴ ἢ οὐσιώδης καὶ φυσικὴ ἐνέργεια τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔλκει τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῆς ἐραστάς, ὡς φησὶ Σολομών· ἐκαρδίωσας γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ἐκαρδίωσας, καὶ· ποῦ κοιτάζεις ἐν μεσημβρία, ὀλλὰ κοί ἡ σοφία φησὶν· ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμὲ φιλοῦντας ἀγαπῶ, οἱ δὲ ἐμὲ ζητοῦντες εὐρήσουσι χάριν.

28.

M

2 Cfr. Mt. 6, 7. || 3-4 1 Cor. 12, 3

29.

M

30.

M

1 εἰσβαλλῶν M

31.

M

2-3 Ct. 4, 9, Ct. 1, 7 || 4-5 Pr. 8, 17

28. Bisogna che assieme noi tutti, fortificati nel Nome di Cristo, preghiamo come conviene nel divino Spirito e non diciamo vaniloqui (cfr. Mt. 6, 7), perché è veritiero chi proclama : « Nessuno può dire Signore Gesù se non nello Spirito santo » (1 Cor. 12, 3).

29. La mente che si separa dalla contemplazione di Dio o diventa bestiale per la concupiscenza dei movimenti carnali o demoniaca perché compie con negligenza la trasgressione della presunzione e della vanagloria o perché è tormentata con la parte irascibile dell'anima.

30. Come l'occhio che si volge all'oggetto visto, sia esso circolare sia anche triangolare, secondo coloro che coltivano la geometria, quando guarda là esamina con sicurezza l'oggetto osservato, sia esso geometrico sia aritmetico, e contemporaneamente ne trae con facilità la conoscenza tramite la vista fisica e quella razionale, così considera anche a proposito della mente. Quando questa penetra là, nella stanza dell'anima, l'anima aderisce come a un centro assieme allo Spirito e subito si congiunge all'immateriale e all'increato nell'amore di Dio e totalmente unita è resa somigliante a Dio, per quanto è possibile. Là si trova infatti l'altare razionale di Dio.

31. L'essenziale e naturale operazione di Dio è infatti attrattiva e attiva. Attrae i suoi amanti, come dice Salomone : « Ci hai rapito il cuore, rapito il cuore » (Ct. 4, 9) e : « dove ti metti a riposare a mezzogiorno » (Ct. 1, 7) <sup>(49)</sup>. Anche la Sapienza dice : « Io amo coloro che mi amano e quelli che mi cercano troveranno grazia » (Pr. 8, 17).

(49) Ct. 4, 9 e Ct. 1, 7 sono citati di seguito in un contesto simile nella *Διδασκαλία δογματική*, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), f. 167<sup>v</sup>. Per Ct. 4, 9 v. anche *Vita di GREGORIO IL SINAITA*, 12 : BÉYER, *Kallist I*, p. 132.

λβ' Ὡσπερ γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ στενωθὲν εἰς τὸ ὕψος χωρεῖ, οὕτω καὶ ψυχὴ, στενωθεῖσα τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβῳ, ῥαδίως ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ τῆς καρδίας ἐκπέμπει τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ θεῖα διδάγματα δίκην ποταμίου ρεύματος, τὸ τοῦ Δαβὶδ φάσκουσα· τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ ὄρμηματα οἰοῦναι αἱ πηγαὶ τῶν δακρύων ἀρδεύουσι καὶ εὐφραίνουσι τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Θεοῦ· πόλις ἦτις ἐστὶν ὁ λογικὸς καὶ νοούμενος ἄνθρωπος, καθὰ καὶ κόσμος προσαγορεύεται.

λγ' Καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ οὐράνιος ἄξων μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ σώματος καθορᾶται καί, ὡς εἶπεῖν, περὶ τοῦτον θεωρεῖται ἢ στεγανότης τε πᾶσα τοῦ στερεώματος καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἀστέρων ὡς δὴ κέντρῳ τιῶν κινούμενον παρεικάζεται· κυκλοφορικῶς μὲν γὰρ τὸ οὐράνιον σῶμα κινεῖται καὶ περιφέρεται, ὡς εἰκόσ· ὁ δὲ ἄξων ἀκίνητος μένει καθάπερ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ κέντρον ἀμετακίνητον ἴσταται, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ νοῦς ἴδοι τις ἂν γινόμενον.

λδ' Νοῦς καθαρθεὶς ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὀλικῶς ὑποτάξας διὰ τῆς πρακτικῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀκίνητος μένει καθάπερ ὁ οὐράνιος ἄξων, ὡς πρὸς κέντρον ἀφορῶν τὸ τῆς καρδίας βάθος καὶ ἡγεμονεύων τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἀποβλέπει ἐκεῖσε· βολίδας ἔχων οἰοῦναι τὰς τῆς διανοίας αὐγὰς ἀρνομένας ἐκεῖθεν τὰ θεῖα νοήματα ὑποτάσσειν τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀπάσας τοῦ σώματος.

λε' Καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκ πηγῆς ἀενάου τοῦ ὕδωρ, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ζῶν ὕδωρ καὶ ἀλλόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναβλύζει· ὅπερ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοφόρου ἀνδρὸς

32.

M

4-5 Sal, 45, 5

33.

M

34.

MF

5 καὶ ante ὑποτάσσειν add. F

35.

MF

I γὰρ om. F | ἀενάου F || 1-2 ζῶν καὶ ἀλλόμενον ὕδωρ F

(50) Immagine che ritorna più in basso (capitolo 102. 4) e in un passo di un'altra opera sulle insidie dei demoni : «... dai quali la città di Dio è facilmente espugnabile. Infatti il cuore dell'uomo che è sempre dedito a Dio è conside-

32. Come l'acqua asciugata va verso l'alto, così anche l'anima, asciugata con il timore di Dio, emette con facilità dal profondo del cuore insegnamenti sommi e divini, come corrente del fiume, e dice la parola di Davide : «I ruscelli del fiume», come le sorgenti delle lacrime, irrigano e «rallegrano la città di Dio» (Sal. 45, 5), la città che è l'uomo razionale e intellettuale <sup>(50)</sup>, in quanto è indicato come mondo.

33. Come l'asse celeste è visto in mezzo al corpo celeste e, per così dire, attorno a questo sono visibili tutta l'impenetrabilità del firmamento e la moltitudine degli astri, che sembra in movimento attorno a un centro. Il corpo celeste è infatti mosso circolarmente e gira, come è naturale, mentre l'asse rimane immoto, come il centro del cerchio rimane immobile. Così anche a proposito della mente si potrebbe considerare quello che accade.

34. Una mente purificata dalle cose esteriori e che ha completamente sottomesso i sensi con la virtù pratica, rimane immota come l'asse celeste, guardando, come verso il centro, la profondità del cuore e, dirigendo la testa, fissa lo sguardo <sup>(51)</sup>. Ha quali dardi i raggi della ragione, che da lì raccolgono le divine intellezioni, e sottomette tutti i sensi del corpo.

35. Come l'acqua scaturisce da una sorgente perpetua, così anche l'acqua viva e zampillante dall'anima (cfr. Gv. 4, 14). Quest'ultima, quando dimorava

rato un campo e una campagna» (... καὶ εὐάλωτος αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ γένηται πόλις· ἀγρὸς γὰρ καὶ χώρα ἢ καρδία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καταλογίζεται τοῦ προσανέχοντος αἰεὶ τῷ Θεῷ), Ὁμιλία περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων γενικωτάτων ἀρετῶν καὶ περὶ μοναχικῆς πολιτείας, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), f. 321<sup>v</sup>.

(51) Indicazioni da leggere innanzitutto assieme alle righe della Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν ἕκτην κυριακὴν ἤτοι τῶν βαΐων, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), ff. 150<sup>v</sup>-151<sup>r</sup> : «Questi [sc. i sensi] dunque, così eccellentemente uniti, conducono la nave razionale al porto dell'impassibilità, ottimamente cantando l'inno Trisagion, dal momento che hanno la mente che dirige posta sopra la testa» (Αὐται τοίνυν οὕτω καλῶς συναφθεῖσαι, πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἀπαθείας λιμένα καταπτῶσι τὸ σκάφος τὸ λογικόν, καλῶς ἄδουσαι τὸν τρισάγιον ἕμνον, ὡς ἔχουσαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν ἐπικαθήμενον ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς). Il fatto che la mente, che risiede nella testa, debba praticare la sobrietà nell'«abisso del cuore», volgendo là lo sguardo (capitoli 34, 18), con un'appropriata posizione del capo (capitolo 17), fa pensare a un velato cenno di CALLISTO alla tecnica psicofisica per la preghiera consigliata da GREGORIO IL SINAITA, sulla quale cfr. A. RIGO, Gregorio il Sinaita, in G. CONTICELLO & V. CONTICELLO (ed.), *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, II, Turnhout, 2002, pp. 108-111.

Ἰγνατίου ψυχῇ ἐνοικῆσαν, παρεσκευάζε λέγειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἔμοι πῦρ φιλόυλον, ἀλλ' ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἐνεργοῦν καὶ λαλοῦν.

ΛΣ' Ὡς γὰρ τοῦ ἡλίου ὁ κύκλος πηγάζει τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀκτίνων καὶ ὡς βολίδας ἐκπέμπει πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ φωτίζων τὴν γῆν καὶ ἅμα διὰ τῆς θερμῆς ἀποξηραίνει πᾶσαν ὑγρότητα καὶ δυσωδίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μολύνεται, οὕτω | καὶ νοῦς, καθαρ-  
 5 θείς διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐργασίας, ἡλιοειδῆς γίνεται, ἀποξηραίνων καὶ ἀφα-  
 5 ιζῶν τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς μολυσμόν. Κάκειθεν ἀυγάζει τὸ μακάριον φῶς, ὡς δεξά-  
 μένος τὴν φυσικὴν καὶ πρώτην λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν δευτέραν ἀνάπλασιν, ἥτις τὸν ὄρον τῆς ἀπαθείας σαφῶς ἐκιδάσκει.

ΛΖ' Ἐοικεν αὕτη ἡ μακαρία μάλλον δὲ τρισολβία, ἡ νοερὰ φημί νῆψις τῆς ψυχῆς, ὕδατι ἀλλομένῃ καὶ πηγάζουσι ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ τῆς καρδίας· τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς ὕδωρ ἀναδιδόμενον τὴν πηγὴν πλήρη ποιεῖ· τὸ δὲ ἀλλόμενον ἐκεῖθεν ἐκ τῆς καρδίας καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀεικινήτως κινούμενον διὰ τοῦ  
 5 Πνεύματος, ὄλον τὸν ἔσω ἀνθρώπου πλήρη ποιεῖ δρόσου θείας καὶ Πνεύματος, τὸν δὲ ἔξω πύρινον ἀπεργάζεται.

ΛΗ' Μηδεις τοῖνον ἀκούων τῶν ἀμυήτων ἢ δεομένων γάλακτος ἄψηται τῶν τοιούτων ἀπηγορευμένων ἐν οὐ καιρῷ· τοὺς γὰρ τοιοῦτους οἱ θεοὶ πατέρες πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τὰ τοῦ καιροῦ ζητήσαντας, καὶ οἶονεὶ πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἀπαθείας λιμένα σπουδάζοντας εἰσελθεῖν οὐ μετὰ τοῦ προσήκοντος, ἔκστασιν φρενῶν  
 5 ἐνόμισαν τὸ τοιοῦτον, καὶ πλεον οὐδέν· ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν μὴ εἰδότα γράμμα-  
 τα ἐν δέλτοις μελετᾶν.

35.

MF

3-4 Ignazio d'Antiochia, *Epistula ad Romanos*, VII, 2 : P. T. CAMELOT, *Ignace d'Antioche, Polycarpe de Smyrne, Lettres, Martyre de Polycarpe* (SC, 10), Paris, 1969, p. 134.

36.

M

37.

MF

1 καὶ τρισολβία δὲ μάλλον F || 2 καὶ (ante τὸ) add. F | μὲν : γὰρ M

38.

MF

1 Cfr. 1 Cor. 3, 2 || 3 Cfr. Giovanni Climaco, *Scala paradisi*, 27 : PG 88, col. 1032B  
 1 τοῖνον om. F | ἄψοιτο F || 6 δέλτω F

(52) IGNAZIO D'ANTIOCHIA, *Epistulae*, IV, 7, 2 : P. T. CAMELOT, *Ignace d'Antioche, Polycarpe de Smyrne, Lettres, Martyre de Polycarpe* (SC, 10), Paris, 1969, p. 134.

nell'anima del teoforo Ignazio, gli fece dire : «Non c'è in me fuoco amante della materia», ma acqua operante «e parlante»<sup>(52)</sup>.

36. Come infatti la sfera del sole emette la luce dei raggi e li lancia quali dardi e allo stesso tempo illumina l'intera terra e così con il calore asciuga tutta l'umidità e non è contaminata dal fetore, così anche la mente, purificata con l'opera dei comandamenti, diventa come il sole, asciuga e fa svanire la sporcizia dell'anima e là risplende della beata luce, perché riceve il naturale e primo splendore e il secondo rinnovamento, che chiaramente indica la misura dell'impassibilità.

37. Questa beata, meglio felicissima, - intendo dire la sobrietà intellettuale dell'anima -, assomiglia ad acqua zampillante che sgorga dal profondo del cuore. L'acqua che esce dalla sorgente, riempie la sorgente, mentre l'acqua che sgorga qui dal cuore e che, per così dire, è perpetuamente mossa dallo Spirito, riempie tutto l'uomo interiore di rugiada divina e di Spirito, mentre rende di fuoco l'uomo esteriore.

38. Nessuno dei non-iniziati o di quelli che hanno ancora bisogno di latte (cfr. 1 Cor. 3, 2), se ascolta, tocchi di tali cose proibite, quando non è tempo. I divini Padri hanno definito costoro che prima del tempo cercano quello che è proprio del tempo<sup>(53)</sup> e cercano di entrare nel porto dell'impassibilità senza ciò che conviene, e tale condotta uscita di senno e nulla di più, perché è impossibile per chi non conosce l'alfabeto studiare i libri.

Questo passo di IGNAZIO D'ANTIOCHIA è citato anche altrove da CALLISTO. Nella *Διδασκαλία περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν* (sempre a proposito del passo evangelico su Gesù e la Samaritana) : «Questo divino amore sgorgò come acqua viva nell'anima della Samaritana. Quando udì la voce del Salvatore, subito dimenticò quell'acqua materiale .... Il divino gerarca Ignazio ... conferma a tutti la parola del Signore : 'Non c'è in me fuoco amante della materia', ma acqua operante 'e parlante', *Athos Chiland.* 8 (229), ff. 162'-163'. Così anche nella *Διδασκαλία δογματική*, f. 167'. Da ricordare infine che queste parole di Ignazio sono tra le poche citazioni esplicite presenti nello scritto *La vita in Cristo* di NICOLA CABASILAS, I, 4 : M.-H. CONGOURDEAU, *Nicolas Cabasilas. La vie en Christ*, I (SC, 355), Paris, 1989, p. 80.

(53) Cfr. GIOVANNI CLIMACO, *Scala paradisi*, 27 : PG 88, col. 1032B.

λθ' Καταγέλαστον ἂν εἶη τὸν μὴ εἰδότα γραμματικὴν ὅλως καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἀνηγγμένον καὶ πρὸς τὰ τελεώτατα τῆς σοφίας, περὶ ῥητορικῆς διαλέγεσθαι ἢ σχήματα γεωμετρικὰ ἐξετάζειν ἢ περὶ ἀστρονομίας ψήφους τιθέναι, οὕτω καταγελαστότατος πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὁ τὴν εἰσαγωγικὴν καὶ ἠθικὴν μὴ καταδεξάμενος καὶ τῇ θεωρίᾳ σχολάσας.

μ' Αὕτη ἡ τετρακτὺς παρομοιοῦται τῇ τετρακτὶ τῶν γενικῶν ἀρετῶν, φρονήσει φημί, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη τε καὶ δικαιοσύνη· αὗται γὰρ πάντα μὲν ἀνθρώπων τὸν ἐν συζυγίᾳ ὄντα τελειοῦσι, τὸν δὲ μετιόντα τὸν ἄζυγα βίου αὗται αἱ τέσσαρες, ἡ τοῦ κόσμου φυγή, τῶν θελημάτων ἡ ἐκκοπή, ἐν οἷς ἡ 5 πρακτικὴ ἀρετὴ ἐπεισέρχεται καὶ ἡ τῆς θεωρίας ἐπίβασις.

μα' Ἐὰν μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀδελφέ, τηρήσωμεν ὡς εἰκὸς τὰς τῶν πατέρων νομοθεσίας, ἀδύνατον μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς γεύσασθαι τοῦ τῆς παρακοῆς ξύλου, ἐκείνου φημί τοῦ ἀπηγορευμένου δι' οὗ ῥαδίως ἡμῖν ἐπεισέρχεται ἡ πατρικὴ καταδίκη.

39.

M

40.

M

41.

M

2 μὴ s. l. add. (in rosso) M

(54) CALLISTO si sofferma sulle quattro virtù principali nella *Ὁμιλία περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων γενικωτάτων ἀρετῶν καὶ περὶ μοναχικῆς πολιτείας*, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), ff. 319<sup>r</sup>-324<sup>r</sup> e nella *Διδασκαλία εἰς τὴν κυριακὴν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σταυροῦ προσκύνησιν*, ff. 142<sup>r</sup>-143<sup>r</sup>, dove afferma che la tetrade (τετρακτὺς) delle virtù è il più eccellente pedagogo.

(55) Una distinzione simile tra le quattro virtù principali e quelle proprie della vita monastica (in merito v. anche cap. 2, 12-14) nella *Ὁμιλία πρὸς μοναζούσας εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ ἀγίου Παύλου τό· εὐσχημόνως περιπατεῖν*: « ... come, care sorelle, per le virtù più generali. Dal momento che anche queste sono quattro: il coraggio, la prudenza, la temperanza, la giustizia e senza questa tetrade complessiva è impossibile che uno porti a termine, come è opportuno,

39. Sarebbe ridicolo per chi non ha la minima conoscenza della grammatica, grazie alla quale è elevato anche alle cose più perfette della sapienza, discorrere di retorica o investigare figure geometriche o fare calcoli astronomici. Così è più ridicolo di tutti gli uomini colui che, senza aver ricevuto la «scienza» introduttiva e l'etica, si dedica alla contemplazione.

40. Questa tetrade assomiglia alla tetrade delle virtù principali, intendo dire la prudenza, il coraggio, la temperanza, la giustizia<sup>(54)</sup>. Quelle rendono perfetto ogni uomo che vive nel matrimonio, mentre queste quattro l'uomo che vive nel celibato<sup>(55)</sup>: la fuga dal mondo, la recisione della volontà, da cui seguono la virtù pratica e la base della contemplazione<sup>(56)</sup>.

41. Fratello, se non custodiremo anche noi, come è opportuno, i precetti dei Padri, sarà anche impossibile che noi non gusteremo l'albero della disubbidienza, intendo dire quello proibito, tramite il quale arriva facilmente su di noi la condanna paterna.

la via della virtù, così, se osservi, potrai vedere a proposito di coloro che hanno intrapreso la vita monastica. Infatti se uno non si spoglierà con le tre virtù della vocazione monastica o anche, potrei dire, con le quattro: l'introduttiva, la pratica, la contemplazione degli enti o anche la contemplazione più elevata, così da essere al di fuori di tutto il mondo e di ogni turbamento della vita, sarà impossibile che si unisca a Dio» (... ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν γενικωτάτων ἀρετῶν, ἀγαπηταὶ ἀδελφοί, ἐπεὶ καὶ τέσσαρες εἰσὶν αὐταί· ἀνδρεία, φρόνησις, σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ χωρὶς τῆς γενικῆς ταύτης τετραδὸς ἀδύνατον ἐκτελέσαι τινα τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς, ὡς εἰκὸς, δρόμον, οὕτω δ' ἂν εὐροῖς σκοπῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τὸν μονήρη βίου ἐπανηρημένων. Εἰ μὴ γὰρ τις ἐγγυμνάσθαι ἑαυτὸν διὰ τῶν τριῶν ἀρετῶν τοῦ μοναχικοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος ἢ καί, ὡς εἶπομι, τῶν τεσσάρων, τῆς τε εἰσαγωγικῆς, τῆς πρακτικῆς τε καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς οὐσι θεωρίας ἢ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀνωτάτω θεωρίας ὥστε ἔξω παντὸς κόσμου γενέσθαι καὶ θορύβου βιωτικοῦ ἀδύνατον Θεῷ συγγενέσθαι), Athos Chiland. 8 (229), f. 319<sup>r</sup>. La stessa successione nella vita monastica è delineata nell'*Encomio* di GIOVANNI NESTEUTES (τοὺς μὲν τὴν εἰσαγωγικὴν ἐξεπαίδευσε, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἠθικὴν θαυμασίως καὶ τοῖς μὲν πράξιν, τοῖς δὲ θεωρίαν ὑπέθηκε συναρμοσάμενος ἄριστα): GELZER, *Kallistos' Enkomion*, p. 77, ll. 26-28.

(56) Definizione (πράξις γὰρ ἐπίβασις θεωρίας) di GREGORIO DI NAZIANZO, *Orationes*, 20, 12: J. MOSSAY, G. LAFONTAINE, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 20-23* (SC, 270), Paris, 1980, p. 82, diventata ben presto un vero e proprio adagio ripetuto *ad libitum*. CALLISTO la riprende anche in altre opere, *Ὁμιλία κατὰ τοῦ Γρηγοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ὁμοφρόνων*, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), f. 209<sup>r</sup>, Vita di GREGORIO IL SINAITA, 12: BEYER, *Kallist I*, p. 134.

μβ' Μη ἀπατώ, ἐργάτα τοῦ ἀμπελώνος Χριστοῦ· πρὸς τὰ ἀποκείμενα οὐ γὰρ τέχνη γραμματική, οὐ φιλοσοφίας ὄρος, οὐκ ἄλλη τις ἐπιστήμη ταύτην ἐξεύρει, τὴν κατ' ἐννοιαν δηλαδὴ ἀρίστην φιλοσοφίαν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τῶν σαρκικῶν κινήματων ἡ ἐκκοπή· δι' αὐτῆς γὰρ ῥαδίως καὶ εἰς τὴν κατ' αἰσθησιν σαφῶς ἐπιβάλλειν ἐμάθομεν.

μγ' Εἰ γὰρ ἔγνωσ τὰ προειρημένα, τρέχε ἀόκνως καὶ μὴ ἀμέλει τοῦ τῆς ταπεινώσεως δρόμου· εἰ δ' οὖν νῆφε καὶ λάβης, ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ τῇ ὑποποιῶ ἐγκέκρυπται αὕτη ἡ μακαρία ἡ πρὸς οὐρανοὺς ἀνοδος.

μδ' Ὡς γὰρ τοῦ κηρίου ἡ θρυαλλίς ἀναφθεῖσα πρῶτον φωτίζει τὸν οἶκον ἐκεῖνον τὸν ζοφώδη καὶ σκοτεινόν· εἶτα τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναμαξαμένου καθάπερ τροφήν τὸ κηρίον διὰ τῆς καυστικῆς ποιότητος εἰς ὕψος αὐθις χωρεῖ ἢ τοῦ πυρὸς φλόξ καὶ ἅμα τοὺς πάντας φωτίζει, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἔρωτι θείῳ ἀλοῦσα διὰ τῆς ἐργασίας τῶν ἐντολῶν τροφή γίνεται διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τῷ Ἰῶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο λέγων· ἐμὸν βρῶμα ἐστὶν ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς· θέλημα γὰρ καὶ τροφή τοῦ Πατρὸς ἡ τῶν πιστῶν σωτηρία καθέστηκεν. Ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ ἡ ἀγαθὴ θρυαλλίς ἐστὶ τοῦ θείου φωτός, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος δύναμις καὶ ἐνέργεια· τροφή δὲ ταύτης τῆς δωρεᾶς ἡ συνθήκη καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀρετῶν στοιβάς· τότε τοῖνον καὶ εὐωδίασε μὲν κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν θεῖον καὶ ὁσμῆ ἱματίων Χριστοῦ καὶ μύρον εὐωδῶδες καὶ στοιβάς μῆλων ὡς ὁ τῆς σοφίας ἐραστῆς Σολομῶν φάσκει· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἡ τροφή τοῦ πυρός, τὸ κηρίον, εὐθὺς ἐκφαντορικῶς ἐκπέμπει τὸ φῶς εἰς τὸ ὕψος, παινιόμενης τῆς θρυαλλίδος, ἐκλείποντος δὲ τοῦ κηρίου εἰς τὸν ἀέρα χωρεῖ τὸ φῶς ἐκεῖνο τῆς θρυαλλίδος, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μετὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνωθεῖσα, τροφήν ἔχει τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἀγαθὰς, ἐκτείνεται δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες διὰ τοῦ θείου πυρὸς ἅμα τῇ ἐνώσει, καθάπερ τὸ πῦρ τὸ κηρίον· ὅποταν δὲ ἐκλείπει τοῦ σώματος οὐχ ὡς τὸ πῦρ διαλύεται τῷ ἀέρι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς

42.

M

43.

M

2 Non inveni

44.

M

6 Gv. 4, 34 || 10-11 Cfr. 2 Cor. 2, 14-15 ; Ct. 4, 10 || 12 Cfr. Ct. 2, 5

(57) Citazione non identificata (v. anche più in basso capitolo 100. 1).

(58) Quest'espressione (ἡ τῶν ἀρετῶν στοιβάς), che rimanda al Cantico (στοιβὰς μῆλων, 44. 12) e che ricorre anche nel capitolo 5. 2, è utilizzata da

42. Non ingannarti, lavoratore della vigna di Cristo. Per i <beni> messi da parte non c'è infatti arte grammatica, né definizione filosofica, né alcuna altra scienza procura questa, cioè l'eccellente filosofia della ragione, ma soltanto la recisione dei movimenti carnali. Con la quale apprendiamo facilmente a intraprendere con sicurezza quella della sensibilità.

43. Se sai quello che è stato detto, corri senza indugio e non essere negligente nella corsa dell'umiltà. Se dunque «sii sobrio e prendi» (57) : in questa <umiltà> che eleva, è celata la stessa beata ascensione ai cieli.

44. Come lo stoppino acceso della candela dapprima illumina una casa oscura e buia, e poi, quando il fuoco riceve come alimento la cera, grazie alla proprietà caustica la fiamma del fuoco si innalza e allora illumina tutti, così anche l'anima, catturata dall'amore divino grazie all'opera dei comandamenti, diventa grazie allo Spirito alimento per il Figlio di Dio, come Egli stesso ha comandato quando ha detto : «Mio cibo è fare la volontà (Gv. 4, 34) del Padre mio che è nei cieli». È stata stabilita come volontà e nutrimento del Padre la salvezza dei fedeli. Infatti l'anima buona è stoppino della luce divina che è la potenza e l'operazione del santo Spirito. Alimento di questo dono, l'accordo e il mucchio delle virtù (58). Allora profuma, secondo il divino Paolo, la fragranza delle vesti di Cristo (cfr. 2 Cor. 2, 14-15 ; Ct. 4, 10), un unguento profumato e un mucchio di mele, come dice l'amante della sapienza Salomone (cfr. Ct. 2, 5). Come infatti là l'alimento del fuoco, la candela, emette subito chiaramente la luce verso l'alto, alimentata dallo stoppino, e quella luce lascia la candela e si diffonde nell'aria, così anche l'anima che, unita allo Spirito, ha quale alimento le buone azioni, tende verso l'alto tramite il fuoco divino nell'unione come il fuoco con la candela. Quando lascia il corpo non si dissolve nell'aria, come il fuoco, ma va

CALLISTO in altre sue opere. Nella *Διδασκαλία τετάρτη περὶ φόβου Θεοῦ*, Athos *Chiland.* 8 (229), f. 121<sup>v</sup> ricorda che con il timore di Dio «il mucchio delle virtù è raccolto» (ἡ στοιβάς τῶν ἀρετῶν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, συναθροίζεται). In un passo della *Ὀμιλία περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων γενικωτάτων ἀρετῶν καὶ περὶ μοναχικῆς πολιτείας*, ff. 321<sup>v</sup>-322<sup>r</sup>, nel quale il riferimento al Cantico è di nuovo evidente, CALLISTO scrive : «... Considera quali grappoli che diventano scuri i movimenti della ragione, come dice Salomone : 'La tua guancia come la scorza del melograno' (Ct. 4, 3 ; 6, 7), o anche lo stesso mucchio delle virtù (καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν στοιβάδα τῶν ἀρετῶν). Come le api, che raccolgono dai fiori la cera e il miele, quando sono sazie non volano in linea retta, per il peso del cibo, ma volano un po' in modo circolare (κυκλικῶς) fino a quando non arrivano in alto e allora vanno verso la sommità in linea retta, così accade anche per la virtù pratica a coloro che ne partecipano. Anche questi, dopo aver raccolto il mucchio delle virtù (τὴν στοιβάδα τῶν ἀρετῶν) in modo, per così dire, circolare sono elevati alla sommità della contemplazione».



20 τὴν ἀθανασίαν χωρεῖ μετὰ τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος καὶ εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους μονὰς κατοικίζεται, εὐφραينوμένη τὰς τῶν δικαίων μονὰς.

5 με' Τὸ κινηθὲν ἐξ ἀγῶνος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ὑπὸ Πνεύματος θείου γαληνὴν ἐκτελεῖ τὴν καρδίαν, κράζον· ἀββὰ ὁ Πατήρ· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἀσχημάτιστον ἢ καὶ ἄμορφον, ἡμᾶς δὲ μετασχηματίζει τῇ αἴγλῃ τοῦ θείου φωτὸς καὶ μορφοποιεῖ ὡς εἰκός, ἅμα τῇ πυρώσει τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοιοὶ καὶ μεταμείβει, ὡς μόνος οἶδεν αὐτός, τῇ θεικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ.

5 μς' Νοῦς δὲ καθαρθεὶς διὰ τῆς νήψεως, ῥαδίως οκοτίζεται εἰ μὴ τῇ συνεχεῖ μνήμῃ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπασχολεῖται πάντῃ τῶν ἔξωθεν· ὁ δὲ τὴν πρακτικὴν συναρμόσας τῇ θεωρίᾳ, οἶον τῇ τοῦ νοὸς τηρήσει, ψόφους οὐκ ἀπαναίνεται, κτύπους ἀνάρθρους ἢ καὶ ἐνάρθρους οὐκ ἀποσεύεται· τρωθεῖσα γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ θείῳ ἔρωτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς ἀδελφιδῶ τούτῳ γε κατακολουθεῖ.

μς' Ταῦτα εἰσὶ τῆς ἐρημικῆς ζωῆς τὰ βλαστήματα καὶ οἱ καρποί, τούτοις γὰρ καὶ ὁ πόθος ἐγγίνεται κατ' αὐτὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον· αὐτὴ ἡ διατριβὴ τῆς ἐρήμου τὸν Μωϋσέα ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὴν θαυμαστὴν θεωρίαν τῆς βάτου ἀνήγαγε, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀλόγου ἐπιστάσις λογικῆς ἡξιώθη ἀρχῆς καὶ θεόπτης ἐγένετο.

5 μη' Ἐδοξάσθη Μωϋσῆς τῷ προσώπῳ τύπον φέρων τοῦ θεανθρώπου Λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν ὁ παλαιὸς Ἰσραὴλ οὐκ ἠδύνατο προσβλέψαι τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Μωϋσέως· ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸν μὲν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ προσώπου πάντες ἑώρων, τὴν δὲ θεικὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν οὐδεὶς· διὸ καὶ ἔπεσον οἱ μαθηταὶ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον μὴ οἰοῖτε ὄντες ἐνεγκεῖν αὐτήν, τὸ Μωϋσέως κάλυμμα ἐπιφέροντες.

45.

MF

2 Gal, 4, 6.

1 τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος F

46.

MF

4-5 Cfr. Ct. 2, 5

1 δὲ om. F || 3 οἶον : οἶονει F

47.

M

3-4 Cfr. Es. 3, 1-6.

3 Μωσέα M

48.

M

1-3 Cfr. Es. 34, 29-30 || 4 Mt. 17, 6

5 Μωσέως M | κάλυμμα M

verso l'immortalità con il divino Spirito e abita nelle dimore eterne, rallegrandosi delle dimore dei giusti.

45. Ciò che è mosso nell'anima dallo Spirito divino in seguito alla lotta rende sereno il cuore « che grida : 'Abba, padre' » (Gal. 4, 6). Ma ciò è senza forma o figura, mentre ci trasmuta con lo splendore della luce divina e ci trasforma come conviene insieme al fuoco del divino Spirito, e anche ci muta e ci cambia, come egli solo sa, per potestà divina.

46. Una mente purificata dalla sobrietà si oscura facilmente se non si distoglie completamente dalle cose esteriori con la memoria continua di Gesù. Colui che ha accordato la pratica alla contemplazione, come custodia della mente, non rifiuta i frastuoni, non si scuote per i suoni inarticolati o articolati <sup>(59)</sup>, perché l'anima ferita dall'amore (cfr. Ct. 2, 5) di Cristo, lo segue come suo amato.

47. Questi sono i germogli e i frutti della vita nel deserto <sup>(60)</sup>. Con questi sopraggiunge il desiderio anche nello stesso uomo interiore. Questa è la dimora nel deserto che condusse Mosè alla splendida contemplazione del roveto. Grazie alla custodia del bestiame fu reso degno della guida razionale e diventò contemplatore di Dio (cfr. Es. 3, 1-6) <sup>(61)</sup>.

48. Mosè fu glorificato nel volto, essendo una figura del Verbo divino-umano. Ma allora l'antico Israele non poteva guardare il volto di Mosè (cfr. Es. 34, 29-30), mentre ora tutti vedono i lineamenti del volto, ma nessuno la gloria divina. Per questo motivo « i discepoli caddero faccia a terra » (Mt. 17, 6) : non erano in grado di sopportarla, perché portavano il velo di Mosè <sup>(62)</sup>.

(59) Frastuoni e suoni suscitati dai demoni quando attaccano i pratici, cfr. capitolo 87. 3.

(60) Per la vita nel deserto (ἐρημικός βίος) cfr. anche 57. 6.

(61) Un passo simile nell'Encomio di GIOVANNI NESTEUTES (καθάπερ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν Μωσέα ἐκ τῆς ἐρημικῆς ἐκείνης διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν προβάτων ποιμνῆς προσεκαλέσατο ὁ Θεός ...) : GELZER, *Kallistos' Enkomion*, p. 74, ll. 19-21.

(62) Il termine «velo» (κάλυμμα), la cui base scritturaria è Es. 34, 33, ricorre anche nei capitoli 49. 3 e 50. 1. Per CALLISTO la parola indica sia il velo "di Mosè", dell'antica Legge, sia quello del peccato e delle passioni, come ricavamo anche dalle altre sue opere. Nella *Ὀμιλία εἰς τὴν ὑψωσιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιῦ σταυροῦ* : SOPHRONIOS, *Ὁ πατριάρχης Κάλλιστος*, pp. 130-131 : « ... ὅπερ πρότερον ἐζήτουν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, τὸ κάλυμμα περιφέροντες ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψυχαῖς, ὁ πρᾶτερον ἐπὶ Μωσέως ἦσαν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς περιθέμενοι, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι ὄραν τὴν ποιητὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῆς κτίσεως ». Così anche in un discorso contro Gregora (*Κατὰ τοῦ Γρηγοῦρα*, Athos Chiland. 8 [229], f. 216'). Altrove indica il piacere (l'anima ἐκαλύπτετο τοίνυν ὡσπερ τιμὴ προκαλύμματι, κάλυμμα ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα, τὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς δέλεαρ, *Διδασκαλία εἰς τὴν κυριακὴν*

μθ' Ὅποταν ἡμεῖς μὴ φθάσωμεν ὡς εἰκὸς ἀποδυθῆναι τὴν παλαιωθείσαν τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἀμαρτίαν, μὴ δὲ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀναδράμωμεν ὕψος τοῦ νέου Ἀδάμ κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν θεῖον, κάλυμμα μωσαϊκὸν περίκειται τότε καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἅπασιν τοῖς μὴ κατὰ λόγον βουλομένοις ἐκριζῶσαι τὸ νέφος ἐκεῖνο τὸ ψυχικὸν καὶ τρανώτερον θεωρῆσαι τὴν αὐγὴν τῆς θεότητος.

ν' Λυθέντος τοῦ πρώτου καλύμματος, ἀδελφέ, καὶ τοῦ νέφους τῆς ἀμαρτίας, εὐθύς μεταμορφοῦται ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς τὴν προτέραν εὐγένειαν, ἢ καὶ κρείττον ἐκείνης, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμαυρώθη, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἤξιώθη ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀθέατα· εἰ καὶ ὡς ἀτελὲς ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον δι' ἔλλειψιν ἀπαθείας.

να' Τὸ πῦρ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀμιγές ἐστι πάντη καὶ ἀψαυατον ὕλης, οὕτω μοι νόει καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου πυρὸς ὅπερ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῖν ἐνετείλατο κατὰ τό· πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν· ἀμικτον γάρ ἐστι καὶ παντὸς ῥύπου ἀνεπίδεκτον· διὰ τοῦτο ἰδόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ πρότερον μὲν ἔπεσον δι' ἔλλειψιν τῆς καθάρσεως, ὕατερον δὲ μετὰ τὴν τελείαν κάθαραι καὶ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θείου τούτου πυρὸς γεγονῶσαι μέτοχοι ὡς ἀκεύη ἀρύπρωτα.

νβ' Τὸ γὰρ λαλεῖν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν θεῖον πάσης πεποίηκεν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τούτους ἐκτὸς ἀμαρτίας· ἀδύνατον γὰρ μὴ πρότερον καθαρῶναι τινα, εἴτα τῷ καθαρῷ προαομιλῆσαι· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν θεῖον Παῦλον ἔχειν τὸν Χριστὸν λαλοῦντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ μὴ τέλειον ὄντα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τέλος νόμου Χριστός.

49.

M

2-3 Cfr. Ef. 4, 13, 1 Cor. 15, 45

50.

M

51.

M

2-3 Lc. 12, 49.

52.

M

1 Cfr. 2 Cor. 13, 3 || 3 Cfr. Gregorio di Nazianzo, *Orationes*, 20, 4 : J. MOSSAY, G. LAFONTAINE, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 20-23* (SC, 270), Paris, 1980, p. 62. || 4 Cfr. 2 Cor. 13, 3 || 5 Rm. 10, 4

49. Sino a quando non giungiamo, come conviene, a spogliarci dell'antico peccato di Adamo e, secondo le parole del divino Paolo, non ascendiamo alla sommità della pienezza del nuovo Adamo (cfr. Ef. 4, 13 ; 1 Cor. 15, 45), sino ad allora il velo mosaico cingerà noi tutti che non vogliamo estirpare, in modo conforme alla ragione, quell'ombra psichica e contemplare in modo più chiaro lo splendore della divinità.

50. Dopo aver dissolto il primo velo, fratello, e la nube del peccato, subito l'anima è trasfigurata nella nobiltà originaria, o anche in una condizione a questa superiore, perché l'una è oscurata mentre l'altra è resa degna di vedere le cose invisibili, anche se, in quanto imperfetta, cade faccia a terra per mancanza di impassibilità.

51. Di per sé il fuoco è completamente non-mescolato e intangibile dalla materia. Pensa così anche del divino fuoco che il Signore ci ha ordinato in conformità alle parole : «Sono venuto a portare il fuoco sulla terra» (Lc. 12, 49). È infatti privo di mescolanza e non accetta nessun sudiciume. Per questo motivo i discepoli quando videro, dapprima caddero per mancanza di purificazione, poi, dopo la purificazione perfetta<sup>(63)</sup>, diventarono anche partecipi, quali vasi puri, della gloria di quel fuoco divino.

52. Il fatto che Cristo parli in loro, secondo il divino Paolo (cfr. 2 Cor. 13, 3), li ha resi, per così dire, esenti da ogni peccato. È infatti impossibile che uno non sia prima purificato e quindi conversi con il puro<sup>(64)</sup>, e nemmeno, secondo lo stesso divino Paolo, avere Cristo che parla dentro di sé non essendo perfetto, perché «termine della Legge è Cristo» (Rm. 10, 4).

μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σταυροῦ προακύνησιν, f. 144<sup>v</sup>), o i peccati (τὸ κάλυμμα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, *Διδακαλία εἰς τὴν λαμπρὰν κυριακὴν τοῦ Πάσχα*, f. 160<sup>v</sup>). In una omelia contro Gregoras il velo sul volto e dell'anima, chiamato dall'apostolo Paolo "folia", è la conoscenza delle discipline elleniche (ἡ γνώσις τῶν ἐλληνικῶν μαθημάτων), *Ὁμιλία κατὰ τοῦ Γρηγοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ὁμοφρόνων*, ff. 199<sup>v</sup>, 201<sup>v</sup>, 203<sup>v</sup>. E ancora : il velo dell'antica Legge e delle passioni (ivi, f. 209<sup>v</sup>). V. anche più in basso n. 66 per il termine προκάλυμμα. CALLISTO amplifica quanto aveva scritto il suo maestro, GREGORIO IL SINAITA, sul velo della mente e delle passioni cfr. *Capitoli sulle gerarchie*, 9, ll. 3-4 : RIGO, *Il monaco*, p. 12 e commento corrispondente.

(63) Le stesse considerazioni sui tre apostoli di seguito al racconto della Trasfigurazione nella *Διδακαλία δογματικὴ κατὰ τοῦ Γρηγοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ διδασκάλων*, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), f. 188r : «ἐπεὶ καὶ τρεῖς ἦσαν οἱ ἐπόπται τῆς τοιαύτης μεγαλειότητος, καὶ γὰρ ἀτελεῖς ὄντες, τὸν εἰσαγωγικὸν διεξήρχοντο δρόμον».

(64) Cfr. GREGORIO DI NAZIANZO, *Orationes*, 20, 4 : MOSSAY, LAFONTAINE, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 20-23*, p. 62.

5 νγ' Συγκρουόμενος γάρ ὁ χάλιξ μετὰ τοῦ σιδήρου πῦρ ἐκπέμπει, καὶ φλογὸς δίκην ἐξάπτει ῥαδίως, οὕτω καὶ ψυχὴ τῆ συνεχεῖ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῆ μνήμῃ, ὡς εἶπεῖν, συγκρουομένη αἰεὶ ἐξάπτει τῷ ἔρωτι τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως· εἶτα καὶ ἀκτινοβολεῖν ἀπάρχεται ὡς εἰκὸς τὸ φυσικὸν αὐτῆς κάλλος ἐκπέμπουσα, καθάπερ ὁ χάλιξ μετὰ τοῦ σιδήρου, καὶ ἅμα πρὸς τὴν θείαν αὐγὴν ἀνατείνεται, λυθέντος τοῦ προκαλύμματος καὶ τοῦ αἵσχους τῆς ἀμαρτίας.

5 νδ' Τὸ γάρ· πᾶς ὁ αἰτῶν λαμβάνει καὶ ὁ ζητῶν εὐρίσκει καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοιγήσεται εἰς τοῦτο φέρει τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, εἰς τὴν ἀληθῆ δηλαδὴ προσευχὴν καὶ τήρησιν τοῦ νοός· εἰ μὴ γάρ τις τοῦτο πάθος οὐκ ἂν μετὰ τοῦ Δαβὶδ ψάλλοι τό· ἐθερμάνθη ἡ καρδία μου ἐντὸς μου καὶ ἐν τῇ μελέτῃ μου ἐκκαυθήσεται πῦρ.

νε' Τὸ γάρ ζητεῖν καὶ κρούειν τὴν θύραν τῆς βασιλείας ὡς τό· ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, τοῖς πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἐδόθη, ὀλίγοις δὲ οἶμαι ἀνοίγεται ὡς εἰκὸς καθὰ καὶ αἱ πέντε παρθένοι ἀπέτυχον, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ κατὰ καιρὸν κρούσαι ἀπεκλείσθησαν τῆς εἰσόδου.

νε' Στήσαι μὲν τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς πάθη καὶ τὰ σκιρτήματα τοὺς ἐν κόσμῳ διατρίβοντας ἢ καὶ σὺν λόγῳ σχολάζειν κατὰ τό· σχολάσατε καὶ γινώτε, εἰκὸς εἶναι γενέσθαι, ἐξαλειψαὶ δὲ ἡ ἀφανίσει ἀδύνατον.

νε' Τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς πάθη δίκην πυρὸς ἀνάπτουσιν· ἐκεῖνο γάρ ἅμα τῷ πλησιάσει τῇ ὕλῃ ῥαδίως ἀνάπτει, ἀφανιζομένης δ' ἐκείνης μαραίνεται· μένει δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἔνδον, ὁπόταν δὲ προσεγγίση, πάλιν ἀνάπτει. Οὕτω μοι νοεῖ καὶ τὰ πάθη, κοιμίζονται μὲν καὶ ὡς τὸ δοκεῖν ἀνενέργητα μένουσιν,

53.

M

54.

M

1-2 Mt. 7, 8 || 4-5 Sal. 38, 4

55.

M

1-2 Lc. 17, 21 || 3-4 Cfr. Mt. 25, 1-13

56.

MF

2 Sal. 45, 11

53. La pietruzza battuta con il ferro produce il fuoco che, come fiamma, si sviluppa con facilità <sup>(65)</sup>. Così anche l'anima, battuta, per così dire, con la continua invocazione e memoria di Gesù, brucia sempre dell'amore di Dio per la continuità dell'invocazione. Poi comincia anche a irradiare, come conviene, emettendo la sua bellezza naturale, come la pietruzza con il ferro, e al contempo si leva verso lo splendore divino, essendosi consumati il velo e la vergogna del peccato <sup>(66)</sup>.

54. Le parole : « Chiunque chiede riceve e chi cerca trova e a chi bussa sarà aperto » (Mt. 7, 8) conducono la ragione della verità a questo, cioè alla vera preghiera e alla custodia della mente. Se uno non lo ha provato non potrà infatti salmodiare con Davide : « Era riscaldato il cuore dentro di me e nella mia meditazione è divampato un fuoco » (Sal. 38, 4).

55. Cercare e bussare alla porta del regno perché la parola : « Il regno di Dio è dentro di voi » (Lc. 17, 21) è stata data a noi tutti <sup>(67)</sup>. Ritengo però che la porta si apra, come è opportuno, per pochi. Anche le cinque vergini non ci

56. È opportuno che quelli che vivono nel mondo arrestino le passioni e i sobbalzi della carne e che li fermino con la ragione, secondo quanto è detto : « Fermatevi e sappiate » (Sal. 45, 11), ma è impossibile che li facciano sparire o svanire.

57. Le passioni della carne ardono come fuoco. Questo infatti, quando si avvicina della legna, divampa facilmente, mentre quando quella è consumata, si affievolisce. Rimane sopito all'interno, e quando gli si mette vicino <della legna>, divampa di nuovo. Considera così anche le passioni. Si calmano e

(65) Stessa immagine nella Vita di GREGORIO IL SINAITA, 19 (ὡσπερ ὁ κάχληξ συγκρουόμενος τῷ σιδήρῳ εὐθὺς ἐξάγει τὸ πῦρ ἔνδον κρυπτόμενον καὶ ἀνάπτειν δυνάμενον τῆς προσηκούσης ὕλης ἀψάμενον) : BEYER, *Kallist I*, p. 174.

(66) Con il termine προκαλύμμα CALLISTO intende il velo della carne (τὸ προκαλύμμα τῆς σαρκός), Ὁμιλία περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων γενικωτάτων ἀρετῶν καὶ περὶ μοναχικῆς πολιτείας, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), f. 322<sup>v</sup>, e anche la veste luminosa di Adamo prima della caduta (capitolo 93. 6). Nella Ὁμιλία κατὰ τοῦ Γρηγοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ὁμοφρόνων, f. 199<sup>v</sup> il termine è utilizzato per indicare l'eresia di Gregoras (τὸ προκαλύμμα τῆς αἰρέσεως). V. anche sopra n. 62.

(67) CALLISTO ha dedicato un'intera opera, la Διδασκαλία εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ἡμῶν ἐστὶ, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), ff. 169<sup>v</sup>-174<sup>v</sup> a Lc. 17, 21. Qui leggiamo che si può aprire e chiudere la porta del regno « per mezzo del pentimento e del compimento dei comandamenti » (τὸ κλεισθῆναι καὶ ἀνοιγῆναι ταύτην ἐπιγίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διὰ τῆς μετανοίας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐκπληρώσεως, f. 171<sup>v</sup>).

- 5 ἐπὶ δὲ μικρὸν προσεγγίσωσι, ῥαδίως ἐξάπτει τὴν φλόγα τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδονήν· ὁ δ' ἐρημικὸς βίος σαφῶς ἐκριζοῦν οἶδεν αὐτά.

νη· Τοῖς γὰρ γευσαμένοις τὸ τῆς μελίσσης γλυκάζειν πεφυκὸς ἔστιν εἶδέναι πάντως ὃ λέγω· ἔστω σοι δὲ ἐν τούτοις προκειμένον τῷ φιλοπόνῳ ὃ τῆς μελίσσης ἀγῶν καὶ οἱ πόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κέντρον αὐτῆς, ἵνα μὴ ἀντὶ τοῦ γλυκάζοντος διὰ τὴν ἀνεσίαν, πικρίαν ἐνσπίρης τῇ σῆ ψυχῇ, χεῖρον ἀψινοῦ 5 ἀπηγορευμένην.

νθ' Ἀδύνατον πάντη τὸν μὴ εἰδότα κολυμβᾶν νήχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων ἢ ὅλως ἐπιχειρεῖν διαπλέειν ἐν τῷ πελάγει, καὶ μὴ καταποντισθῆναι ῥαδίως.

ξ' Εἰ βούλει, ἔστω σοι καὶ τοῦτο σαφές τὸ θεώρημα, εἴπερ οὐκ ἔμαθες· οἱ γὰρ πεπειραμένοι τοῦ κολυμβᾶν, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ βάθος χωροῦσι ἀνεωγμένους ἔχοντες τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ, ὡς εἶπειν, ἀσκαρδαμυκτὶ τοὺς διατρίβοντας ἰχθύας ἐκείσε τρανῶς καθορῶσιν.

ξα' Οὕτω καὶ ὁ νοῦς, πρότερον μὲν διὰ τῆς πρακτικῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπονήχεται ἔξωθεν τῆ ἀγάπῃ αἰωρούμενος τοῦ Θεοῦ. εἶτα χειραγωγούμενος διὰ τῆς ἐργασίας τῶν ἐντολῶν καθάπερ ἡ φιλεργὸς μέλισσα πρὸς τὸ ὕψος χωρεῖ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρίας· καὶ αὖθις πρὸς τὸν κάτω βυθόν, φημί δὴ τὴν γῆν τῆς καρδίας, 5 ὀλικῶς κάτοχος γίνεται μετὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ τὰ βάθη καλῶς ἐρευνᾷ καὶ τηλαυγῶς καθορᾷ τοὺς ἐγκειμένους λογισμοὺς τούτους, ὡς ὁ κολυμβητὴς τοὺς διατρίβοντας, ὡς ἔφην, ἰχθύας.

57.

MF

6 δ' : δὲ F

58.

M

59.

M

60.

M

61.

5 Cfr. 1 Cor. 2, 10

M

rimangono in apparenza inattive, ma ogni volta che un po' ci si avvicina, si accende subito la fiamma del peccato e il piacere della carne. Senza dubbio la vita eremitica sa sradicarle.

58. Per coloro che hanno gustato la dolcezza del miele è naturale sapere appieno quello che dico. Per te, oh laborioso, siano a questo proposito oggetto di riflessione la lotta e le fatiche dell'ape e anche il suo pungiglione, in modo da non seminare nella tua anima, a causa del rilassamento, invece di dolcezza la vietata amarezza, peggiore dell'assenzio.

59. È assolutamente impossibile per chi non sa nuotare tuffarsi nelle acque e pensare di traversare il mare senza finire subito sommerso.

60. Se vuoi, ti sia anche chiara questa immagine, qualora tu non abbia capito. Coloro che sanno nuotare, non solo vanno in profondità avendo gli occhi aperti, ma anche, per così dire, vedono con chiarezza e senza batter ciglio i pesci che ci abitano.

61. Così anche la mente, dapprima con la virtù pratica nuota via, al di fuori, sollevata dall'amore di Dio, poi, guidata con l'opera dei comandamenti, come l'ape operosa va verso la sommità della contemplazione di Dio e di nuovo verso la profondità in basso, intendo dire la terra del cuore, ed è tutta posseduta dallo Spirito, investiga bene le profondità (cfr. 1 Cor. 2, 10) e osserva distintamente i pensieri che vi si trovano, come il nuotatore - l'abbiamo detto - i pesci che abitano <nel mare>.

Ξβ' Καθαρθείς γὰρ ὁ νοῦς κατόπτρου δίκην ἐπέχει· ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τοῖς πλησιάζουσι τὰς τοῦ προσώπου οὐλὰς ἐξελέγχει διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἕλου διαύγειαν, οὕτω δὲ καθαρθεὶς μείζον ἐκείνου καὶ φανότερον καθορᾷ διὰ τῆς ἐνεργείας καὶ λαμπρόνος τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ ἅμα τὰς τῶν ἐτέρων κηλίδας τὰς ψυχικὰς  
5 καθαρῶς ἐνορᾷ καὶ ἐνοπτρίζεται.

Ξγ' Πᾶν γὰρ τὸ θεωρούμενον καὶ νοούμενον θεωρία κατονομάζεται κατὰ τοὺς ἔξω σοφοὺς· οἱ δὲ τὴν οὕτως σοφίαν ζητοῦντες, ἦν αὐτοὶ καὶ μωρίαν καλοῦσι, μόνοι οἶδασιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀπλανῶς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρίαν, ἥτις διδάσκει πάντα ἀνθρώπων γνώσιν καὶ βαθέα καὶ ἀποκεκρυμμένα ἀνακαλύπτει, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ συγγινόμενος θεοῖς κατὰ χάριν πιστεύεται, ὡς τό· ἐγὼ εἶπα· θεοὶ ἐστε.

Ξδ' Διπλὴ τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ἡ θεωρία προσγίνεται καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς πρακτικῆς ἢ γνώσεως τῶν ὄντων ἐπιγίνεται, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ θεωρία τῶν ὄντων· καθορᾷ δὲ ὁ ταύτην κτησάμενος, οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἔξω σοφοὺς. ἄπαγε, ἀλλὰ καθὼς ἔχουσι φύσεως, καὶ αὐθις ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ὅπως κινοῦνται καὶ φέρονται· τοῦτον δὲ ὑπεραναβάς τὸν ὄρον τῆς φύσεως, χειραγωγεῖται ῥαδίως πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρίαν, τὴν ἀληθῆ κατανόησιν.

Ξε' Οἱ γὰρ ἔξω σοφοὶ τεχνικῶς ἢ στοχαστικῶς ὡσανεὶ θεωροῦσι τὰς κινήσεις τῶν ὄντων, καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἐντεῦθεν πορίζονται, μετρίως δὲ ἐπιβαίνουσι καὶ ἀνατείνονται πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ κατανόησιν. Ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστήμην Θεοῦ ὡς εἰκὸς ἐξασκήσας καὶ τὴν θεραπαινίδα ταύτην τῇ ἀληθινῇ σοφίᾳ ὑποτάξας,  
5 ῥαδίως οἶδε λύειν αἰνίγματα καὶ στροφὰς λόγων.

Ξς' Ἡ γνώσις τῶν ὄντων φυσιοῖ τὸν κτησάμενον, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιστήμη μέτρον αὐτὸν ἀπεργάζεται· συνάψας δὲ τις τὴν δευτέραν τῇ πρώτῃ, ἥτις θερα-

62.

M

63.

M

2-3 Cfr. 1 Cor. 3, 19 || 5-6 Sal. 81, 5

64.

M

65.

M

66.

M

1 1 Cor. 8, 1

62. Quando la mente è purificata si presenta come uno specchio. Questo rivela a chi si avvicina le cicatrici del volto per la trasparenza del vetro, <mentre la mente> ancora più purificata di questo vede in modo ancora più chiaro grazie all'operazione e allo splendore dello Spirito e assieme vede e riflette come uno specchio le macchie dell'anima degli altri.

63. Tutto quello che è contemplato e pensato viene chiamato contemplazione dai sapienti del di fuori. Solo coloro che cercano la vera sapienza, che questi chiamano follia (cfr. 1 Cor. 3, 19), conoscono realmente e senza errore la contemplazione di Dio, che insegna a ogni uomo la conoscenza e rivela le cose profonde e nascoste e grazie a ciò Dio unito agli dèi è creduto nella grazia, come è scritto : « Io ho detto : Voi siete dèi » (Sal. 81, 5).

64. Duplice è la contemplazione che sopraggiunge ai lottatori. Grazie alla pratica giunge la conoscenza degli enti, che è la contemplazione degli enti, Chi la possiede non vede in modo conforme ai sapienti del di fuori, via l, ma come sono per natura e d'altra parte in Dio, come sono mossi e condotti. Oltrepassando questo limite della natura, è guidato facilmente alla contemplazione di Dio, la vera contemplazione.

65. Infatti i sapienti del di fuori, che in modo artificioso e ipotetico hanno una certa contemplazione dei movimenti degli enti, e di qui non trovano niente di più, hanno un modesto avanzamento e tendono alla contemplazione di Dio. Colui che invece si è invece esercitato come è opportuno nella scienza di Dio e ha sottomesso questa serve alla vera sapienza <sup>(68)</sup>, sa facilmente sciogliere enigmi e giochi di parole.

66. « La conoscenza » degli enti « gonfia » (1 Cor. 8, 1) colui che la possiede, mentre la scienza di Dio lo rende misurato. Chi unisce la seconda alla prima,

(68) La conoscenza degli enti (γνώσις τῶν ὄντων) è definita come una serve (θεραπεινὴς) in rapporto alla sua signora, la scienza di Dio (ἐπιστήμη τοῦ Θεοῦ). Al riguardo Callisto ritorna anche altrove. Nella *Διδασκαλία δογματικῆ κατὰ τοῦ Γρηγορᾶ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ διδασκάλων* scrive : « Colui che non accoglie la conoscenza che deriva dalla grazia, anche se dice qualcosa di gnostico, non conosce realmente con l'esperienza la potenza di quanto è detto .... Il semplice apprendimento non dà la conoscenza dell'abitudine. Questa è serve e non signora secondo i divini Padri » ('Ο δὲ τὴν ἐκ χάριτος μὴ δεξάμενος γνώσιν, κὰν λέγη τι γνωστικόν, οὐκ οἶδεν ἀληθῶς κατὰ τὴν πείραν τοῦ λεγομένου τὴν δύναμιν .... Ψιλὴ γὰρ μάθησις τὴν καθ' ἑξιν γνώσιν οὐ δίδωσι· θεραπαινὶς γὰρ ἐστὶν αὕτη κατὰ τοὺς θεῖους πατέρας καὶ οὐ κυρία, Athos Chiland. 8 [229], f. 187'). E in un altro suo scritto di simili intenti, la *Ὁμιλία κατὰ τοῦ Γρηγορᾶ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ὁμοφρόνων*, precisa : « Vedi come il divino Crisostomo chiama la



παινίς ὡς πρὸς κυρίαν αὐτὴν παρεικάζεται, συζυγίαν ἀρίστην ἐκτήσατο, τὴν μὲν ὡς σελήνην νοῶν, τὴν δὲ ὡς ἥλιον· ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἑαυτῆς φῶς προσελάβετο.

Ξζ' Καθάπερ ὁ ἥλιος διὰ τῶν ἀκτίνων ἐκπέμπει τὸ φῶς ὀλικῶς τῇ σελήνῃ πλησιφαῖ οὕση καὶ καθαρὰν φωτὸς ἀπεργάζεται. Ὅποταν δὲ τῷ ἀποσκίασματι τῶν βουνῶν ἀποκρυβῆ εὐθὺς ἀμαυροῦται καὶ σεληνιακῆ τηρικαῦτα ἐκλειψίς γίνεται, οὕτω καὶ ψυχὴ δεξαμένη τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνέργειαν καὶ χάριν ὅλη φωτοειδὴς γίνεται διὰ τῶν φυσικῶν βολίδων τῶν τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς δικαιοσύνης. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν τὸ ἀποσκίασμα τὸ τῆς σελήνης φῶς ἀμαυροῦ· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὴν νύκτα σκότους ἐμπίπλησιν, νεφῶν παχυθέντων περὶ αὐτὴν. Τὸν αὐτὸν δὴπου τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐροῖς ἂν τουτί τὸ θεώρημα· ἅμα γὰρ τὸ ὑπερψωθῆναι τὸν τῆς ἀμαρτίας βουνόν, ὅπερ ἔστιν ὁ ταύτης ἔσμος καὶ τὸ ἀποσκίασμα, οὐ μόνον αὐτὴ ἀμαυροῦται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλον αὐτῆς τὸν οἶκον τὸν ψυχικόν καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς νοεράς κινήσεις ἀπονεκροῖ καὶ ζόφου καὶ σκότους παντὸς ἐμπίπλησιν.

Ξη' Ποῦ γὰρ μεταμορφοῦται Χριστός; Ἐν τῷ ὄρει Θαβάρ, ἔξω τῶν βιωτικῶν θορύβων ποιούμενος τὴν διατριβήν. Ὑπερναβὰς γὰρ τοῦ ὄρους μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν, μεταμορφοῦται ἐν δόξῃ· δεικνύων αὐτοῖς τὴν φυσικὴν δόξαν τῆς θεότητος καὶ λαμπρότητα, ἔχων ὁμοῦ καὶ Μωϋσῆν καὶ Ἡλίαν μάρτυρας τοῦ φρικτοῦ τούτου μυστηρίου. Παιδεύων ἡμᾶς διὰ τῶν προκρίτων, μὴ μέσον θορύβου ζητεῖν τὰ ἀόρατα, ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἀθέατα· δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς διὰ τῶν καμάτων τε καὶ ἰδρώτων καὶ τῶν ἀθλητικῶν ἀγώνων ὑπερναβῆναι τοῦ ὄρους, φημί δὴ τῶν ὄντων γνώσεως, καὶ ἅμα συναποβαλλόμενοι πρῶτα τὰ σαρκικά φρονήματα ἢ καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς νοεράς κινήσεις, οὕτως εἰς τὸν γνόφον εἰσδύντες τὸν μυστικόν, ὅστις ἔστιν ἡ ὄρασις τῆς εἰρήνης δι' ἧς μεταμορφούμεθα, ὡς εἰκός, ἔξω σαρκὸς γενόμενοι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον τῆς προσευχῆς ἀρπαγέντες, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος φησὶ καὶ τοῦ Σιναίου ὄρους καθηγητῆς Ἰωάννης ὥστε θαυμάζειν καὶ

67.

M

5 Cfr. Mal. 3, 20

68.

M

3 τε τῆς M

1-5 Cfr. Mt. 17, 1-4; Mc. 9, 2-4; Lc. 9, 28-30.

10-13 Cfr. 2 Cor. 12, 2-3; Giovanni Climaco, *Scala paradisi*, 27: PG 88, col. 1109c

che rispetto a quella è paragonabile a una serva di fronte a una padrona, possiede la coppia eccellente. Considera l'una come la luna, l'altra come il sole, dal quale questa riceve la propria luce.

67. Il sole con i raggi emette con profusione la luce alla luna piena e la rende completamente luminosa. Quando per l'ombra delle colline è oscurata, allora si verifica un'eclissi di luna. Così anche l'anima che accoglie l'operazione e la grazia di Dio, diventa tutta luminosa grazie ai dardi naturali del sole di giustizia (cfr. Mal. 3, 20). Ma là l'ombra oscura la luce della luna e a volte anche la notte si riempie di tenebra quando le nubi si addensano attorno<sup>(69)</sup>. Allo stesso modo puoi senza dubbio trovare quest'immagine anche a proposito dell'anima. In contemporanea all'innalzarsi della collina del peccato, che è la sua moltitudine e oscuramento, non soltanto questa è oscurata, ma anche l'intera casa dell'anima. Fa morire i movimenti intellettuali e riempie di ogni tenebra e oscurità.

68. Dove Cristo si è trasfigurato? Sul monte Tabor, dopo avere stabilito la sua dimora al di fuori delle confusioni della vita. Egli salì infatti sul monte con i discepoli e si trasfigurò nella gloria, mostrando loro la gloria naturale della divinità e lo splendore e avendo anche Mosè ed Elia quali testimoni di questo mistero tremendo (cfr. Mt. 17, 1-4; Mc. 9, 2-4; Lc. 9, 28-30). Egli ci insegna per mezzo dei discepoli prescelti a non cercare, come dire, in mezzo alla confusione le cose invisibili e non contemplabili. Noi dobbiamo con le fatiche, i sudori e i combattimenti ascetici salire sul monte, intendo dire la conoscenza degli enti, e contemporaneamente deporre prima i ragionamenti della carne o anche gli stessi movimenti intellettuali ed entrare così nella tenebra mistica, che è la visione della pace, grazie alla quale siamo trasfigurati, come conviene, e ci troviamo al di fuori della carne durante quel tempo della preghiera, nel rapimen-

conoscenza degli enti serva disprezzata della signora delle virtù, intendo dire della contemplazione secondo Dio? » (Εἶδες ὅπως ὁ θεῖος Χρυσόστομος τὴν γνώσιν τῶν ὄντων θεράπειναν τῆς κυρίας τῶν ἀρετῶν, τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν φημί θεωρίας, ἠτιμωμένην προσηγόρευσεν ... ; f. 203<sup>v</sup>) (CALLISTO fa qui esplicito riferimento a GIOVANNI CRISOSTOMO, *In epistulam I ad Corinthios*: PG 61, col. 58). Quest'ultimo passo mostra con chiarezza che il destinatario delle critiche polemiche di CALLISTO è NICEFORO GREGORAS. I capitoli 63-66 rivolti contro i «sapianti del di fuori» (οἱ ἔξω σοφοί) hanno evidentemente questo stesso obiettivo.

(69) Stessa immagine del sole e delle colline nel discorso *Κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Γρηγοῦρά, Athos Chiland.* 8 (229), f. 208<sup>r</sup>.

ἐκπλήττεσθαι· εἴτε ἐντὸς τοῦ σώματος εἴτε καὶ ἐκτός, ἡ ὄρασις γέγονεν αὕτη ἡ θαυμαστή.

ΞΘ' Οὕτω γὰρ ἔδει ἵνα διὰ τῆς θείας ἀγάπης φθάσωμεν εἰς τὸν τῆς τελειώσεως ὄρον καὶ λόγον· λέγω δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν τελείαν ἀγάπην τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρίας, ἣτις ἡμᾶς διδάσκει σαφῶς καὶ πρὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῆς ψυχῆς· σύμβολον γὰρ ἦσαν Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἡλίας, οἱ ὀφθέντες τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐν δόξῃ, συνελάλουν τῷ Χριστῷ περὶ τούτου. Εἰ γὰρ τις τὰς τῶν ἁγίων ψυχᾶς ἐν δόξῃ θεωρεῖ, πολλῶ μᾶλλον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καθορᾶ καὶ πρὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως.

ο' Μέγα τι κτήμα ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς διπλὴν τὴν χάριν δεξάμενος, ἡ καὶ τριπλὴν ὡς ἂν εἴπομι· πρῶτον μὲν ἅμα τῷ τῆ παραγωγῇ δημιουργηθῆναι διὰ τοῦ ἐμφυσήματος, δεύτερον δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀναπλάσεως τῆ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπελεύσει, ἣτοι τοῦ ἐμφυσήματος ἀνακαινίζοντος ἐκείνην, ἣν ἡ παρακοὴ ἀπημαύρωσε, τρίτον δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ λουτροῦ· τρισσῶς οὖν καὶ

69.

M

4-5 Cfr. Mt. 17, 3, Mc. 9, 4, Lc. 9, 30

70.

M

2-3 Cfr. Gen. 2, 7

2 ὅτι τριπλὴ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου χάρις in marg. mano post. M

(70) GIOVANNI CLIMACO, *Scala paradisi*, 27 : PG 88, col. 1109c. CALLISTO chiama abitualmente Climaco con questo appellativo (ὁ τοῦ Σιναίου ὄρους καθηγητής), cfr. 73. 6 e anche nella *Διδασκαλία εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ἡμῶν ἐστι*, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), f. 171<sup>v</sup> (v. nota successiva), nella *Ὁμιλία κατὰ Λατίνων*, f. 232<sup>v</sup>, nella *Ὁμιλία περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων γενικωτάτων ἀρετῶν καὶ περὶ μοναχικῆς πολιτείας*, f. 320<sup>v</sup>, nella *Ὁμιλία περὶ ὑπακοῆς*, f. 334<sup>v</sup>.

(71) In un passo parallelo della *Διδασκαλία εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ἡμῶν ἐστι*, CALLISTO amplifica quanto scrive nelle righe conclusive di questo capitolo : « ... Qui a faccia a faccia e a volto scoperto senza che nessun velo carnale si frapponga o impedisca. Il malto beata Paolo, avendo oltrepassato questo limite ed essendogli giunto al terzo cielo, si trova nell'incertezza e dice : 'Non so se nel corpo o fuori del corpo'. Anche il molto divino Giovanni maestro del monte Sinai mostra di essere d'accordo con

to, come dice Paolo (cfr. 2 Cor. 12, 2-3) e il maestro del monte Sinai Giovanni (70), così da meravigliarci e da stupirci : che si verifichi all'interno o all'esterno del corpo, questa visione diventa essa stessa oggetto di meraviglia (71).

69. Così infatti dobbiamo giungere, grazie al divino amore, al limite e alla ragione della perfezione, intendo dire allo stesso perfetto amore della contemplazione di Dio che ci insegna con chiarezza, e prima della resurrezione comune, la resurrezione dell'anima. Ne erano un simbolo Mosè ed Elia, visti dai discepoli nella gloria parlare di questo con Gesù (cfr. Mt. 17, 3 ; Mc. 9, 4 ; Lc. 9, 30). Se infatti qualcuno contempla le anime dei santi nella gloria, quanto di più vedrà la propria e anche prima della resurrezione comune (72) !

70. Grande bene è l'uomo, perché ha ricevuto la grazia due volte o si potrebbe dire anche tre volte. Una prima volta con l'essere stato fatto per mezzo dell'ispirazione, al momento della creazione (cfr. Gen. 2, 7). Una seconda volta grazie alla rigenerazione con la venuta di Cristo, cioè quella dell'ispirazione rinnovata, che la disubbidienza aveva oscurato. Una terza volta con la rinascita del

il grande quando afferma che, rapito nella contemplazione di Dio, non poteva arguire con chiarezza se era nel corpo o fuori del corpo, credo a causa di questo velo. È come uno specchio, quando è purificato per mezzo dell'ascesi e, come potrei dire, preparato e assottigliato con le faticose opere dei comandamenti » (Ἐκεῖ δὲ κατὰ πρόσωπον καὶ ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ μή τις μείσειτος ἢ διείργουτος σαρκικοῦ προκαλύμματος. Τοῦτον τὸν ὄρον ὑπερναβὰς ὁ μακαριώτατος Παῦλος καὶ εἰς τρίτον οὐρανὸν πεφθακῶς ἀπορία ἐνεχόμενος ἔλεγεν εἴτε ἐντὸς τοῦ σώματος εἴτε ἐκτός, οὐκ οἶδα. Ἄλλὰ καὶ ὁ θεϊότατος Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Σιναίου ὄρους καθηγητής συνωδᾶ φαίνεται φθειγόμενος τούτῳ δὴ τῷ μεγάλῳ· ἀρπαγείς γὰρ εἰς θεωρίαν Θεοῦ, οὐκ ἠδύνατο εἰκάσαι τρανώτερον εἴτε ἐντὸς ἢν τοῦ σώματος, εἴτε ἐκτός διὰ τὸ προκαλύμμα τοῦτο, ὡς οἶμαι. Κατόπτρου γὰρ δικὴν ἔχει ὅταν διὰ τῆς ἀσκήσεως καθαρῆ καὶ, ὡς ἂν εἴπομι, κατεργασθῆ πρότερον καὶ λεπτυθῆ ταῖς ἐπιπόνοις τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐργασίαις, *Διδασκαλία εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ἡμῶν ἐστι*, Athos Chiland. 8 [229], f. 171<sup>v</sup>).

(72) Nella *Vita di GREGORIO IL SINAITA*, CALLISTO attribuisce al proprio maestro la dottrina della contemplazione della resurrezione dell'anima nella vita presente (dottrina che riecheggia alcune indicazioni già presenti nello pseudo-Macario). In risposta alla domanda del discepolo : « Cos'è l'anima e in che modo è contemplata dai santi? », è lo stesso Gregorio ad affermare : « Se uno non vedrà la resurrezione della propria anima, non sarà in grado di apprendere con esattezza cos'è l'anima intelligibile » (Εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἴδῃ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, οὐκ ἂν ἰσχύσειε μαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς, τί ἐστὶ ψυχὴ νοερά), 13 : BEYER, *Kallist I*, p. 136. E ancora : « ... vede la resurrezione dell'anima prima della sperata resurrezione comune » (εἶδεν ἀνάστασιν τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸ τῆς ἐλπυζομένης κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως), 14 : ivi, p. 142.

ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐμφυσᾷ τὸ βρέφος, τύπον οἶμαι φέρων τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, εἶτα διὰ τῶν τριῶν καταδύσεων καὶ τῆς τριττῆς ἐπικλήσεως τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος τὴν τελείωσιν λαμβάνει τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· ὡς ἐγκαινισθῆναι τότε κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Δαβὶδ καὶ γενέσθαι δοχεῖον Θεοῦ. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνη μὲν ἡ πρώτη ἀπώλετο διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν δευτέραν εὐγένειαν ἡμαυρώσαμεν· παραμένει δὲ ἐν ἡμῖν ἡ τριττὴ χάρις μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ οὐσα, μεριζομένη δὲ ταῖς ἐνεργείαις διαπαντός διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ὡς εἶπεν, ἀνερέργητος ἐκδεχομένη τὴν ἐπιστροφήν ἡμῶν καὶ μετάνοιαν. Ὅποταν δὲ ἐπιστρέψωμεν, ῥαδίως ἡμῖν ἐπιφαίνεται, οὐδὲ γὰρ βούλεται τὸν ἡμέτερον θάνατον.

οἱ Μέγα ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ τίμιον ζῶον ὁ ἄνθρωπος· εἰ γὰρ ἐσθῆτα βασιλικὴν ἀποχαρισάμενός τι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς πολλὴν τὴν οἰκειότητα δεῖκνυσι πρὸς τὸν εἰληφότα καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔνδοξον ἀποκαθιστᾷ, καί, ὡς εἶπεν, φοβερόν, τί σοι δοκεῖ ὅταν τὸ ἡμέτερον φύραμα ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ἐνωθεῖς | αὐτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν καὶ ἐνδυσάμενος τὴν δουλικὴν μορφήν ὡς ἱμάτιον, ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν οἰκειαν θεότητα παρυπέκρυσεν, ἢ μᾶλλον δανεισάμενος ἐκ ταύτης τὸ χεῖρον, τοῦ κρείττονος ἡμῖν μετέδωκε, καὶ σφραγισάμενος ταύτην τρισσῶς, διὰ τῆς οἰκείας χάριτος ἄμαχον καὶ θεῖαν δύναμιν ἐχαρίσατο; Ποῦ μὲν διὰ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἐμφυσήματος, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν; Ποῦ δὲ διὰ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς ὥστε ἀπελαύνειν δαίμονας καὶ νόσους θεραπεύειν, ἔτι γε μὴν διὰ τῆς τριττῆς ἐπικλήσεως τὴν χάριν δεδωρημένος ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι; Ἄρ' οὖν φοβερός ὁ ἄνθρωπος διατοῦτο καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἐφάμιλλος; Ὑπερικήσασα γὰρ αὕτη τὸ πῆλινον σῶμα τοῦ Παύλου καὶ ὑπερεκπερισεύσασα ἐν αὐτῷ στοιχειωθέντι τῇ ἀγάπῃ Θεοῦ, εἰς τρίτον ἀνήγαγεν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἄρρητα θεῖα Θεοῦ μυστήρια ἀκροάσασθαι παρεσκεύασε.

70.

M

8 Cfr. Sal. 50, 12

71.

M

9-10 Cfr. Lc. 9, 1 || 12-13 Cfr. Rm. 8, 37 || 14-15 Cfr. 2 Cor. 12, 2, 4

(73) Evidente rinvio alla cerimonia battesimale, v. J. GOAR, *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum*, Venetiis, 1730, col. 290.

(74) Quest'ultimo termine (δοχεῖον Θεοῦ) ritorna altrove nelle opere di CALLISTO in riferimento all'anima. Alcuni esempi. «L'anima diventa un recipiente capace e un ricettacolo della grazia e del dono del santissimo Spirito»,

divino battesimo. Tre volte dunque anche il sacerdote soffia sul bambino, poiché porta, credo, la figura di Gesù. Quindi con le tre immersioni e la triplice invocazione della santa Trinità riceve la perfezione con l'operazione del santo Spirito <sup>(73)</sup>, in modo da essere allora rinnovato secondo il divino Davide (cfr. Sal. 50, 12) e diventare un ricettacolo di Dio <sup>(74)</sup>. Ma la prima andò perduta con la disubbidienza, mentre noi abbiamo oscurato la seconda nobiltà. Rimane in noi la terza grazia che è una e la stessa, e che senza sosta si suddivide con le operazioni tramite il battesimo. Poi rimane, per così dire, inattiva e attende la nostra conversione e penitenza. Quando ci convertiamo, con facilità si manifesta a noi perché non vuole la nostra morte.

71. Davvero un grande e nobile animale è l'uomo <sup>(75)</sup>! Se infatti l'imperatore dona a un tale una veste imperiale, egli dimostra nei riguardi di chi la riceve una grande familiarità e lo pone di fronte a tutti come illustre e terribile. Cosa ti sembra dal momento che ha assunto il nostro impasto, gli si è unito secondo l'ipostasi e ha assunto come un vestito la forma del servo, ha celato in sé la sua divinità, o meglio prendendo da questa in prestito il peggio, ci ha trasmesso il meglio, e imponendole per tre volte il suo sigillo, le ha donato con la sua grazia una potenza invincibile e divina? Con l'antica ispirazione, come abbiamo detto? Con la seconda e con l'apostolato in modo da cacciare i demoni e da curare le malattie (cfr. Lc. 9, 1)? E ancora, con la terza invocazione poiché ha ricevuto la grazia nel battesimo? È forse terribile per questo l'uomo ed emulo degli angeli? Questa grazia ha completamente vinto il corpo di argilla di Paolo e in modo sovrabbondante per lui, conformato all'amore di Dio (cfr. Rm. 8, 37; 1 Tess. 5, 13), lo ha innalzato al terzo cielo e gli ha fatto ascoltare indicibili e divini misteri di Dio (cfr. 2 Cor. 12, 2, 4).

*Διδασκαλία περὶ τῆς προσκυνήσεως τοῦ σταυροῦ*, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), f. 140<sup>r</sup>, e il passo identico nella *Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν ὕψωσιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ*: SOPHRONIOS, *Ὁ πατριάρχης Κάλλιστος*, p. 136. Cfr. anche la *Διδασκαλία δογματικὴ κατὰ τοῦ Γρηγοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ διδασκάλων*, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), f. 179<sup>r</sup>.

(75) Stessa espressione nella *Διδασκαλία εἰς τὴν κυριακὴν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σταυροῦ προσκύνησιν*, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), f. 142<sup>r</sup> («Ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος τὸ τίμιον ζῶον ...») e nella *Vita di GREGORIO IL SINAITA*, 14: BEYER, *Kallist I*, p. 140 (τὸ τίμιον τοῦτο ζῶον ὁ ἄνθρωπος).

οβ' Ταύτην δὲ εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τῆς τοῦ θεανθρώπου λόγου τριττῆς δωρεᾶς καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐν ἡμῖν ἐκτελεῖ συμβολικῶς· πρότερον μὲν ἐμφυσῶν τρίς· εἶτα καὶ διὰ τῆς κολυμβήθρας τὴν τελείαν κάθαρσιν χορηγῶν διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, ἀνακαινίζων ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος· ἐπεὶ τύπον  
5 Θεοῦ φέρει καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερεὺς, δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ τελειούμεθα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ Πνεύματος λαμβάνοντες ἀναγέννησιν, διὰ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν δηλαδὴ ἐπιθέσεως.

ογ' Ἀπεσβέσθη μὲν τὸ πρῶτον κάλλος ἐκεῖνο διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς, περιέσωζε δὲ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας καὶ μόνους· τὴν δὲ ἐνέργειαν τῆς λαμπρότητος καὶ τῆς θεουφάντου στολῆς οὐδαμῶς· ἀνακαινίζει δὲ τοῦτο Χριστὸς καὶ ἐγκαινίζει δαιτυτικῶς καὶ μείζον σχεδὸν ἀγγέλου τὸ αὐτοῦ κάλλος ἀποκαθίστησιν,  
5 ὅποταν τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα τηρήσῃ ἀλώβητον· οἱ γὰρ τέλειοι μέχρι τῶν Σεραφίμ φθάνουσι κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Ἰωάννην καὶ τοῦ Σιναίου ὄρους καθηγητῆν· διατοῦτο μέγας ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ κρείττων τῶ ὄντι καὶ παντὸς ἐπέκεινα λόγου καὶ θαύματος· ὃ δὲ συνειδῶς καὶ ὁ μέγας ἐν θεολογίᾳ Γρηγόριος· Θεὸς θεοῖς ἐνούμενός τε καὶ γνωριζόμενος, κατὰ μέθεξιν ἄρρητον ἔφησεν.

οδ' Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀλλομένου ὕδατος, τὸ μὲν ὀξυτέραν ἔχει τὴν κίνησιν, τὸ δὲ γαληνὴν καὶ βραδυτέραν· τὸ μὲν οὖν ὀξυτέρας τυγχάνον κινήσεως οὐδὲ θολωθῆναι ῥαδίως δύναται διὰ τὸ τῆς κινήσεως τάχος. Εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς μικρὸν θολωθῆι, ῥᾶον αὐθις καθαίρεται, ἅτε δὴ τοιαύτην ἔχον τὴν κίνησιν· ἐπειδὴν  
5 δὲ τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ ὕδατος ἐλαττωθῆν, σμικρότατον γένηται, οὐ μόνον θολοῦται, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν καὶ ἀκίνητον μένει· δεῖται γὰρ τινος ἀνακαθάραεως, ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ κινήσεως.

72.

M

73.

M

5-6 Cfr. Giovanni Climaco, *Scala paradisi*, 27 : PG 88, col. 1101b || 9-10 Gregorio di Nazianzo, *In theophania*, 7 : PG 36, col. 317c, *In sanctum pascha*, 3 : PG 36, col. 628a  
8 μέγας : μέγα M

74.

MF

2 ὀξυτέρας τυγχάνον κινήσεως : πρότερον F

72. A memoria del triplice dono del Verbo Dio-uomo, anche il sacerdote la celebra simbolicamente in noi. Dapprima soffia tre volte, quindi, tramite la fonte battesimale, dispensa la perfetta purificazione con l'invocazione della santa Trinità, rinnovando in noi la grazia dello Spirito (76). Poiché lo stesso sacerdote di Dio porta la figura di Dio : per mezzo di lui siamo resi perfetti e riceviamo la rigenerazione del divino Spirito, ovvero con l'imposizione delle mani.

73. Quella prima bellezza è andata distrutta a causa della disubbidienza, ma però preservato i caratteri e soltanto quelli, ma non certo l'operazione dello splendore e della veste rivelata da Dio. Cristo la rinnova e la consacra come dice Davide (cfr. Sal. 50, 12) e ristabilisce la sua bellezza in un modo quasi superiore all'angelo, quando si custodisce integro l'"essere a immagine". I perfetti giungono sino ai Serafini secondo Giovanni il grande e maestro del monte Sinai (77). Perciò grande è l'uomo e realmente superiore e al di là di ogni parola e meraviglia. Cosa che ha osservato anche il grande nella teologia Gregorio che ha detto : « Dio unito agli dèi e conosciuto » (78) in partecipazione indicibile.

74. Dell'acqua zampillante, l'una ha un movimento più impetuoso, l'altra più calmo e più lento. La prima, poiché ha un movimento più impetuoso, non si può facilmente intorbidire, per la velocità del movimento. Se anche si intorbidisce un poco, è facile che diventi di nuovo pura perché ha un tale movimento. Quando invece il flusso dell'acqua diminuisce perché si è rallentato, non solo si intorbidisce, ma anche rimane quasi immobile, perché manca, per così dire, di purificazione e di movimento.

(76) Altro rimando alla cerimonia del battesimo, cfr. GOAR, *Eύχολόγιον*, coll. 289-290.

(77) Cfr. GIOVANNI CLIMACO, *Scala paradisi*, 27 : PG 88, col. 1101b.

(78) GREGORIO DI NAZIANZO, *In theophania*, 7 : PG 36, col. 317c, *In sanctum pascha*, 3 : PG 36, col. 628a.

οε' Τὸ μὲν αἰσθητὸν ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἄλλεται ὃν εἴρηται τρόπον, τὸ δὲ νοητὸν ὕδωρ καὶ ζῶν καὶ ἀλλόμενον, ἐκ τῆς νοητῆς γῆς πηγάζει τῆς καρδίας ὡς ὁ Κύριος ἀπεφήνατο· στενοῦται δὲ καί, ὡς εἶπεῖν, ἀκίνητον μένει διὰ τὴν τῆς καθάρσεως ἀπουσίαν, καθαρθὲν δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐργασίας τῶν ἐντολῶν, 5 κινεῖται οὐ μόνον ἠπίως καὶ γαληνῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀξυτέρως, μὴ θολούμενον ὅλως· ἀδύνατον γάρ τε θολωθῆναι τῇ προσβολῇ τῶν δαιμόνων διὰ τὸ ὄξυ καὶ ταχύτατον τῆς νοεράς ταύτης κινήσεως· εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς μικρὸν τοῦτο συμβαίη, πρὸς διόρθωσιν αὐτοῦ ῥαδίως ἀνάγεται.

οσ' Ἐοικε γὰρ ὁ δαίμων ἐχθρῶ τιμ. τοξότῃ καὶ πυκνὰ βέλη ἐξ ἀθεάτου καθ' ἡμῶν ἀφειδῶς προϊόντι, βουλόμενος διατοῦτων νικῆσαι μᾶλλον τὸν βαλλόμενόν τε καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον ἢ ἠττηθῆναι παρ' αὐτοῦ· διὸ καὶ χραίνειν ὁ βέβηλος ἐπιχειρεῖ ταῖς βολίσις αὐτοῦ, ταῖς αἰσχροῖς δηλονότι ἐπιθυμίαις· ὁπόταν 5 δὲ βάλλωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς εἰκὸς κατ' αὐτοῦ ταῖς θελαῖς καὶ ἀχράντοις βολίσις, αἴτινες εἰσὶν ἢ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κλήσις διὰ τῆς τοῦ νοῦς ἀκριβοῦς τηρήσεως, ἅμα ὡσεὶ καπνὸς ἢ τῶν ἀντιπάλων δαιμόνων διαλύεται δύναμις.

οζ' Ἄμορφον πάντως τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον κατὰ τοὺς θεῖους πατέρας καὶ εἰκότως· ὁ γὰρ ἀδύνατον σχηματισθῆναι ὅλως ἢ μορφωθῆναι καθ' ὁμοιότητα ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὄντων μορφῆς ἢ τοῦ σχηματισμοῦ· πάντως ἄμορφον ἂν εἴη καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον, μορφοῦται δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ νοῖ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ 5 νοερῶν ὁμοιώσεων· ὡς εἰς τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἀνατρεχόντων ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐκπληρώσεως.

ση' Καθαρθεῖς γὰρ ὁ νοῦς, ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμὸς, ἀγγέλου σχῆμα ἐπέχει καὶ ἅμα τοῖς νοεροῖς καὶ αὐλοῖς συμπλέκεται, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐμφάσεις τοῦ Πνεύματος δέχεται μυστικῶς κατὰ τὸν ἐνδιάθετον λόγον.

75.

M

1-2 Cfr. Gv. 4, 14

76.

M

77.

M

1 Cfr., e. g., Massimo il Confessore, *Capita de caritate*, III, 97 : PG 90, 1015D ; *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, III, Athinai, 1960<sup>3</sup>, p. 40

78.

M

75. L'acqua materiale zampilla dalla terra nel modo che è stato detto. L'acqua intellettuale, viva e zampillante (cfr. Gv. 4, 14), sgorga dalla terra intellettuale del cuore, come ha detto il Signore. Diminuisce e, per così dire, resta immobile per la mancanza di purificazione. Purificata grazie all'opera dei comandamenti, è mossa non solo dolcemente e con calma, ma anche impetuosamente, e non si intorbida affatto. È impossibile infatti che sia intorbida per la suggestione dei demoni, a ragione dell'impeto e della velocità di questo movimento intellettuale. Se anche per un poco ciò si verifica, di nuovo è facilmente ricondotta alla correzione.

76. Il demonio assomiglia a un arciero nemico che senza pietà lancia di frequente contro di noi frecce di nascosto, volendo con queste vincere o sopraffare chi è da lui colpito o ferito. Perciò l'impuro cerca di contaminare con i suoi dardi, ovvero le infami concupiscenze. Quando anche noi lanciamo contro di lui, come conviene, i divini e immacolati dardi, che sono l'invocazione di Gesù con l'esatta custodia della mente, allo stesso tempo la potenza dei demoni avversari è dissolta come fumo.

77. Il divino è completamente privo di forma e di figura secondo i divini Padri e a ragione (79). Non può infatti essere raffigurato e rappresentato a somiglianza della forma o della figura degli enti. Pur essendo assolutamente privo di forma e di figura, prende forma nell'anima e nella mente grazie alle somiglianze immateriali e intellettuali. Noi ci innalziamo all'"essere a immagine e a somiglianza" con il compimento dei comandamenti.

78. Quando la mente, l'occhio dell'anima, si è purificata, assume una figura d'angelo ed è unita agli «esseri» intellettuali e immateriali e da loro riceve misticamente nel verbo interiore le manifestazioni dello Spirito.

(79) Cfr. e.g., MASSIMO IL CONFESSORE, *Capita de caritate*, III, 97 : PG 90, 1015D ; *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, III, Athinai, 1960<sup>3</sup>, p. 40.

(80) Del «crogiuolo delle tentazioni» (χωνεῖα τῶν πειρασμῶν) CALLISTO parla anche nella *Διδασκαλία τρίτη*, Athos Chiland. 8 (229), f. 120<sup>r</sup>.



οθ' Ἄτρεπτοι γὰρ οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ παραστάται γεγόνασιν, ἀφ' οὗ Χριστὸς ἐσαρκώθη, τηλικαύτης χάριτος αὐτοῖς παρασχών· ἀτρεψία δὲ καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐπιγίνεται, ὅταν πρὸς τὴν τελείαν ἀγάπην φθάσωμεν ὡς εἰκὸς. Αὕτη γὰρ ἐκτὸς φόβου τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπεργάζεται, ὡς τετρωμένη τῷ ἔρωτι Χριστοῦ· ὡς ἐντεῦθεν στραφῆναι εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ὁ κτησάμενος ταύτην οὐ δύναται.

π' Εἰ μὴ γὰρ διὰ τῆς χωνείας τοῦ πυρὸς τεχνικῶς ὁ χρυσοῦς δοκιμασθεῖη, καθαρῆναι οὐ δύναται, οὕτω καὶ ψυχὴ ἀδύνατον πάντη καθαρῆναι ἢ δοκιμασθῆναι εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς χωνείας τῶν πειρασμῶν.

πα' Βαβυλῶν ἡ σύγχυσις ἐρμηνεύεται, ἐν οἷς καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς παῖδας διὰ τῆς καμίνου ἐκείνης τῆς χαλδαϊκῆς λαμπροτέρους ἡλίου ὑπέδειξεν, οὕτω καὶ τροπικῶς ἄλλην Βαβυλῶνα ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ὑπαινίττεται, τὴν τῶν δαιμόνων ὀχλήν· ἐν οἷς ὁ κατὰ Θεὸν ἄνθρωπος, μέσον αὐτῆς διαβάς ὡσπερ καμίνου τῶν πειρασμῶν, χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καθαρότερος γίνεται, συγχύσεως γήϊνης ἀπηλλαγμένος.

πβ' Εἰ μὴ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀδελφέ, πικρίδας καὶ ἄζυμα φάγοιμεν, οὐκ ἂν τὴν τοῦ Πάσχα διάβασιν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τῆς ἁμαρτίας δηλαδή, φυγὴν παθόντες, πρὸς τὸ Πάσχα τὸ ἄνω φθάσαιμεν, ἢ τῆς ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ θεαταί γενοίμεθα, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ ὄρασις τῆς εἰρήνης.

πγ' Δεινὸν γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία καὶ ὁ θυμὸς, καὶ ὅταν μὲν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἄγωνται, τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος εἰσίν. Ὅπηνίκα δὲ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐκτραπῶσι, τοῦ σώματος γίνονται· καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἴδιον τὸ θυμικόν, ὅταν ἐνεργεῖ κατὰ φύσιν· τὸ δὲ τοῦ σώματος περιεκτικόν ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἡ ἄλογος· τούτων δὲ ἀναιρέτις, σκυθρωπότης ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ, πένθος κατὰ ψυχὴν, συντριβὴ καρδίας, κατάνυξις διηλεκτικῆς καὶ μνήμη θανάτου· ἐν οἷς ἡ μακαρία ταπείνωσις ἐξαιθεῖ, καὶ ἡ τοῦ σώματος κάθαρσις ἐπιγίνεται.

79.

4 Cfr. Ct. 2, 5

M

80.

M

81.

M

1-2 Cfr. Dn. 3, 15-30

82.

M

83.

M

79. I servitori di Dio sono diventati immutabili dal momento in cui Cristo si è incarnato, poiché ha loro procurato una grazia così grande. L'immutabilità sopraggiunge anche in noi quando arriviamo, come è opportuno, alla perfetta carità. Questa rende l'uomo fuori del timore, perché è ferita dall'amore (cfr. Ct. 2, 5) di Cristo. Da qui chi la possiede non può tornare indietro.

80. Se l'oro non è provato a regola d'arte con il crogiuolo non può essere purificato, così anche l'anima non può affatto essere purificata o provata se non con il crogiuolo delle tentazioni <sup>(80)</sup>.

81. Babilonia è interpretata come la confusione <sup>(81)</sup>. Là i tre fanciulli sono stati mostrati più splendidi del sole per mezzo di quella fornace dei Caldei (cfr. Dn. 3, 15-30). Così in modo metaforico il discorso allude anche ad un'altra Babilonia, la molestia dei demoni. Qui l'uomo di Dio vi passa in mezzo come in una fornace delle passioni e diventa più puro dell'oro e dell'argento, perché si è liberato dal turbamento terreno.

82. Se anche noi, fratello, non mangeremo le erbe amare e gli azzimi non potremo provare il passaggio di Pasqua e la fuga dall'Egitto, cioè dal peccato, e non giungeremo alla Pasqua di lassù, o non diventeremo spettatori della Gerusalemme celeste che è la visione della pace <sup>(82)</sup>.

83. La concupiscenza e l'ira sono funeste. Quando sono guidate in modo conforme alla natura sono parte dell'anima. Quando invece deviano da ciò che conviene, diventano <parte> del corpo. Proprio dell'anima è l'ira quando opera secondo natura. Comprensiva del corpo è la concupiscenza irrazionale. Distruttore di queste sono tristezza nel volto, afflizione nell'anima, un cuore spezzato, compunzione continua e memoria della morte. Qui fiorisce la beata umiltà e sopraggiunge la purificazione del corpo.

(81) Interpretazione tradizionale, cfr. il dizionario di LAMPE, s.v. Βαβυλῶν.

(82) Idee analoghe sono espresse da CALLISTO in un discorso pronunziato il giorno di Pasqua dell'anno 1351, la *Διδασκαλία εἰς τὴν λαμπρὰν κυριακὴν τοῦ Πάσχα*: «Questa Pasqua ci fa passare e ci innalza dall'Egitto intelligibile, intendo dire il peccato, guidandoci verso quella grande Pasqua vera e celeste, cioè la Gerusalemme di lassù, la potente metropoli dei primogeniti che sono iscritti nei cieli» (Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ Πάσχα διεβίβασε καὶ ἀνήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς νοητῆς Αἰγύπτου, τῆς ἁμαρτίας φημί, πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ὁδόν, χειραγωγοῦν πρὸς τὸ μέγα Πάσχα ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἀληθινὸν καὶ οὐράνιον, φημί δὴ τὴν ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, τὴν κραταίαν τῶν πρωτοτόκων μητρόπολιν τῶν ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς, Athos Chiland. 8 [229], f. 156'). Per la Gerusalemme celeste e la «visione della pace» v. anche i capitoli 68. 10 e 99. 3.

πδ' Καθάπερ γὰρ διὰ τῆς ὕλης ὁ οἶκος κατασκευάζεται καὶ χωρὶς τούτου γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον, οὕτω καὶ ὁ τὸν οἶκον τὸν ψυχικὸν ἀπαρτίσαι βουλόμενος, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐκ πάντων συλλέξει τὰ χρησιμώτατα καὶ ὠφελιμώτατα, κατασκευάσαι τοῦτον ὅλως οὐ δύναται· ὡς ἐντεῦθεν μάτην ἢ ἐπιχείρησις τῷ κάμ-  
5 νοντι ἐπιγίνεται.

πε' Πᾶν γὰρ τὸ διὰ Θεὸν γινόμενον εἰς τὸν ὄρον τοῦτον ἀνάγεται τῆς τελειώσεως· ἡ γὰρ Μαρία διὰ τῆς Μάρθας μνημονεύεται, ἐπεὶ ἡ μὲν Μάρθα περὶ τὴν διακουλαν ἠσχολεῖτο τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· ἡ δὲ Μαρία παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐκαθέζετο, τὴν κρείττονα μοῖραν ἐπιζητοῦσα, ἀλλ' οὖν ἀμφοτέρων ὁ μισθὸς  
5 γέγονεν, διὰ γὰρ τῆς Μάρθας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας ὁ Ἰησοῦς μέμνηται.

πς' Ἡ μείωσις τῶν παθῶν πολλαχῶς γίνεται ὡς εἰκός, τούτων δὲ ἀναφρε-  
σις ἢ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου ῥοπή ἀκλινηὶς πρὸς τὰ κρείττονα, ὅταν ἀκίνητος μείνη  
δηλαδὴ πρὸς τὸν τῆς ὑπακοῆς ὄρον καὶ λόγον· τότε τοῖνυν ἀργὰ καί, ὡς εἴ-  
πεῖν, ἀνευέργητα μένουσι κυρίως δὲ τὰ τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας  
5 βλαστήματα.

πς' Ὁ γὰρ δαίμων ἐτέρως μὲν τοῖς εἰσαγωγικοῖς καὶ ἠθικοῖς ἐπεισέρχε-  
ται, ἐτέρως δὲ τοῖς πρακτικοῖς καὶ ἄλλως τοῖς περὶ τὴν θεωρίαν σχολάζουσι·  
κακέϊνους μὲν διὰ ψόφων καὶ κτύπων ἀνθρώπων ἢ καὶ ἐνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ περὶ  
θεωρίαν φαντασίας τινὰς εἰδωλοποιεῖ, ὡς δοκεῖν χρωματίζειν τὴν ἀέρα δίκην  
5 φωτός, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ὡς πῦρ ταύτας προφέρει ἵνα διὰ τῆς ἐναντίας μοίρας ἀπο-  
πλανήσῃ τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀθλητὴν.

84.

M

85.

M

2-4 Cfr. Lc. 10, 39-42

86.

M

87.

MF

1-3 Ὁ γὰρ - ἐνθρώπων : Τοῖς μὲν εἰσαγωγικοῖς καὶ ἠθικοῖς καὶ πρακτικοῖς ὁ  
δαίμων διὰ ψόφων ἀνθρώπων ἢ καὶ ἐνθρώπων ἐπεισέρχεται F || 5 προσφέρει F

84. Come la casa è costruita con il materiale e senza di esso non esiste, così chi vuole completare la casa dell'anima, non la potrà costruire se non raccoglierà tra tutto quello che è più vantaggioso e utile. L'impresa risulterà di conseguenza inutile per chi si affatica.

85. Tutto quello che avviene per Dio conduce a questo limite della perfezione. Maria è infatti ricordata tramite Marta, perché Maria si dedicava a servire Gesù, mentre Maria sedeva ai suoi piedi, ricercando la miglior parte (cfr. Lc. 10, 39-42). Ma la ricompensa fu per entrambe, perché tramite Marta e Maria Gesù è ricordato.

86. Spesso la diminuzione delle passioni si verifica, come è opportuno. Il loro annientamento, la ferma inclinazione del libero arbitrio verso il meglio, <si verificano> quando si è immobili verso il limite e la ragione dell'ubbidienza. Allora rimangono realmente inerti e, come dire, inattivi i germogli dell'ira e della concupiscenza.

87. Il demonio attacca in un modo i principianti e gli etici, in un altro i pratici e in un altro ancora coloro che sono dediti alla contemplazione. Gli uni con frastuoni e suoni inarticolati o anche articolati, quelli <dediti> alla contemplazione con simulacri di certe fantasie, quali far credere di colorare l'aria come di luce, a volte ancora presenta <queste fantasie> come fuoco per ingannare l'atleta di Cristo tramite la parte avversa.

πη' Ἀπλή γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ οὐσα βραδίως τρέχειν ἐπίσταται πρὸς τὸ φῶς, ἅτε συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ οὐσα, διὰ τὸ νοερόν τε καὶ ἄυλον, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ὁ δαίμων μὴ δυνάμενος ἐτέρῳ τρόπῳ ἐξαπατησάσθαι αὐτὴν εἰς τοῦτο δολερῶς μετασχηματίζεται, ἵνα διὰ τῆς δῆθεν καθαρότητος προσεδέχθη καὶ ἀντὶ φωτὸς τὸ σκότος  
5 εἰσδέξηται ὁ τὴν κάθαρσιν εἰσδεχόμενος.

πθ' Εἰκὸς εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο· πρὸς γὰρ τὸν διδάσκαλον ἐπανάγω τὸν λόγον· καλοῦ γὰρ διδασκάλου καλὰ τὰ μαθήματα, | καὶ ποιηρῶν ἀπερμάτων ποιηρὰ τὰ γεώργια· ἀδύνατον γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν μὴ διὰ γραφικῆς ἐξασκήσαντα τοὺς ἀρχετύπους πίνακας ἐξακριβοῦν γράφειν εἰδέναι ἢ καὶ ἐν ὁμοίοις αὐτοῖς  
5 ἀποσφύζειν ἐκείνων τοὺς χαρακτήρας.

ρ' Οἱ γὰρ σχηματισμοὶ τῶν δαιμόνων ἀηδεῖς φαίνονται· κἂν γὰρ εἰς ἄγγελον φωτὸς κἂν εἰς ἀγίου μορφὴν κἂν ὡς Χριστὸς ὁ βέβηλος μεταβάλλει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ζόφωσιν, ἀδύνατόν ἐστι μὴ αὐνταράξαι καὶ συνθολῶσαι τὴν τοῦ εὐχομένου ψυχὴν.

ρα' Νηπίου γὰρ δίκην ἐπέχει ἡ ψυχὴ· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ψόγον οὐκ οἶδεν, ἔπαινον οὐκ ἐπίσταται, πραγμάτων ἄμοιρον καθίσταται πάντη, μόνην ἰδὼν τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς παρουσίαν, πρὸς αὐτὴν ὀλοσχερῶς ἀποκλίνει καταπιεῖν εἰ οἶόν τε ταύτην βουλόμενον, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀκακία συζῶσα καὶ ἀπλότητι βραδίως ἐξολισθαίνειν οἶδε τῆ φαντασιώδει τῶν δαιμόνων ἀπάτη.  
5

ρβ' Ὡς γὰρ ἱμάτιον ἀπολέσας τις πορφυροῦν τῷ τοῦ χρόνου μήκει οὐκ ἀπόλλυσι τὴν τῆς πορφύρας χροάν, ἀλλ' ἐν μνήμῃ σφύζει τοὺς χαρακτήρας αὐ-

88.

M

89.

M

2-3 Cfr. Gregorio di Nazianzo, *In theophania*, 5 : PG 36, col. 316c

90.

M

1-2 Cfr. 2 Cor. 11, 14

91.

M

92.

M

88. L'anima è semplice e sa correre verso la luce perché le è connaturale, in quanto intelligibile e immateriale. Di conseguenza il demonio, che non la può ingannare in altro modo, si trasforma subdolamente in questa «luce», in modo da essere accolto grazie alla sedicente purezza e che colui che ha ricevuto la purificazione accolga l'oscurità al posto della luce.

89. È opportuno dire anche questo : volgo il mio discorso al maestro. Sono buoni gli insegnamenti di un buon maestro e cattivi i raccolti di cattivi semi<sup>(83)</sup>. Ritengo infatti impossibile che chi non si è esercitato nella pittura sappia disegnare con accuratezza su un quadro i modelli o conservare i loro tratti nelle copie.

90. Le forme dei demoni appaiono ripugnanti. Sia che l'empio tramuti la sua oscurità in angelo di luce (cfr. 2 Cor. 11, 14) sia nella figura di un santo sia che appaia come Cristo, è impossibile che non turbi e intorbidisca l'anima dell'orante<sup>(84)</sup>.

91. L'anima è simile a un bambino. Come quello non conosce biasimo, non sa di lode, è completamente privo di occupazioni, perché vede soltanto la comparsa della luce e verso di questa si volge totalmente, volendo, se fosse possibile, assorbirla, così anche l'anima che vive con innocenza e semplicità sa sfuggire con facilità l'inganno fantastico dei demoni.

92. Come chi ha perduto una veste di porpora anche dopo un lungo lasso di tempo non dimentica il colore della porpora, ma conserva nella sua memoria le sue caratteristiche e chi l'ha perduta, se in seguito la vede, subito si ricorda

(83) Cfr. GREGORIO DI NAZIANZO, *In theophania*, 5 : PG 36, col. 316c.(84) In questo capitolo (come nell' 87) è riconoscibile l'eco degli insegnamenti di GREGORIO IL SINAITA, in particolare *Capitoli sulla preghiera*, 7 : *Φιλοκαλία*, IV, p. 85, ll. 29-27, *Breve notizia sulla hesychia*, 10 ; ivi, p. 76.

τοῦ, καὶ ὁ ἀπολέσας ἔπειτα ἰδὼν τοῦτο εἰς μνήμην εὐθὺς γίνεται τοῦ ἱματίου  
 5 ἀποσώζων μόνου τοὺς φυσικοὺς χαρακτηήρας, ἅμα τοῦτο ἰδοῦσα, ἀποκλίνει καὶ  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν νένευκε, εἰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐστὶ τὸ ὁράμενον.

93' Καθάπερ ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ τιλ καθαρῶ τε καὶ ἀποστίλβοντι ἡ ἐν ἑαυτῷ διαύ-  
 γεια καὶ λαμπρότης κρυβῆναι οὐ δύναται, οὕτω καὶ ὁ προπάτωρ ἐκεῖνος, ὃ  
 εἶχεν ἔνδον θεοφάντων ἔνδυμα, τοῦτο καὶ ὡς ἱμάτιον περιέφερεν, ὑπερικῶν  
 5 τὴν σάρκα ἐκείνου τοσοῦτον, ὡς μὴ δὲ δύνασθαι καθορᾶν ὅλως αὐτὴν ὅπως  
 διέκειτο· ἐκείνου δὲ σβεσθέντος, γυμνὸς ἔδοξεν εἶναι, περιαιρεθέντος ὡς  
 κατόπτρου τοῦ φωτοειδοῦς προκαλύμματος.

94' Τοῦτο καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐπιγίνεται διὰ τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀδάμ, τοῦ ἀναμαρτήτως  
 παραπλησίως ἡμῖν κεκοινωνηκότος μέχρι σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος· τὴν γὰρ θρυαλ-  
 λίδα τοῦ θείου φωτὸς ἐκείνου ἀνῆψε διὰ τῆς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ τὸ  
 ἡμαυρωμένον ποτέ κάτοπτρον, φημί δὲ τὴν σάρκα διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως, ἡλίου  
 5 δίκην ἐκάθηρεν ὁ σωτήριος λόγος διὰ τό· ἐντὸς ἡμῶν εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν  
 οὐρανῶν, εἰρηκῆναι τὸν αὐτὸν Κύριον.

95' Τὸν μὲν περὶ τὴν πρακτικὴν ἐνασχολούμενον κατὰ τὸν ἑβδομον ἀριθμὸν  
 δεῖ πάντως προσεῦχεσθαι κατὰ τό· ἐπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἦνεσά σε· τὸν δὲ περὶ  
 τὴν θεωρίαν σχολάζοντα οὐδὲ ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἐπτά, ἐπειδὴ καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἀριθ-  
 5 μὸς μεμέτρηται, ἀλλ'αἰ καὶ ὡσαύτως· ὁ γὰρ τῆς προσευχῆς λόγος, φημί δὴ  
 τῆς κατὰ νοῦν ἐργασίας, ὅρον οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθεύδων καὶ ἀνιστά-  
 μινος, καὶ ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων, ἢ καὶ ὀδεύων, ὁ τοῦτον κτησάμενος ἀμετακινή-  
 τον ἔχει διαπαντὸς τῆ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μνήμη σχολάζων.

93.

M

5 Cfr. Gen. 3, 10

94.

M

5-6 Lc. 17, 21

95.

M

5 τῆς : τὰς M

2 Sal. 118, 164 || 3 Cfr. Mt. 18, 22

della veste per il colore della porpora, così anche l'anima. Ha perduto il suo  
 abito e ha conservato soltanto i lineamenti naturali, ma nel momento che lo  
 vede, si volge e si piega verso di quello anche se quanto è visto proviene dagli  
 avversari.

93. Come in uno specchio terso e splendente la sua lucentezza e splendore  
 non possono essere occultati, così anche il progenitore, che possedeva nell'in-  
 teriorità l'abito tessuto da Dio e lo portava come veste, sovrastava la sua carne  
 a tal punto da non poter affatto vedere il suo stato. Quando quello svanì, egli  
 credette di essere nudo (cfr. Gen. 3, 10) perché era stato tolto, come uno spec-  
 chio, il velo luminoso.

94. Ciò accade anche in noi grazie al secondo Adamo che senza peccato è  
 diventato comune e simile a noi sino nella carne e nel sangue. Accese lo stop-  
 pino di quella luce divina grazie alla sua santa carne e il Verbo salvifico rese  
 puro come il sole lo specchio un tempo oscurato – intendo dire la carne a causa  
 della trasgressione –, con le parole: «Dentro di noi è il Regno dei cieli» (Lc. 17,  
 21), indicando il Signore stesso.

95. Chi è occupato nella pratica deve sempre pregare in conformità al nume-  
 ro sette, secondo quanto è scritto: «Sette volte al giorno ti ho lodato» (Sal. 118,  
 164). Chi si dedica alla contemplazione nemmeno settanta volte sette (cfr. Mt.  
 18, 22), perché anche questo numero limita, ma sempre e in questo modo. La  
 ragione della preghiera, intendo dire le attività della mente, non ammette limi-  
 ti, ma, dormendo e da sveglia, mangiando e bevendo o anche per strada, chi la  
 possiede è immutabile e si dedica incessantemente alla memoria di Gesù.

ρς' Εἰ βούλει μαθεῖν πῶς δεῖ προσεύχεσθαι, σκόπει τὸ τέλος τῆς προσοχῆς ἢ καὶ τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ μὴ ἀπατῶ· ταύτης γὰρ τὸ τέλος, ἀγαπητέ, κατάνυξις ἐστι διηγεκτής, συντριβὴ καρδίας, ἀγάπη πρὸς τὸν πλησίον· τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον πρόδηλον· ἐπιθυμίας λογισμός, καταλαλιάς ψιθυρισμοί, μίσος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις παρόμοια.

ρζ' Πλεῖστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα εἰσὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχικῆς καθαρότητος σύμβολα, σχῆμα λέγω καὶ ἦθος σεμνόν, μέτριον φρόνημα, λόγος μεμετρημένος, βάδισμα εὐπρεπές, κυρίως δὲ τὸ τῆς ὑποποιοῦ ταπεινώσεως βάθος, ἅτινα δὴ ὁ κεκαθαυμένος περιφέρει κατὰ τὸν ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπον.

ρη' Εἰ μὴ γὰρ τὰ προειρημένα ὡς εἰκὸς ἐξετάζεις, ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ὡς οἶμαι εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀπαθείας λιμένα καταφθάσαι, ἀλλοῦδὲ τὴν εἰρήνην τῶν λογισμῶν εὖροις· ὁ γὰρ μὴ τῆς δευτέρας ἐπιτυχῶν ἢ καὶ ἀψάμενος τῆς γαλήνης αὐτῆς, θεατῆς τῆς πρώτης γενέσθαι οὐ δύναται.

ρθ' Ὁ γὰρ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ τὰ προπύλαια μήπω πεφθακὼς ἢ κρούσας ταύτην τὴν πύλην, πῶς ἐνδον χωρήσει; Πῶς τὰ ἐσόμενα διηγήσεται; Πῶς τὴν Σιών ὄψεται, φημί δὴ τὴν ὄρασιν τῆς εἰρήνης; Πῶς τῶν ἀδύτων κατατολήσει ἢ πῶς τὸν ζωοδόχον τάφον ἀσπάσεται καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ φωτὸς ἀπολαύσει ἢ γεινήσεται μέτοχος;

ρ' Τὸ γὰρ· *νῆφε καὶ λάβης*, κατὰ τὸν | εἰπόντα, εἰς τοῦτο φέρει τὸν λόγον· ἀδύνατον γὰρ λόγοις αὐτὴν ὑποδείξει ἢ παραστήσει τὸ σύνολον χωρὶς τῆς κατὰ νοῦν ἐργασίας· τὰς γὰρ ψυχικὰς κηλίδας καὶ τὴν τραχύτητα αὐτὴ οἶδεν ἐξομαλίζειν καὶ πρὸς εὐθεΐαν τρίβον μεταποιεῖν, ἐν οἷς ἂν ὁ νήφων προσηκόντως εὐρήσοι.

96.

MF

4 ψιθυρισμοῖς F

97.

M

98.

M

99.

M

100.

M

1 τοῦτον M

1 Non inveni (v. 43. 2)

96. Se vuoi imparare come si deve pregare, guarda al fine dell'attenzione o anche della preghiera e non ingannarti. Perché, mio caro, il suo fine è : compunzione continua, contrizione di cuore, amore del prossimo. Il contrario è evidente : pensiero di concupiscenza, mormorazioni di maldicenza, odio per il prossimo e cose simili a queste.

97. Molti e diversi sono i simboli della purezza dell'anima : abito e costumi sobri, sentire moderato, parola misurata, incedere decoroso, in modo più proprio profondità dell'umiltà che eleva, tutte cose che chi è purificato porta nell'uomo interiore.

98. Se non esamini, come è opportuno, quello che è stato detto, è impossibile, come credo, arrivare al porto dell'impassibilità, ma nemmeno potrai trovare la pace dei pensieri. Chi non raggiungerà la seconda e anche non toccherà questa serenità, non potrà diventare spettatore della prima.

99. Chi non è giunto ai propilei di Gerusalemme o non avrà bussato a questa porta, in che modo andrà dentro ? In che modo racconterà le cose che seguiranno ? In che modo vedrà Sion, intendo dire la visione della pace ? In che modo oserà <penetrare> nei santuari o in che modo bacerà la tomba datrice di vita e godrà della divina luce o ne diventerà partecipe?

100. Le parole «Sii sobrio e prendi» <sup>(85)</sup>, come è detto, si riferiscono a questo. È impossibile mostrarlo o presentarlo completamente con le parole senza l'attività della mente. Questa sa infatti appianare le macchie dell'anima e l'asprezza e mutarla in una strada diritta. Così chi è sobrio potrà convenientemente trovare.

(85) Citazione che già figura nel capitolo 43. 2.



ρα' Ἡ γὰρ ἀγαθὴ μνήμη ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ἡ συνεχὴς μελέτη τῶν θείων Γραφῶν χαρᾶς καὶ δόξης πληροῖ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ κτησαμένου πολλῆς· τότε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔρωτι θείῳ ἀλοῦς κράζειν οὐ παύεται δαυϊτικῶς· ἀγαλλιάσεται ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τῷ σωτηρίῳ σου, καὶ αὖθις· τὸ ἀγαλλιάμα μου λύτρωσαί με ἀπὸ τῶν κυκλωσάντων με.

ρβ' Τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον τούτοις πρόδηλον· σκληρότης ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, δεινότης ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ, αἰσχροὶ λογισμοί, φαντασίαι δαιμόνων, μῖσος, ἔρις καὶ ἄκαιρος ζῆλος καὶ τέλος αἰχμαλωσία κατὰ ψυχὴν· ὁπότεν γὰρ ὁ σκοπὸς νοῦς, ἀδελφέ, ἀπουστάζει πρὸς τὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐργασίαν ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ πόλις εὐάλωτος γίνεται.

ργ' Ἔστω σοι ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τοῦτο τὸ τοῦ θείου Δαβὶδ λόγιον, εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ φέρει τὸν λόγον καὶ τοῦτο· πάντα τὰ ὅσα μου ἐροῦσι· Κύριε, Κύριε τίς ὅμοιός σοι· καὶ γὰρ κάτοχος ὁ νοῦς ὅλος γενόμενος μετὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀνάπτει τὸ θεῖον πῦρ ἐν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ταμίῳ καὶ ἅμα ἐκπυρωθεὶς ὅλος ὁ πῆλινος ἀνδριάς τῇ αἴγλῃ τοῦ θείου φωτὸς παινεθέντων τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῆς χάριτος καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ὀστέων, ὀλικῶς τὸν Θεὸν ἐξυμνεῖ λέγων· πάντα τὰ ὅσα μου ἐροῦσι· Κύριε, Κύριε, τίς ὅμοιός σοι.

ρδ' Ὁ δαίμων τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ἐπιτηρεῖν οἶδε καὶ λόχους ἰστᾶν καὶ ἐνέδρας ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν, ἵνα περιγένηται αὐτῶν καὶ στραφῶσιν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὑποβάλλει δειλίαν τῷ κάμνοντι, χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν ἔκκλυσιν, εἶτα λήθην τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τούτοις παρέχει, καὶ αὖθις ἢ ῥαθυμία καὶ ἡ ἄγνοια ἐπακολουθεῖ, κάντευθεν ἢ ἀπιστία παρέπεται.

101.

M

3-4 Sal. 34, 9 || 4-5 Sal. 31, 7

102.

M

103.

M

2-3 Sal. 34, 10 || 6-7 Sal. 34, 10

104.

101. La buona memoria nell'anima e la continua meditazione delle divine Scritture riempiono l'anima di chi le possiede di molta gioia e gloria. Allora anch'egli, afferrato dal divino amore, non cessa di gridare con Davide: «La mia anima esulta per la tua salvezza» (Sal. 34, 9), e di nuovo: «La mia esultanza mi libera da coloro che mi hanno circondato» (Sal. 31, 7).

102. Il suo contrario è evidente: durezza nell'anima, asprezza nel volto, pensieri turpi, fantasie dei demoni, odio, contesa, zelo intempestivo e infine pigritia dell'anima. Allorché, fratello, la mente come sentinella sonnecchia nell'attività del bene la città di Dio è facilmente espugnabile.

103. Al riguardo valga anche per te questo versetto del divino Davide (a ciò infatti rimanda il suo significato): «Tutte le mie ossa dicono: Signore, Signore, chi è simile a te?» (Sal. 34, 10). Quando la mente è interamente posseduta dallo Spirito, accende il fuoco divino nella stanza dell'anima e insieme tutto l'uomo di fango è infiammato dal fulgore della luce divina e le stesse ossa sono impinguate dall'olio della grazia, ed egli totalmente leva inni a Dio con le parole: «Tutte le mie ossa dicono: Signore, Signore, chi è simile a te?» (Sal. 34, 10).

104. Il demonio sa spiare i lottatori e a volte fa imboscate e agguati da destra e a volte anche da sinistra in modo da vincerli e da farli tornare indietro. Dapprima suscita viltà in chi si affatica, in fiacchimento delle mani e dei piedi, poi procura loro oblio del bene, e a sua volta segue l'indolenza e l'ignoranza e da qui deriva poi l'incredulità.

ρϵ' Δεινὸν πάθος ἡ ἐπιθυμία καὶ δυσκαταγώνιστος ὅτι διὰ τὴν γονὴν ἔνδον ἔχει τὸν πόλεμον· ὁπόταν δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας δαίμων ὑποκίβη γαργαλισμοὺς ἐμποιῶν ὡς βουλόμενος τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπώλειαν, τότε καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, 5 δυσκαταγωνιστότερον γίνεται τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, φθονοῦντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν· σὺ δὲ μὴ ἀποκάμης, πρὸς δίκην ἀντέχων μέχρι τῶν δεινῶν ταύτης καμίνων θεία ἐπιστάσις ἐλεύθερος γένη.

ρς' Μὴ θαυμάσης τὴν τούτου ποιηρὰν ἐπίνοιαν, οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοιαῦτα πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ λογισμοὺς ἀπογνώσεως ὑποβάλλει τῷ κάμνοντι καὶ λύπην μικρὰν προξενεῖ τῇ τούτου ψυχῇ· σκότῳσιν γὰρ καὶ ζάλην κοινορτοῦ δίκην ἐμποιεῖ ταύτη ἵνα δι' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀπογνώσεως ἔξακοντίση βυθόν.

ρζ' Οὐδὲ γὰρ βούλομαι λέγειν τὰ τούτου τεχνάσματα καὶ τὴν κακίστην σκαλιότητα ἵνα μὴ δόλημεν τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν οὐ μικρὰν πρόφασιν καὶ στραφῶσιν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω· ὡς γὰρ τοῖς νηπίοις στερεὰ τροφή οὐ προσιτέα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς εἰσαγωγικοῖς ταῦτα λέγειν οὐ δόκιμον.

ρη' Τὰ τοιαῦτα τοίνυν οὐ κατορθοῦνται χωρὶς καρτερίας καὶ ὑπομονῆς· ὁ γὰρ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος σωθήσεται πάντως· τούτων γὰρ ἀναιρουμένων τῶν πειρασμῶν σωθῆναι οὐ δυνάμεθα· λῶρος γὰρ παιδείας ἡμῖν τὸ οὐραῖον τοῦ 5 ὄφως ἐγκαθέστηκε πρὸς παιδαγωγίαν, καθάπερ μᾶστιξ πρὸς τοὺς ἀτάκτους καὶ τοὺς ἀντικαθισταμένους.

M

105.

M

106.

M

107.

M

3 Cfr. Eb. 5, 12-13

2 δόλημεν : δῶμεν marg. in rosso M

108.

M

1-2 Mt. 10, 22, 24, 13 ; Mc. 13, 13

3 ἡ οὐρά τοῦ ὄφως ὡς μᾶστιξ in marg. mano post. M

105. Funesta passione è la concupiscenza e difficile da combattere perché ha all'interno la guerra a causa della generazione. Allorché il demonio della concupiscenza eccita titillamenti, provocando, come vuole, la nostra rovina, allora questa passione diventa, come dire, ancora più difficile da combattere, perché egli è invidioso della nostra salvezza. Tu non scoraggiarti, resisti come al fuoco, sino alle stesse atroci fornaci della concupiscenza, e grazie alla protezione divina sarai libero.

106. Non meravigliarti per il suo disegno malvagio : in chi si affatica non procura solo cose simili, ma anche pensieri di disperazione e procura una piccola tristezza alla sua anima, vi introduce un oscuramento e una tempesta simile alla polvere in modo da trascinarlo così nell'abisso della disperazione.

107. Non voglio descrivere le sue macchinazioni e la sua più che malvagia stoltezza per non dare ai deboli un pretesto non piccolo e ritornino indietro. Il cibo solido infatti non si addice ai bambini, ma ai forti (cfr. Eb. 5, 12-13). Così non è nemmeno opportuno raccontare questo ai principianti.

108. Cose simili non si compiono senza costanza e sopportazione. «Chi sopporterà sino alla fine sarà senz'altro salvato» (Mt. 10, 22, 24, 13 ; Mc. 13, 13) perché non possiamo essere salvati dal momento che sono scomparse le tentazioni. Ci è stata stabilita come briglia pedagogica la coda del serpente in vista della correzione, quale sferza per gli indisciplinati e i disubbidienti.

ρθ' Τὸ γάρ· *αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε* πολλὴν τὴν δυσχέρειαν ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ὡς οἶμαι καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρίας ἀντιποιοιμένοις· τὸ μὲν γάρ κατὰ φύσιν διὰ τὴν γοιὴν καὶ τὴν τῆς φύσεως διαδοχὴν, τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ φύσιν διὰ τὴν ἄλεκτον δόξαν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ μετουσίης· οὐ μόνον γὰρ τοὺς τὸν ἄζυγα βίον ἀσπαζομένους καὶ τοὺς τῆς παρθενίας ζυγὸν ἀναδεδεγμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν συζυγίᾳ καὶ σωφρονεῖν βουλομένους ὀνήνησι τὸ ῥητόν. Πρὸς τοῖς γὰρ καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐρωτώμενος ἔλεγε τό· *ὁ χωρῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ χωρεῖται* ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ Παῦλος ὁ θεῖος φησὶν· *εἰς τοῦτο ἐπιταγὴν Κυρίου οὐκ ἔχω*. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν ἢ τοῦ *αὐξάνεσθε* φωνὴ γέγονεν, διὰ τὴν ἦτταν τῆς παραβάσεως ὡς ἐμπαθοῦς τῆς γοιῆς ἐσομένης· προεώρα γὰρ τοῦ Ἄδαμ τὸ παράπτωμα, ὅπως ἦττων τῆς ἐπιθυμίας | γενόμενος δραπέτης κατέστη τῆς ἐντολῆς, τοῦ ξύλου τῆς βρώσεως ἀψάμενος προπετῶς· ἐν οἷς δραξαμένη ἡ φύσις ἐξεκυλίσθη εἰς τὰ παραφύσιν καὶ πρὸς δύο νόμους, ὡς εἶπειν, δουλεύειν ἡρετίσαστο, τὸν φυσικὸν δηλονότι καὶ τὸν παραφύσιν· καὶ τοίνυν ὁ μὲν φυσικὸς νόμος τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμον ἀκολουθεῖν οἶδε, ἐπόμενος ὕστερον καὶ τῷ εὐαγγελικῷ κηρύγματι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ γάμον τιμᾶ ὁ σωτήριος λόγος καὶ παρθενίαν ἀσπάζεται. Ὁ τοίνυν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔρως ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ψυχὴν, ὁ ὑπὲρ φύσιν δηλαδή, ῥαδίως τὸν κατὰ φύσιν νόμον πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀνθέλκεται δουλοπρεπῶς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ φυσικὸς τὴν κάτω χώραν πληροῖ κατὰ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τῆς αὐξήσεως· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἄνω, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀνώλεθρος καὶ ἀθάνατος. Διατοῦτο γὰρ καὶ Θεὸς ἄνθρωπος γέγονε, συναναστραφεὶς μεθ' ἡμῶν· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνεισι μετὰ δόξης, ἦν ἐξ ἡμῶν προσείληφε φύσιν, σύνεδρον ἀποφήνας τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀντίκειται ὁ κατὰ φύσιν τῷ ὑπὲρ φύσιν νόμῳ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον, εἰ μήπου ὁ παραφύσιν λαθὼν εἰσπηδήσει δι' ἀκρασίαν τῆς ἡδονῆς, καθά φησι Παῦλος ὁ θεῖος· *εἶδον ἕτερον νόμον ἀντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοῦς μου καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντά με τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας*· ὡς ἐντεῦθεν πολλὴν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις κατὰ τὸν μέγαν διδάσκαλον· *ταλαίπωρον γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ταύτην κατονομάζει, ἡσθηνηκυῖαν τῇ παρατροπῇ τοῦ καλοῦ*. Καὶ τοίνυν, ἀγαπητέ, μὴ ἀμέλει πρὸς τὴν κεκρυμμένην ταύτην καὶ σκοτεινὴν ἔνεδραν, τὸν ἔσω διερευνῶν ἄνθρωπον, ἥτις οὐ μόνον τὴν διάνοιαν ἀμαυροῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐκτυφλοῖ τῷ λείῳ τῶν ἡδονῶν. Ἰασίς δὲ καὶ θεραπεία τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους ἡ τῶν ἐντολῶν τήρησις καὶ ἡ κατὰ νοῦν ἐργασία· καθάπερ κύων ἐργηγορῶς ἀπελαύνει τὸν μοῦνον ἐκ τοῦ δάσους τῆς κοίτης αὐτοῦ, οὕτω καὶ νοῦς, διὰ τῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπικλήσεως ἐνδελεχῶς γινόμενης, ἀπελαύνει τὸν ἐμφωλεύοντα νόμον τῆς παραβάσεως κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ὡς εἴρηται ἄνθρωπον. Ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ φύσιν νόμος ἐστὶν ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἡ νικῶσα τὴν σάρκα κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν θεῖον· ἥτις ῥαδίως ἐξαφα-

109.

M

1-2 Gen. 1, 22, ecc. || 7 Mt. 19, 12 || 8-9 1 Cor. 7, 25 || 12 Cfr. Gen. 3, 6 || 25-26 Rm. 7, 23 || 27-28 Rm. 7, 24 || 36 Cfr. Rm. 7, 25

109. Le parole «Crescete e moltiplicatevi» (1 Gen. 1, 22 ecc.) procurano, come credo, molta difficoltà ai lottatori e a chi si dedica alla contemplazione di Dio. Ha da un lato un significato secondo natura in vista della generazione e della successione della natura. Dall'altro un significato soprannaturale in vista dell'indicibile gloria della partecipazione a Dio. Il versetto non è utile solo per coloro che abbracciano il celibato e per coloro che si sono caricati il giogo della verginità, ma anche per quelli che sono sposati e vogliono essere temperanti. In aggiunta a ciò il Salvatore disse in risposta a una domanda: «Chi può capire, capisca» (Mt. 19, 12) e la sua bocca, il divino Paolo, ha affermato: «Al riguardo non ho nessun comando dal Signore» (1 Cor. 7, 25). Ma allora risuonò la voce: «Crescete» a causa della sconfitta della trasgressione, in seguito alla quale la generazione sarebbe diventata passionale. Prevedeva infatti la trasgressione di Adamo, quando, vinto dalla concupiscenza, sarebbe diventato disertore del comandamento, toccando e mangiando in modo sconsiderato dall'albero (cfr. Gen. 3, 6). Con questo la natura fu presa, finì implicata nelle cose contro-natura e fu condotta a servire, come dire, due leggi, la naturale e quella contro-natura. La legge naturale sa dunque seguire la legge di Dio, ubbidendo da ultimo anche all'annuncio evangelico, perché il Verbo salvifico onora il matrimonio e abbraccia la verginità. L'amore di Dio, cioè l'amore sovranaturale, quando cade nell'anima, attrae facilmente come un servitore la legge secondo natura verso quella sovranaturale. La legge naturale riempie infatti la regione inferiore in conformità alla promessa dell'accrescimento, mentre l'altra, quella superiore, che è imperitura e immortale. Anche per questo Dio è diventato uomo e ha vissuto con noi. Infine è asceso ai cieli nella gloria, e la natura che ha preso da noi l'ha mostrata seduta alla destra del Padre. La legge secondo natura non si oppone in nessun modo alla legge sovranaturale se la legge contro-natura non penetra di nascosto con l'intemperanza del piacere, come dice il divino Paolo: «Vedo un'altra legge che muove guerra alla legge della mia mente e mi rende schiavo della legge del peccato» (Rm. 7, 23). Di conseguenza, secondo l'insigne maestro grande è il combattimento per i lottatori. Egli chiamò infatti questa natura misera (Rm. 7, 24) perché indebolita a causa della deviazione dal bene. E dunque, mio caro, non essere trascurato, quando investighi l'uomo interiore, rispetto a questo nascosto e oscuro agguato, che non solo oscura la ragione, ma acceca anche la mente con la dolcezza delle passioni. Cura e guarigione di questa passione sono la custodia dei comandamenti e l'attività della mente. Come un cane ben desto scaccia il cinghiale dalla sua tana nel bosco, così anche la mente, con l'invocazione di Gesù continuamente ripetuta, scaccia, come si è detto, la legge nascosta della trasgressione dall'uomo interiore. La legge soprannaturale è invece la grazia del santo Spirito che secondo il divino Paolo ha vinto la carne (cfr. Rm. 7, 25) e che non solo ha fatto svanire la legge contro-natura, che è entrata per mezzo dell'amaro gusto, ma anche trasforma e migliora verso il meglio quella secondo natura, che è legge

νίζει οὐ μόνον τὸν παρὰ φύσιν τὸν ἐπεισελθόντα διὰ τῆς πικρᾶς γεύσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν κατὰ φύσιν μεταρρυθμίζει καὶ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον μεθαρμόζει, ὅστις  
 40 ἐστὶν νόμος ἄλυτος διὰ τὸ *αὐξάνεσθε*· οὐκοῦν μέγα ἀγαθὸν νῆψις κατὰ ψυχὴν·  
 νήφοντος γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ νοῦς ὡς πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν οὐκ ἔχει  
 χώραν ὁ νόμος τῆς παραβάσεως ἀντιστρατεύεσθαι καθ' ἡμῶν ἢ ἡμᾶς αἰχ-  
 μαλωπίσαι τὸ σύνολον· πυρὸς γὰρ δίκην ἐπέχει ἀφανίζουσα τὴν ὕλην τῆς  
 45 μοχθηρίας ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ μνήμη· ὡσπερ γὰρ ἅμα τῷ προσεγγίσει τι τῷ πυρὶ ἀπο-  
 τεφροῦται εὐθύς, οὕτω καὶ λογισμὸς ἐμπαθῆς ἐμπιπράται τῷ θείῳ πυρὶ καὶ  
 ἀφανίζεται κοιλοτοῦ δίκην, τῇ αἴγλη καὶ τῇ ἐλλάμψει τοῦ θείου φωτός.

indissolubile per la parola «Crescete». La sobrietà dell'anima è dunque un grande bene. Infatti se la mente è sobria con lo Spirito, come spesso abbiamo detto, la legge della trasgressione non è affatto in grado di muovere guerra contro di noi o di farci prigionieri. La memoria di Dio, simile a un fuoco, fa svanire la materia della nefandezza. Come una cosa appena si avvicina al fuoco è subito ridotta in cenere, così anche un pensiero passionale è bruciato dal fuoco divino e svanisce come polvere grazie al fulgore e all'illuminazione della divina luce.

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#### SUMMARY

The article presents the first edition of the *Chapters on the purity of the soul* written by the patriarch of Constantinople, Callistus I (1350-1353, 1355-1364), with an Italian translation and commentary. Many themes of the *Chapters* are related to the byzantine ascetical tradition and the teaching of Callistus' spiritual father, Gregory the Sinaite. Others are connected to the theological discussions of the period and the polemics of the patriarch against Nicephorus Gregoras.

MAXIMI CONFESSORIS VITAE ET PASSIONES GRAECAE :  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF A HAGIOGRAPHIC DOSSIER (\*)

Maximus the Confessor died on August 13th 662, weakened by tortures and exhausted by the long journey to his place of exile in Georgia. For years his vigorous resistance against monenergism and monotheism had been a real annoyance to the imperial and ecclesiastic authorities, who had put forward this christological compromise proposal in a final, not to say desperate attempt to reconcile the orthodox and monophysite stands. To save the compromise, however, the symbolical tortures of Maximus - his tongue and right hand were severed to prevent him from teaching and writing any further - and his exile were too little too late. By 662 Maximus had composed a large and influential oeuvre<sup>(1)</sup>, which inspired others to continue the resistance and as such

(\*) I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Francesco D'Aiuto, Mrs. Lieve Dreesen, Dr. Bart Janssens and Prof. Dr. Peter Van Deun for their invaluable help.

(1) See CPG 7688-7721. The *Series Graeca* of the *Corpus Christianorum* edited at the *Institute for Palaeochristian and Byzantine Studies* (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven), specializes in the edition of Patristic and Byzantine authors, and especially in the edition of the works of Maximus the Confessor. So far, Maximus' *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* [CPG 7688] (edd. C. LAGA - C. STEEL [CCSG, 7 and 22], Turnhout - Leuven, 1980 and 1990), his *Quaestiones et Dubia* [CPG 7689] (edd. J. H. DECLERCK [CCSG, 10], Turnhout - Leuven, 1982), Maximus' *Ambigua ad Iohannem* in the Latin translation by John Scottus Eriugena [CPG 7705. 2] (ed. E. JEUNEAU [CCSG, 18], Turnhout - Leuven, 1988), his *Expositio in Psalmum LIX* together with his *Expositio orationis dominicae* [CPG 7690 and 7691] (ed. P. VAN DEUN [CCSG, 23], Turnhout - Leuven, 1991), his *Liber Asceticus* [CPG 7692] (ed. P. VAN DEUN [CCSG, 40], Turnhout - Leuven, 2000) and his *Ambigua ad Thomam* together with the *Epistula secunda ad eundem* [CPG 7705. 1 and 7700] (ed. B. JANSSENS [CCSG, 48], Turnhout - Leuven, 2002) have been edited in the *Series Graeca*. The following texts are currently being prepared for edition in the *Series Graeca*: the *Mystagogia* (by C. Boudignon), the Greek text of the *Ambigua ad Iohannem* (by C. Laga), a selection of his *Opuscula* (by B. Markesinis), the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* (by P. Van Deun), most of the texts once edited by S. L. Epifanovič [CPG 7707] (by

laid the theological foundation for the rejection of monenergism and monotheism during the Sixth Oecumenical Council, *Constantinopolitanum III* (680/681). At the end of the seventh century Maximus' spiritual legacy was still important and influential enough for the opposition to try to blacken his reputation by claiming that Maximus was the adulterine son of a Samaritan and a Persian slave girl<sup>(2)</sup>.

The process of sainting Maximus is noticeable already in the *Documenta*<sup>(3)</sup> and continued in the following centuries, when his life and death became the subject of a considerable hagiographic production. Extant are :

- a *passio* in the *Menologium Imperiale A* [henceforth BHG 1235] ;
- a *passio* in the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum* [henceforth Syn.CP] ;
- the beginning of a *passio* in the synaxary preserved in *Patmiacus 266* [henceforth P] ;

B. Roosen) and the Greek *Vitae* and *Passiones* of Maximus (by B. Roosen). Moreover, some texts by (Ps.-) Maximus Confessor have been edited by members of the *Institute* in the form of articles, viz. the *Unionum definitiones* [CPG 7697. 18] (ed. P. VAN DEUN, *L'Unionum definitiones* (CPG 7697, 18) attribué à Maxime le Confesseur : étude et édition, in REB, 58 [2000], pp. 125-147), the *Quaestiones ad Theopemptum* [CPG 7696] (edd. B. ROOSEN - P. VAN DEUN, *A Critical Edition of the Quaestiones ad Theopemptum of Maximus the Confessor* (CPG 7696), in *The Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, 55 [2003], pp. 65-79), a collection of definitions (edd. id., *L'importance des collections de définitions philosophico-théologiques appartenant à la tradition de Maxime le Confesseur : le cas du recueil centré sur ὁμώνυμον, συνώνυμον, παρώνυμον, ἑτερόνυμον, ...*, in M. CACOUROS - M.-H. CONGOURDEAU [edd.], *Philosophie et sciences à Byzance de 1204 à 1453* [OLA, 146], Leuven - Paris - Dudley, MA, 2006, pp. 53-76), and the *Capita X de duplici voluntate domini* [CPG 7697. 25] (ed. P. VAN DEUN, *Les Capita X de duplici voluntate domini attribués à Maxime le Confesseur* (CPG 7697,25), in *The Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, 60 [2008], pp. 195-213). Others are in print or in preparation.

(2) See the Syriac vita of Maximus edited by BROCK, *Syriac Life*, pp. 299-346.

(3) With *Documenta* I refer to a number of texts written by Maximus' followers and recording his trials, interrogations, exile and death (please refer to the bibliography at the end of this article for a list of these texts and their abbreviations). The dossier has recently been edited by ALLEN - NEIL, *Scripta*. Also the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* [CPG 7698] should be added to these texts. Long believed to be an authentic text by Maximus, it was written most probably by one of his followers (cf. J. NORET, *La rédaction de la Disputatio cum Pyrrho* (CPG 7698) de saint Maxime le Confesseur serait-elle postérieure à 655?, in AB, 117 [1999], pp. 291-296).



- a *passio* frequently called *Compendium Vindobonense* [BHG 1236 ; henceforth *Comp.Vind.*];
- an unedited *vita* in a Romanian manuscript [henceforth BHG 1236d];
- the three states of preservation (henceforth Rec.I, Rec.II and Rec.III) of the most famous *vita Maximi* [henceforth BHG 1234];
- a long *passio* [henceforth BHG 1233m+n], preserved in two different recensions known as the *Recensio Mosquensis* [henceforth BHG 1233m] and the *Recensio Atheniensis* [henceforth BHG 1233n].

In reading these texts one cannot fail to notice that basically they all present the same information, frequently worded in a similar, if not identical way. Yet, a satisfactory explanation for this situation has never been proposed. Only R. Bracke made an attempt<sup>(4)</sup>, but unfortunately he left aside the two *synaxaria* and his conclusions are generally rejected<sup>(5)</sup>. Now that an edition of the entire dossier for the CCSG is well under way, the question should be addressed anew, since a well-reasoned answer to this question is a prerequisite not only for the edition of these texts as such, but also for further research, e.g. concerning the historical correctness of the information in these texts.

The aforementioned order in which these texts will be dealt with is based on the stemma the reader will find at the end of this article. For practical purposes I have divided the stemma into two branches: the left side, branch A, contains only short *passiones* (BHG 1235, the *passiones* in the *Syn.CP* and in *P*, and the *Comp.Vind.*); the right side, branch B, consists of one considerably longer *passio* (BHG 1233m+n) and two quite lengthy *vitae* (BHG 1236d and BHG 1234). Each branch will be dealt with separately from the bottom to the top. The article ends with the question of how both branches are related and with a stemma.

Of each text I give title, incipit, desinit, the extant manuscripts and editions, and a summary. This is followed by a presentation of the general characteristics of the text. Only then the relationship with the rest of the dossier is discussed.

(4) Cf. BRACKE, *Vita*.

(5) See the reviews of Bracke's doctoral dissertation by J.-M. SANSTERRE, in *Byz.*, 51 (1981), pp. 653-657 and J. L. VAN DIETEN, in *BZ*, 75 (1982), pp. 359-361.

## 1. Branch A

### 1.1. The *passio* in the *Menologium Imperiale A* [BHG 1235 ; CPG 7707. 4]

Tit. : Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον (vel πολιτεία) τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ (vel καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Μαξίμου).

Inc. : Καὶ πῶς ἄν τὴν παρὰ τῶν φιλοκάλων μέψιν ἐκκλίνομεν, ...

Des. : ... καὶ βασιλείας Θεοῦ τὴν μετουσίαν, ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

Mss. : *Atheniensis*, *Bibliothecae Nationalis*, *graecus* 1046 (s. XIV), ff. 171-172<sup>v</sup>; *Athonensis*, *Dionysiu* 83 (a. 1137), ff. 197-199; *Bruxellensis*, *Bibliothecae Bollandianae* 193 (s. XVII), ff. 247-248; *Bucarestiensis*, *Academiae Romanae*, *graecus* 418 (olim 610) (s. XVI), ff. 72-74<sup>v</sup>; *Hierosolymitanus*, *Sanctae Crucis* 16 (s. XVI), ff. 270-273; *Hierosolymitanus*, *Sancti Sepulcri* 17 (s. XII), ff. 183-185; *Mediolanensis*, *Ambrosianus* B 1 inf. (gr. 834) (a. 1239/1240), ff. 1-3<sup>v</sup>; *Messanensis*, *Sancti Salvatoris*, *graecus* 29 (a. 1307/1308), ff. 176<sup>v</sup>-177<sup>v</sup>.

Edd. : LATYŠEV, *Menologium* II, p. 273-276 on the basis of the *Atheniensis* and the *Mediolanensis*; and independently from the edition by Latyšev, again EPIFANOVIČ, *Materialy*, p. 23, l. 1 - p. 25, l. 15 on the basis of *Hierosolymitanus*, *Sanctae Crucis* 16. Edition of the final prayer (καὶ χάρισαι...) on the basis of the *Mediolanensis*, the *Messanensis* and *Hierosolymitanus*, *Sancti Sepulcri* 17 by D'AVUTO, *Un ramo italogreco*, p. 165.

Summary : (1.) Introduction : *Maximus' deeds are worth remembering*; (2.) *Maximus struggled against heresy under the rule of Constans II Pogonatus (641-668), called Constantine in the text* (6); (3.) *Under earlier emperors Maximus worked at the imperial court and was held in high regard there : he rose to the rank of πρωτοασκηρῆτις*; (4.) *Maximus' virtues*; (5.) *Maximus left the court because of the introduction of monotheletism and became monk in the monastery (of Philippicus [?]) in Chrysopolis, where he was appointed καθηγητής*; (6.) *Because the heresy kept spreading, Maximus travelled to Rome, approached Pope Martin I and convinced him to convene a synod to anathematize the instigators and leaders of monotheletism*; (7.) *Maximus' literary activity*; (8.) *Maximus returned to Constantinople together*

(6) On the Emperor Constans II, nicknamed Πωγωνᾶτος, his son Emperor Constantine IV and the difficulties concerning their names – since Constans II also called himself Constantine, his nickname Πωγωνᾶτος is sometimes ascribed to his son Constantine IV –, see most recently PmbZ I, # 3691 and # 3702 respectively.

(7) The name of this monastery is not mentioned in any of the hagiographical texts on Maximus the Confessor, but it is the only one known to have existed in Chrysopolis in Maximus' time. See JANIN, *Églises et monastères*, pp. 24-25.

with the two Anastasii and entered his own monastery, where he continued to support orthodoxy with his writings; (9.) The syncretus tried him and sent him to Thrace; (10.) Because this still did not convince Maximus, his right hand and tongue were cut; (11.) This way he was sent to Lazica: there he endured for three years every hardship with the help of his orthodox faith in Christ, and notwithstanding his old age he took care of his own needs; (12.) Maximus died after a short illness and was buried in a monastery of St Arsenius in Lazica; (13.) He worked miracles every day: some say e.g. that he miraculously healed his own tongue and spoke clearly again; (14.) The older Anastasius also lost his right hand and tongue and was exiled to a distant place. The younger Anastasius was exiled to Thrace<sup>(8)</sup> and died there; (15.) Invocation of Maximus on behalf of the emperor ending in the acrostic typical of the *Menologium Imperiale*.

However interesting in its own right and edited as such by S. L. Epifanovič, the *passio* numbered 1235 in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* cannot be discussed without taking into consideration the famous menology for which it was made and in which it serves as the text for August 13th. This so-called Imperial Menology (*Menologium Imperiale* [9]) is the last example of systematic hagiographical production during the Byzantine era, "una sorta di ricapitulazione, per così dire, « enciclopedica » dell'agiografia bizantina"<sup>(10)</sup>. Its author(s) or rather compiler(s) seem to have had a clearly delineated goal or assignment, namely to present for each day one short saint's life or passion, written in an elegant, rhetorical style<sup>(11)</sup> and ending in a prayer adorned with the acrostic ΜΙΧΑΗΛ. In these acrostics the saint concerned is asked for help on behalf of an unnamed emperor against the Ἀγαθηνοί. As for sources, the compiler(s) primarily turned to the metaphrastic menology, to premetaphrastic texts and to the *Syn.CP*, in this order of pref-

(8) The reading Θράκη is an understandable fault for Θακυρία in present-day Georgia (cf. *Ep.Anast.*, ll. 54-55, edd. ALLEN - NEIL, *Scripta*, p. 177). For the same fault see also the *passio* in the *Syn.CP* and the *Comp.Vind*.

(9) For the *Menologium Imperiale*, see in the first place and most recently the following articles by F. D'AIUTO, viz. *Nuovi elementi*, pp. 715-747; *Note*, pp. 189-228 and *Un ramo italogreco*, pp. 145-178. In these articles also ample references to the earlier research can be found.

(10) Cf. D'AIUTO, *Note*, p. 192.

(11) On the "metaphrastic" style of the *Menologium Imperiale*, see D'AIUTO, *Note*, p. 192 and footnote 6 (with bibliography) and IDEM, *Un ramo italogreco*, pp. 151-152.

erence<sup>(12)</sup>. At least two fully miniated series appear to have been made, each encompassing the whole year, hence *Menologium Imperiale A*, extant in full only for the months February-March and June-July-August<sup>(13)</sup> and almost in full, i.e. some twenty texts, for the month January<sup>(14)</sup> - BHG 1235 is part of this series -, and *Menologium Imperiale B*, of which important parts have come down to us for the months February-May<sup>(15)</sup>.

This is not the place to elaborate on the problems that still exist with regard to the menology as a whole and the acrostic in particular<sup>(16)</sup>. Suffice it to repeat the *communis opinio*, viz. that the acrostic reveals the name of the emperor to whom the menology is devoted and that this emperor is Michael IV Paphlagon (1034-1041). If correct, the menology and thus also BHG 1235 should date from that same period.

(12) Cf. D'AIUTO, *Note*, p. 192, footnote 5 and IDEM, *Un ramo italogreco*, pp. 151-152.

(13) Ed. LATYŠEV, *Menologium I* and *II* respectively. - For the partial text of the months November-December, see the thirteenth-century manuscript *Vaticanus graecus* 793, ff. 73<sup>v</sup>-90. - For the partial text of the months April-May, see the fourteenth-century manuscript *Patmiacus graecus* 736 (cf. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung I*, 3, pp. 378-383).

(14) Preserved in manuscript W. 521 of the *Walters Art Gallery* in Baltimore (first half of s. XI). On the process of the identification of this manuscript with the former *Cahirensis*, *Bibliothecae Patriarchalis, graecus* 33, see F. HALKIN, *Le mois de janvier du «Ménologe impérial» byzantin*, in *AB*, 57 (1939), pp. 225-236, reprinted as number XIX in F. HALKIN, *Études d'épigraphie grecque et d'hagiographie byzantine (Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS20)*, London, 1973 and reprinted again 'avec quelques retouches et additions' on pp. 7-18 of IDEM, *Le ménologe impérial de Baltimore (Subs. hag., 69)*, Bruxelles, 1985. To this last book I also refer for a description of the Baltimore manuscript and the edition of the majority of the texts in this manuscript. On its miniatures, see PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO, *Menologion*, pp. 43-64.

(15) Preserved in *Athonensis, Cutlumusiu* 23. For an edition of its texts, see in the first place F. HALKIN - A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Dix textes inédits tirés du ménologe impérial de Koutloumous. Édition princeps et traduction française (Cahiers d'Orientalisme, 8)*, Genève, 1984.

(16) One of the problems which as far as I know remain unsolved, is that of the relationship between the *Menologium A* and *B* on the one hand and the five miniated folios now in the Benaki Museum in Athens on the other (cf. call number [Μπ. 71] Προθήκη 34, 6, catalogued by Euridice LAPPA-ZIZICA - Ματούλα ΡΙΖΟΥ-CΟΥΡΟΥΠΟΥ, *Κατάλογος ελληνικών χειρογράφων του Μουσείου Μπενάκη (10ος-16ος αι.)*, Athènes, 1991, pp. 58-59 and plates 49-50).

## 1.2. The passio in the Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum (Syn.CP)

Tit. : Ἀθλησις τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ

Inc. : Οὗτος ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας (vel κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους) Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιλεγόμενου (vel ἐπικληθέντος) Πωγωνάτου, ἐκγόνου Ἡρακλείου (vel ὄντος ἀπογόνου τοῦ Ἡρακλείου).

Des. : ..., ὁ δὲ νεώτερος ἔν τινι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θράκην φρουρίων πεμφθεὶς (vel ἐκπεμφθεὶς), τὸν βίον κατέλυσεν.

Mss. : Hierosolymitanus, Sanctae Crucis 40, f. 202<sup>v</sup> [fragm.] (s. X-XI ; siglum H) ; Sinaiticus graecus 548, ff. 290-291 (s. XI ; siglum Hs) ; Parisinus graecus 1587, ff. 186<sup>v</sup>-187<sup>v</sup> (s. XI-XII ; siglum D) and Parisinus graecus 1594, ff. 202<sup>v</sup>-203<sup>v</sup> (s. XII ; siglum Sa). This is but a small selection of the particularly rich manuscript tradition of the Syn.CP. On what basis these manuscripts were selected will be explained further down (p. 419).

Ed. : DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium* : the note on Maximus the Confessor is found twice, i.e. for January 21st (col. 409, 2 - col. 410, 17) as well as for August 13th (col. 887, 2 - col. 890, 6) <sup>(17)</sup>. In the aforementioned manuscripts H and D and

(17) In the later version of the Syn.CP known as the *Synaxarium Sirmondianum* Maximus' passio is indeed found twice, once for January 21st, a day without significance in Maximus' biography, and once for August 13th, the day on which Maximus reportedly died (see ll. 86-87 in the Latin translation by Anastasius apocrisiarius of the *Ep. Anast.* [edd. ALLEN - NEIL, *Scripta*, p. 176]). The first time the text is entitled Μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ, the second time Ἀνάμνησις τῆς μεταθέσεως τῶν λειψάνων τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ. On the gradual transference of Maximus' name day from August 13th to January 21st and the identification of the former date with an otherwise unattested translation of Maximus' remains, see J. PINIUS in *Acta Sanctorum Augusti tomus tertius, Parisiis et Romae*, 1867, pp. 114-115 ; E. VOORDECKERS, *L'iconographie de Saint Maxime le Confesseur dans l'art des églises de rite byzantin*, in A. SCHOORS - P. VAN DEUN (edd.), *Philohistôr. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii* (OLA, 60), Leuven, 1994, pp. 340-341 (note 6 on p. 341 is inexact) ; Enrica FOLLIERI, *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo*, II, *Commentario e indici* (Subs. hag., 63), Bruxelles, 1980, pp. 407-410 ; and certainly also P. VAN DEUN, *Supplément à l'iconographie de Maxime le Confesseur dans les arts byzantin et slave*, in K. DEMOEN - Jeannine VERECKEN (edd.), *La spiritualité de l'univers byzantin dans le verbe et l'image. Hommages offerts à Edmond Voordeckers à l'occasion de son éméritat* (*Instrumenta Patristica* XXX), Steenbrugge - Turnhout, 1997, pp. 318-319, where, however, it is wrongfully contended that the *Comp. Vind.* mentions January 21st as the date of Maximus' death. Actually, this is the case in only one of the manuscripts of the *Comp. Vind.*, viz. the early tenth-century menology of the month January *Glascuensis, Bibliothecae Universitatis Gen.* 1112 (olim BE.8.X.5). But although this is the oldest manuscript of the *Comp. Vind.*, it is certainly not the most trustworthy witness.

in the related *Oxonensis*, Auct. T.III.6 (a. 1307 ; siglum Da) a mere reference to Maximus (together with Diomedes) is also found for August 19th, Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ μνήμη τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Διομήδους. Τελεῖται δὲ ἡ αὐτῶν σύναξις ἔνδον τοῦ σεβασμίου οἴκου τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου τοῦ ἐπιλεγόμενου Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ εἰς τὸν Λευκὸν Ποταμὸν <sup>(18)</sup> (col. 910, 17-22).

Summary <sup>(19)</sup> : (2.) Maximus lived under Constans II Pogonatus (641-668), called Constantine in the text <sup>(20)</sup> ; (3.) Under earlier emperors Maximus worked at the imperial court and was held in high regard there : he rose to the rank of πρωτοασκηκῆτις ; (5.) Maximus left the court because of the introduction of monotheletism and became monk in the monastery (of Philippicus <sup>(21)</sup>) in Chrysopolis, where he was appointed καθηγητής ; (6.) Maximus travelled to Rome and convinced Pope Martin I to convene a synod to anathematize the instigators of monotheletism ; (7.) Maximus' literary activity ; (8.) Maximus returned to Constantinople together with the two Anastasii ; (9.) The syncletus tried him and sent him to Thrace ; (10.) Since that still did not convince Maximus, his right hand and tongue were cut ; (11.) This way he was sent to Lazica : there he lived for three years and took care of his own needs notwithstanding his old age ; (12.) Maximus died after a short illness and was buried in a monastery of St Arsenius in Lazica ; (13.) He worked miracles daily : it is said e.g. that he miraculously healed his own tongue and spoke clearly again ; (14.) The older Anastasius also lost his hand and tongue and was exiled to a distant place. The younger Anastasius was exiled to Thrace <sup>(22)</sup> and died there.

The second passio is part of another major achievement of byzantine hagiography, the so-called Syn.CP. Commissioned by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (945-959 <sup>(23)</sup>), the Syn.CP was executed by or at

(18) It is unclear where Λευκὸς Ποταμὸς is to be situated. See JANIN, *Églises et monastères*, p. 153, footnote 4.

(19) The numbers refer to my summary of BHG 1235 above in this article.

(20) See footnote 6.

(21) See footnote 7.

(22) See footnote 8.

(23) The attempt by J. NORET (cf. *Le synaxaire Leningrad gr. 240. Sa place dans l'évolution du synaxaire byzantin*, in *Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka*, 10 [1973], pp. 124-130) to situate the achievement of the Syn.CP in the last three years of Constantine's reign (956-959), has recently been refuted by A. LUZZI (cf. *Precisazioni*, pp. 75-91). Like V. GRUMEL before him (cf. *Le typicon de la Grande Église d'après le manuscrit de Sainte-Croix. Datation et origine*, in *AB*, 85 [1967], pp. 45-57), Luzzi sees no elements that allow one to further specify the date of origin within the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. In 2001, however, P. ODORICO sided with J. NORET by dating the achievement to the years 957-959 (cf. *Idéologie*

least under the supervision of the deacon and librarian Εὐάγγριος, and had an encyclopaedic intention, namely to present ἐν βραχεῖ μνήμη ἅμα καὶ σύνοψις τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν ταῖς κυκλοφορικαῖς τοῦ ἔτους περιόδους τελουμένων ἀγίων, as it is said in the preface (24). The work met with great success, was re-edited a number of times and several of its texts are still being used even today.

The *passio* of Maximus the Confessor in the *Syn.CP* perfectly exemplifies the intention of the undertaking as a whole, as expressed in the preface (25). It is a text stripped to the bare essentials. Not Maximus' virtuous behaviour, nor his wonders are stressed, but the (historical)

*politique*, p. 205), but he does not seem to have known the aforementioned article by Luzzi.

(24) See the edition of the Greek text of this preface by DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium*, col. XIII (ll. 2-5 of the second paragraph). The name of the author of the preface, Εὐάρεστος, and the name of the addressee, or better of the commissioner of the synaxary, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, are not preserved in Greek, yet survive in the Arabic translation of the preface as found in some copies of the Melkite synaxaries. See J.-M. SAUGET, *Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des Synaxaires melkites (X<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Subs. hag., 45), Bruxelles, 1969, pp. 32-34. The Greek text of the preface (taken over from the edition by Delehayé with one minor correction), a French translation of both the Greek text and the part preserved in Arabic, and a discussion of the implications of this text for our understanding of the synaxary can be found in ODORICO, *Idéologie politique*, especially from p. 205 onwards.

(25) I quote the relevant passages from the French translation by P. ODORICO (cf. *Idéologie politique*, pp. 209-210): "j'ai donc composé le présent ouvrage, tirant les renseignements de ce qu'on a écrit sur les saints : qui était chaque saint, et à qui s'est opposé, quand il a vécu et comment a-t-il lutté et gagné. J'ai fondé la véracité des récits sur les premiers auteurs qui ont écrit sur ces saints (...) il ne s'agissait pas de composer des panégyriques pour honorer chaque saint ; en ce cas on est obligé d'exagérer les données positives, de réduire tout défaut éventuel, de rendre le discours adéquat aux sentiments dont on traite. Et en même temps une entreprise pareille nécessitait un temps très long et beaucoup de peine, et elle aurait été plus vaste que ce que je me suis proposé dans la présente réalisation. J'ai choisi une ligne moyenne entre ces deux subtiles propositions : j'ai sélectionné ce qui paraissait être plus proche de l'histoire et je l'ai abrégé, même si on dit que rien est impossible aux gens de foi : en effet ils ne sont pas sujets aux rythmes de la nature. Moi pour ma part, je me suis épargné d'écouter ce que disent la plupart des hommes, qui croient que les choses divines arrivent aux hommes. Et ainsi mon discours est simple et naïf, mais j'ai cru prendre mes responsabilités en affrontant moi-même le risque."

events that form the backbone of his life. There is neither an introduction nor an invocation, a prayer or a doxology and with the text starting *in medias res* (with the words Οὗτος ἦν ...), not even Maximus' name is mentioned outside the title.

It is probably this text, and not BHG 1234 as J. L. van Dieten thought (26), which was used by Nicetas Choniates for writing some lines on Maximus in his *Panoplia dogmatica* (27).

### 1.3. The relationship between BHG 1235 and the *passio* in the *Syn.CP*

But what about the relationship with the foregoing text ? In his doctoral dissertation Bracke proposes to call BHG 1235 a "compendium" or an "epitome" rather than a "vita" and, after a structural analysis, contends that the redactor of BHG 1235 based his text on one of the recensions of BHG 1234 and on the *Comp.Vind.* (28). Bracke's stand completely disregards the conclusions drawn by B. Latyšev more than sixty years earlier in a publication following his edition of the *Menologium Imperiale* (29). By printing BHG 1235 and the *passio* in the *Syn.CP* side by side, Latyšev evidenced not only the striking similarities between both texts, but also the dependency of the former on the latter.

The dependency is indeed clear and hardly calls for elaborate argumentation (30). There are the frequent correspondences between both texts, both structural and verbal (31). Where an actual verbal counter-

(26) Cf. *Geschichte*, pp. 214-216.

(27) Cf. XV, 4 (PG 140, 85 B1 - C5).

(28) Cf. BRACKE, *Vita*, pp. 408-415.

(29) Cf. B. LATYŠEV, *Vizantijskaja «carskaja» mineja (Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, VIII<sup>e</sup> série, Classe historico-philologique, XII, 7)*, Petrograd, 1915, pp. 274-280.

(30) Moreover, it is perfectly in tune with the general remark on the sources of the *Menologium Imperiale* as found in chapter 1.1 of the present contribution.

(31) The following examples of verbal correspondences may suffice : compare e.g. εἰς τὸ τοῦ πρωτοασηκρητικῆς προεβιβάσθη ἀξίωμα in the *Syn.CP* (col. 887, ll. 9-10) with εἰς τὸ τοῦ πρωτοασηκρητικῆς ὀφρῆκίον ἀνεβίβασαν in BHG 1235 (p. 274, ll. 1-2) ; or ἀφεις τὰς κοσμικὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς (col. 887, l. 19) with τὰς κοσμικὰς ἀφεις ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς (p. 274, l. 18) ; or λόγους συγγράφας καὶ ἐπιστολάς, λογικαῖς ἀποδείξεσι καὶ γραφικαῖς, τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς πίστεως τὴν ἀλήθειαν βεβαιούσας συνθεῖς, πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξέπεμψεν (col. 888, ll. 12-15) with λόγους δὲ συγγραψάμενος οὗτος καὶ ἐπιστολάς οὐκ ὀλίγας ἐκθέμενος,



part is lacking, either the influence of the *Syn.CP* is still obvious<sup>(32)</sup>, or *BHG* 1235 merely seems to have wished to add more rhetorical colour to the account<sup>(33)</sup>. And, finally, the only significant additions to the text of *Syn.CP* – an introduction (p. 273, ll. 9-15), a paragraph on Maximus' virtues (p. 274, ll. 4-11), and the final invocation of the saint, typical of the *Menologium Imperiale A* (p. 276, ll. 8-15) – are completely devoid of factual information. As such and notwithstanding the situation for a number of other texts in the *Menologium Imperiale*<sup>(34)</sup>, there is no reason to assume a second source for *BHG* 1235 besides the *Syn.CP*, as Epifanovič seems to have done<sup>(35)</sup>.

Quite unfortunately, however, Latyšev compared *BHG* 1235 with the text of January 21st in the edition of the *Syn.CP* by H. Delehaye. This is problematic for two reasons. In the first place, Delehaye's edition is based on the twelfth-century re-edition of the *Syn.CP*, known as the *Synaxarium Sirmondianum*, which means that the text it presents post-dates *BHG* 1235 by at least half a century. In the second place, Latyšev should have compared *BHG* 1235 with the text of August 13th, which is manifestly better than that of January 21st<sup>(36)</sup>.

Because it would go far beyond the scope of the edition under preparation to present a collation of the full manuscript tradition of the *Syn.CP*, while at the same time it is imperative to circumvent the aforementioned problems with Latyšev's comparison, the decision has been

γραφικαῖς ἀποδείξει τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς πίστεως τὴν ἀλήθειαν βεβαιούσας, πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξέπεμψε (p. 274, l. 30 - p. 275, l. 3).

(32) Compare e.g. ὑπὸ τῶν πρώην βασιλέων (col. 887, 6) in the *Syn.CP* with οἱ προβεβασιλευκότες τοῦδε τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου (p. 273, l. 22) as read in *BHG* 1235; βουλῆς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι γέγονε κοινωνός (col. 887, 10-11) with βουλευμάτων αὐτὸν κοινωνὸν ἐποιοῦντο (p. 274, ll. 2-3); or ὡσπερ ὑπὸ πυρός ἐξαφθεις (col. 888, 6) with πυρούμενος (p. 274, l. 24).

(33) See e.g. κάντεῦθεν ἐταράττοντο μὲν οἱ ἐν τέλει, ἐκυμαίνετο δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία, καὶ σφοδρὸς ἀνερριπίζετο ταύτῃ πόλεμος (p. 274, ll. 14-16) and Πολλοὺς οὖν δι' αὐτῶν κρατύνας καὶ βεβαιώσας, ἔπεισε μὴ συνθέσθαι τῷ παρανόμῳ δόγματι, τῇ τῶν πατέρων δὲ στοιχεῖν εὐσεβείᾳ, καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνης ὅροις ἐμμένειν (p. 275, ll. 3-5).

(34) See in the first place FOLLIERI, *L'epitome*, pp. 417-418 and footnote 85.

(35) Cf. *Materialy*, pp. VI-VII. If I understand his rather ambiguous words correctly, Epifanovič believed that both Maximus' *passio* in the *Syn.CP* and the *Comp.Vind.* were used as a source for *BHG* 1235.

(36) This might be a further indication that the commemoration of Maximus on January 21st is a secondary evolution. See footnote 17.

made to present a phase in the textual tradition of the *Syn.CP* that certainly predates the completion of the *Menologium Imperiale A*, and thus of *BHG* 1235. Hence, my edition of Maximus' *passio* in the *Syn.CP* will be based primarily on *H\**, the branch which is generally considered to be the most direct descendant of the original synaxary. Until now three manuscripts have been identified as belonging to *H\**: *H* itself; *D*, which textually is very close to *H*<sup>(37)</sup>; and *Hs*, which already has some readings that suggest a further development of the text<sup>(38)</sup>. Furthermore, I will add the readings of one of the manuscripts of *S\** (viz. *Sa*), a more recent branch, yet used by Delehaye for his edition of the *Syn.CP*.

From this choice it should not be inferred that it is my conviction that *H\** is the exact tradition used by the author of *BHG* 1235<sup>(39)</sup>. In fact, on some occasions the choice of words in *BHG* 1235 suggests the use of a later copy of the *Syn.CP*, as is illustrated by the following table:

	<i>Syn.CP</i> – mss. <i>H D</i>	<i>Syn.CP</i> – mss. <i>Hs Sa</i>	<i>BHG</i> 1235
(1)	ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας (col. 887, 4)	κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους (ibid.)	κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους (p. 273, l. 18)
(2)	αὐτός τε (col. 888, 19 - 889, 1)	οὗτος μόνος (ibid.; only <i>Sa</i> )	μόνος οὗτος (p. 275, l. 13)

\*

(37) On the relationship of this manuscript with *H\**, see A. LUZZI, *Note sulla recensione del Sinassario di Costantinopoli patrocinata da Costantino VII Porfirogenito*, in *RBSN N.S.*, 26 (1989), pp. 139-186. I used the reprint of this article, entitled *Il semestre estivo*, pp. 5-90.

(38) Identified as belonging to the *H\** branch by J. NORET, *Un nouveau manuscrit important pour l'histoire du synaxaire*, in *AB*, 87 (1969), p. 90.

(39) Certainty about the exact manuscript of the *Syn.CP* that was used by the authors of the *Menologium Imperiale* will, if ever, only be attained when an *editio magna* of the *Syn.CP* is available. As concerns the miniatures, however, the situation is clear, as far as I know: those in the original manuscripts of the *Menologium imperiale* are based on the miniatures in the version of the *Syn.CP* which around the year 1000 was miniated for Emperor Basil II Bulgaroktonos (branch *B\**). On this relationship, see especially PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO, *Menologion*, pp. 43-64. See also D'AIUTO, *Note*, pp. 193-194. The original of the so-called *Menology* of Basil II is preserved only for the first semester (cf. *Vaticanus graecus* 1613). On the text of the second semester, see recently A. LUZZI, *Per l'individuazione del codice modello delle due prime edizioni a stampa del semestre estivo del «Menologio» di Basilio II*, in S. LUCA - Lidia PERRIA (edd.), *Ἐπιγράμματα. Studi in onore di mgr Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno*, II (*Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata N.S.*, 52 [1998]), pp. 95-115.



I turn to the sources of Maximus' *passio* in the *Syn.CP* itself. Until now no attempts have been made to identify them. Bracke completely disregarded the *Syn.CP*, while in 2003 still, Pauline Allen and Bronwen Neil wrote, "The synaxarian notices for Maximus on 21 January and 13 August (...) are not dependent on the *Vita Maximi* or the epitomes" (40). But then where do these synaxarian notes come from? In fact, two texts come into play: on the one hand and contrary to Allen – Neil's contention, the so-called *Comp.Vind.*, and, on the other hand, the partial *passio* in the famous Patmian synaxary *P*.

#### 1.4. The beginning of a *passio* in the synaxary preserved in Patmiacus 266

Tit. : Τοῦ ὁσίου Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ

Inc. : Οὗτος ὁ ὁσιος ἦν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ Κωνσταντίνου ...

Des. : ... καταλιπὼν τὰ βασιλεία γέγονεν μοναχός, ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ Χρυσοπόλεως ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡγούμενος γέγονεν.

Ms. : *Patmiacus* 266 (s. XI-XII), f. 175<sup>v</sup>.

Ed. : DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie*, p. 103. In this same synaxary, Maximus is also mentioned on August 26th, Ἰουλιῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ (f. 185 ; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie*, p. 109).

Summary (41) : (2.) Maximus lived under Constans II Pogonatus (641-668), called Constantine in the text (42). This Constantine was murdered by his own people, when he took a bath in Sicily ; (3.) Under earlier emperors Maximus worked at the imperial court and was held in high regard there : he rose to the rank of πρωτοασηκρήτης ; (5.) Maximus left the court because of the introduction of monotheletism and became monk in the monastery (of Philippicus [43]) in Chrysopolis, where he was appointed ἡγούμενος. After this the text breaks off.

The synaxary preserved in *P*, i.e. *Patmiacus* 266, constitutes one of the *crucis* of the research into the origin and history of the *synaxaria*. Certainly in the past opinions varied considerably concerning the date of origin of both the manuscript and its contents and concerning the exact nature of its relationship with the *Syn.CP*. The problem is further complicated by the fact that *P* presents an abbreviated text, mostly mentioning little more than the name of the commemorated saint (44).

(40) Cf. *The Life*, p. 8.

(41) The numbers refer to my summary of BHG 1235 above in this article.

(42) See footnote 6.

(43) See footnote 7.

(44) For August 12th e.g. *P* only has Ἰουλιῶν τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Φωτίου καὶ Ἀνικήτου, ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ βασιλείᾳ.

Fortunately, however, for a number of saints, as also for Maximus the Confessor, the biographical notes in *P* are longer.

Currently the opinion seems to prevail that palaeographically *P* belongs to the eleventh or twelfth century, but that, as far as its contents are concerned, it goes back to late ninth-, early tenth-century Palestine (45). As to its relationship with the *Syn.CP*, to my knowledge no systematic research has been conducted as yet and any attempt at solving this problem would evidently surpass the limits of this article and of the edition under preparation. Until proof of the contrary, the most prudent way of proceeding therefore is to assume that both synaxaries are mutually independent.

#### 1.5. The Epitome or Compendium Vindobonense [BHG 1236 ; CPG 7707. 3]

Tit. : Ἰουλιῶν ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ

Inc. : Ὁ ὁσιος καὶ τρισμακάριστος πατὴρ ἡμῶν Μάξιμος ὁ ὁμολογητὴς ...

Des. : ... καὶ ἐκ πάσης αἰρέσεως λύτρωσαι, ὅτι μόνος κραταῖος καὶ δεδοξασμένος ὑπάρχεις, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

Mss. : *Atheniensis*, *Benaki*, *Antall*. 141 (s. XI), ff. 44-46 ; *Bruxellensis*, *Bibliothecae Bollandianae* 193 (s. XVII), ff. 286-287<sup>v</sup> ; *Glascuensis*, *Bibliothecae Universitatis Gen.* 1112 (olim BE.8.x.5) (s. X), ff. 350-351 ; *Serdicensis*, *Dujčev graecus* 209 (olim Kosinitza 7) (s. XI-XII), ff. 184<sup>v</sup>-187 ; *Therapnai*, *Μονῆς τῶν Ἁγίων Τεσσαράκοντα* 54 (s. XIV), ff. 57<sup>v</sup>-59 ; *Vindobonensis*, *Historicus graecus* 45 (olim 14) (s. XI), ff. 117-119.

Ed. : EPIFANOVIČ, *Materialy*, p. 21, l. 1 - p. 22, l. 37.

Summary (46) : (2.) Maximus lived under Constans II Pogonatus (641-668), the son of the Emperor Constantine (47). This Constans wanted to transfer his reign to Sicily and for that reason was murdered by his own people, when he took a bath on the island ; (3.) Under earlier emperors Maximus worked at the imperial court and was held in high regard there : he rose to the rank of πρώτος ἐν τοῖς μυστογράφοις ; (5.) Maximus left the court because of the introduction of monotheletism and became monk in the monastery (of Philippicus [48]) in Chrysopolis ; (6.) Maximus travelled to Rome and convinced Pope Martin I to convene a synod and anathematize the instigators of

(45) I refer especially to the recent article by Luzzi, *Precisazioni*, pp. 79-86, where also the older literature on *P* can be found. See also IDEM, *Il semestre estivo*, p. 5, footnote 3.

(46) The numbers refer to my summary of BHG 1235 above in this article.

(47) See footnote 6.

(48) See footnote 7.

monotheletism ; (7.) Maximus' literary activity : as fellow-combatants he had the two Anastasii, who partook in the same sufferings as their teacher ; general catalogue of Maximus' literary œuvre ; (8.-9.) Once returned in Constantinople, Maximus was arrested and tried<sup>(49)</sup>. They locked him up and sent him to Thrace ; (10.-11a.) Since he persisted in his refusal to join their side, they cut his hands (sic !) and tongue, and sent him to Lazica ; (14.) The older Anastasius underwent the same punishments as his teacher and was exiled to another region, while the other Anastasius was exiled to a κάστρον in Thrace<sup>(50)</sup> ; (+) Maximus' adversaries spread the gossip that after his tongue was cut out, Maximus died eaten by worms<sup>(51)</sup> ; (13.) In reality, after his exile to Lazica, Maximus' health was restored and he spoke very clearly, even more so than before : as such he taught the inhabitants of Lazica, sustained the faithful and led those without faith to knowledge of God by baptizing them ; (11b.) Maximus lived in Lazica for three years, being a burden to no one, notwithstanding his old age : he endured every hardship with patience and gratitude ; (12.) He died after a short illness on August 13th and was buried in a monastery of St Arsenius in Lazica, where he worked a great number of healings ; (15.) Final prayer.

The *Comp.Vind.* is an example of the so-called βίοι ἐν συντόμῳ. Although it is unclear whether these are the result of a systematic production in the sense of the foregoing texts, these βίοι ἐν συντόμῳ have some characteristics in common which make them into a well-defined hagiographic subcategory. As for the *Comp.Vind.* I refer to its presence in *Vindobonensis, Historicus graecus 45*, a manuscript which contains a considerable number of such abbreviated vitae<sup>(52)</sup>, to the title ("Ἀθλησις ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ...") and the incipit, to the limited length of the text, to the clarity and elegance of its language and style, and to the characteristic prayer at the end<sup>(53)</sup>. These prayers hint at the liturgical purpose these βίοι ἐν συντόμῳ may have served<sup>(54)</sup>. As such they were a further step

(49) The text presents considerably more information concerning this trial than the other short *passiones*.

(50) See footnote 8.

(51) Cf. p. 22, l. 21 : σκληρόβρωτος γενόμενος ἐτελεύτησεν. This is a clear reference to the death of Herod Agrippa I as recounted in *Act.* 12, 23 : παραχρῆμα δὲ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἔδωκεν τὴν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ γενόμενος σκληρόβρωτος ἐξέψυξεν ("Immediately an angel of the Lord struck him down because he did not give the glory to God, and he was eaten by worms and died").

(52) Cf. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*, I, 1, p. 687.

(53) These lines are quoted in chapter 1.6.2 of the present contribution.

(54) Cf. H. DELEHAYE, *Le synaxaire de Sirmond*, in *AB*, 14 (1895), p. 411, n. 2 : "On sait que sous ce titre (i.e. Βίος ἐν συντόμῳ) on rencontre fréquemment dans les

in an evolution that eventually led to the development of *synaxaria*. From the presence of the text in the early tenth-century *Glascuensis, Bibliothecae Universitatis Gen.* 1112 (olim BE.8.x.5) it is clear that the *Comp.Vind.* antedates the *Syn.CP*, all the more so since my collations have revealed that this manuscript cannot be identified with the archetype of the text.

#### 1.6. The relationship between the *Comp.Vind.* and the *passiones* in P and in the *Syn.CP*

The verbal as well as structural similarities between the *Comp.Vind.* and the *passiones* in P and in the *Syn.CP* are remarkable and evidence the existence of a relationship between the three texts. The situation is certainly not unique and in the past, scholars have insisted on the central rôle of the βίοι ἐν συντόμῳ in the coming into existence of both P and the *Syn.CP*<sup>(55)</sup>. But while in other cases the two *synaxaria* frequently seem to depend on these epitomes, in the present case a close comparison reveals that the situation is not as straightforward.

manuscrits des résumés en quelques pages des Vies les plus célèbres. Ils commencent ordinairement par la formule consacrée οὗτος ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν... ou une autre analogue, comme les notices des *synaxaires*. Ces pièces ont-elles servi à l'usage liturgique, et la tendance à diminuer la longueur de l'office les a-t-elle amenées à la formule condensée de nos recueils ? C'est une hypothèse que nous nous contentons d'énoncer." See also FOLLIERI, *L'epitome*, p. 412 and notes 59 and 60.

(55) In his description of codex *Vindobonensis, Historicus graecus 45*, after having drawn attention to the presence of a great number of βίοι ἐν συντόμῳ in that manuscript, A. EHRHARD (cf. *Überlieferung*, I, 1, p. 688) writes : "die verkürzten Texte von W2 (= *Vindobonensis, Historicus graecus 45*) sind die (unmittelbaren oder mittelbaren) Quellen der entsprechenden *Synaxarnotizen*". Similarly, A. LUZZI (cf. *Precisazione*, pp. 84-85) summarizes the situation specifically with regard to P as follows : "È molto probabile che il ms. *Patm.* 266 risalga quindi a uno stadio della storia della liturgia bizantina in cui la *lectio agiografica* era eseguita ricorrendo per lo più a raccolte esterne di *Passioni* abbreviate e non utilizzando ancora sistematicamente compendi più sintetici confezionati *ad hoc*". Compare e.g. the epitome of the Greek passion of Xystus, Laurence and Hippolytus [BHG 977d] (ed. FOLLIERI, *L'epitome*, pp. 420-421) with the lines in P (ed. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie*, pp. 102-103 and anew FOLLIERI, *L'epitome*, pp. 413-414). FOLLIERI (*ibidem*, p. 414 with notes 69-72) also refers to four other examples of dependencies of P on a βίος ἐν συντόμῳ.

	Comp.Vind.	P	Syn.CP
(1)	Κώνσταντος, υἱοῦ <sup>(56)</sup>	—	—
(2)	—	ἐπιλεγομένου Πογωνά- του	τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου Πω- γωνάτου
(3)	διὰ τὸ βουληθῆναι αὐτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν Σικελία μεταθεῖναι	—	—
(4)	ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νήσῳ	ἐν Σικελία, ἐν τῷ τῆς Δάφνης λεγομένῳ λουτρῷ	—
(5)	—	μαχαίρα <sup>(57)</sup>	—
(6)	πρῶτος ἐν τ. μυστο- γράφοις	πρωτοασηκρήτης <sup>(58)</sup>	πρωτοασηκρήτης
(7)	—	ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡγούμενος γέγονε	οὗ κ. καθηγητῆς ὕστε- ρον γέγονε

(56) See footnote 7.

(57) The sources do not agree on the murder weapon, which was either a sword (μάχαιρα) or a bucket (κάδιον or σίτλα). See the discussion by PEETERS, *Une vie grecque*, pp. 228-231.

(58) It is unclear whether the term πρωτοασηκρήτης already existed in the seventh century. Consequently, it might be argued that πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς μυστογράφοις is the original, with πρωτοασηκρήτης as a later update, to adapt the text to some new terminology. But it can just as well be assumed that πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς μυστογράφοις is a circumscription of the little elegant πρωτοασηκρήτης. And in any case, the question whether in the seventh century someone could bear the title of πρωτοασηκρήτης, is not the same as the question whether in the case of the shorter Greek *vitae* of Maximus πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς μυστογράφοις is more original than πρωτοασηκρήτης or not. Even if the title existed in the seventh century, an author could have opted to circumscribe the term, a circumscription which in a later phase could easily have been substituted with the technical term again (see the in my opinion little convincing, though not necessarily incorrect discussion by W. LACKNER, *Der Amtstitel Maximus des Bekenner*, in *JÖB*, 20 [1971], pp. 63-65). Finally, it is still another question whether Maximus ever held such a position. – For some lexicographical remarks, see recently J. DIETHART, *Lexikographische Beobachtungen zum indeklinablen ἀσηκρήτης in byzantinischer Zeit*, in *JÖB*, 57 (2007), pp. 17-21, where on p. 18 also the *passio* of Maximus in the *Syn.CP* is referred to. A diachronical study of the functions ἀσηκρήτης and πρωτοασηκρήτης is presented by A. ΓΚΟΥΤΖΙΟΥΚΟΣΤΑ, *Η εξέλιξη του θεσμοῦ των ἀσηκρήτης και του πρωτοασηκρήτης στο πλαίσιο της αυτοκρατορικής γραμματείας*, in *Βυζαντινά*, 23 (2002-2003), pp. 47-93 (for Maximus, see especially pp. 73-75).

In trying to establish the exact relationship between the three texts, one should keep in mind that the *Comp.Vind.* is a shortened text, which implies that there must have been a longer text prior to the summary. Following Lackner, I propose to refer to this source of the *Comp.Vind.* as the “*Urpassio*”<sup>(59)</sup>. Some scholars have tried to identify it with BHG 1233m, the so-called *Recensio Mosquensis*, with which the *Comp.Vind.* has a considerable number of lines in common. I will have to return to this question at the end of this article. Suffice it to say that this identification will turn out to be unacceptable.

Since the *Comp.Vind.* presents itself as a summary, not as a παράφρασις or a μετάφρασις, it probably reflects the form and structure of this *Urpassio* quite closely. That does not mean that the common characteristics of the two synaxaries necessarily are later interventions of a common ancestor<sup>(60)</sup>. *P* and the *Syn.CP* may certainly have preserved some elements of this *Urpassio*, which in the *Comp.Vind.* were omitted in the process of shortening. This is almost certainly the case for the announcement that Maximus became ἡγούμενος or καθηγητῆς of the monastery of Philippicus in Chrysopolis<sup>(61)</sup>. It may very well also be the case for the name of the bath (Δάφνη) and of the murder weapon (μαχαίρα) in *P*, for the nickname Πωγωνάτος and for the technical term of Maximus’ function (πρωτοασηκρήτης), elements which, except for the last one, are also mentioned in the first paragraph of the *Passio Martini I papae* [BHG 2259]<sup>(62)</sup>.

Whether the reason for the murder as worded only by the *Comp.Vind.* (διὰ τὸ βουληθῆναι αὐτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν Σικελία μεταθεῖναι) goes

(59) Cf. *Maximosvita*, pp. 291-294. On p. 293 LACKNER writes: “Hinter der Epitome, entstanden wenig vor Symeon Metaphrastes, also im 9. oder 10. Jahrhundert, steht eine ältere und inhaltsreichere ‘Urpassio’, die mit der Amtsniederlegung und dem Eintritt ins Kloster begann, also – entsprechend den Formgesetzen dieses Genus – nur das Martyrium und die damit unmittelbar verknüpfte Vorgeschichte erzählte, von der Jugendgeschichte aber offenbar noch nichts wusste.”

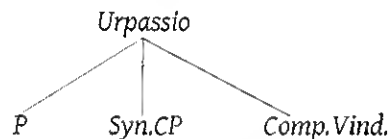
(60) The reader should keep in mind what I have written in chapter 1.4, viz. that in the absence of systematic research, assuming the mutual independence of *P* and the *Syn.CP* is the most prudent thing to do.

(61) The fact that Maximus’ hegoumenate is also mentioned in BHG 1233m and in BHG 1233n will turn out to be further proof for the presence of this information in the *Urpassio*.

(62) For a discussion of the *Passio Martini I papae* [BHG 2259], see chapter 1.6.2 of the present contribution.

back to the *Urpasio*, is uncertain, as it is not mentioned in the two synaxaries, nor in the *Passio Martini*. If it does, the absence in the two synaxaries again does not necessitate the conclusion that they are related or go back to a common ancestor other than this *Urpasio*. Not only is such an omission to be expected in the case of synaxaries, which by definition consist of (very) short texts. The size of the omission in both synaxaries also differs: in *P* only the reason for the murder is left out, in the *Syn.CP* the complete episode. As such it is quite possible that the omission happened twice independently. If, however, the reason for the murder was no part of the *Urpasio*, it must have been added by the *Comp.Vind.*, a possible example of the wish to be historically correct, which is not unprecedented in other βίοι ἐν συντόμῳ<sup>(63)</sup>.

Taking everything into account, I think the situation is best illustrated as follows:



#### 1.6.1. The case of the two *vitae* of Saint Titus [BHG 1850z]

As a matter of fact, there are other examples of this stemma, i.e. with *P* and the *Syn.CP* going back to the source text of a βίος ἐν συντόμῳ.

For Saint Titus, disciple of the apostle Paul (August 25th), F. Halkin has revealed the existence of two very similar *vitae* [BHG 1850z]<sup>(64)</sup>. The longer one he edited on the basis of *Parisinus graecus* 548 and *Vaticanus, Ottobonianus graecus* 411; the shorter one, to be dated not earlier than to the eighth century<sup>(65)</sup>, on the basis of two manuscripts that also contain

(63) See FOLLIERI, *L'epitome*, p. 408.

(64) Cf. *Saint Tite*, pp. 241-256 (longer text on pp. 244-252; shorter text on pp. 252-256).

(65) This *terminus post quem* is based on the explicit reference to Χῶναι (cf. HALKIN, *Saint Tite*, p. 254, ll. 17-19: Τιμόθεος δὲ καὶ Τίτος ἀπῆλθον ἐν Κολασσαῖς πόλιν τῆς Φρυγίας τὴν νῦν Χῶνας λεγομένην [the words underlined are proper to the shorter *vita*]). On Κολοσσαί / Κολασσαί and Χῶναι, see TIB, 7, pp. 309-311 and pp. 222-225 respectively, where on p. 223 it is written: "Vermutlich in Zusammenhang mit den Araberkriegen oder aufgrund eines Erdbebens (...) erfolgte die Siedlungsverlagerung von Kolossaί nach Chōnai, das seit dem 8. Jh. historisch faßbar ist, als 787 ein Bischof Dositheos (oder Theodoros) Ψόνων (für Χῶνων) ἤτοι Κολασσέων das Nicaenum II besuchte".

the *Comp.Vind.*, viz. *Vindobonensis, Historicus graecus* 45 and *Atheniensis, Benaki, Antall*. 141. A close comparison between Halkin's edition and the note on Titus in the *Syn.CP* reveals that for the *Syn.CP* not the shorter *vita* was used, but the longer one<sup>(66)</sup>. This same conclusion is likely to be valid also for *P*, even though this manuscript only preserved a title<sup>(67)</sup>.

#### 1.6.2. The case of the *Passio Martini I papae* [BHG 2259]

Moreover, there is the aforementioned *Passio Martini I papae* [BHG 2259], a text closely related to the hagiographic dossier of Maximus the Confessor. Preserved in the tenth-century *codex unicus Patmiacus* 254, ff. 97-103<sup>(68)</sup>, it was edited by P. Peeters as far back as 1933<sup>(69)</sup>, but has drawn attention mainly in recent years<sup>(70)</sup>. A remarkable, but by

(66) Suffice it to refer to the following evidence from the title and the first paragraph of these *vitae*: (1.) The title in the *Syn.CP* has μαθητοῦ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου (col. 921, ll. 30/31), which is only read in the title of the longer *vita*, not in that of the shorter *vita* (see the following footnote); (2.) the parenthetic sentence ἦδει γὰρ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων διὰ φωνῆς διδομένας πλάνας (*Syn.CP*, col. 922, ll. 32/33) is much closer to the longer than to the shorter *vita*, which quite surprisingly has a longer sentence; (3.) both the *Syn.CP* (col. 922, ll. 33/34) and the longer *vita* read ἐπισχῶν ἔτι ἔνναετῆ χρόνον, whereas the shorter *vita* reads ἐπισχῶν οὖν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτη ἔννεα; (4.) both the *Syn.CP* (col. 922, l. 35) and the longer *vita* read τὴν τῶν Ἑβραίων βίβλον, the shorter *vita*, however, τὰς τῶν Ἑβραίων βίβλους.

(67) Compare Τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Τίτου, ἐπισκόπου γενομένου Κρήτης, πόλεως Γορτύνης, μαθητοῦ γεγονότος τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου of *P* (cf. DMITRIEVSKI, *Opisanie*, p. 109 [August 25th]), with the title of the longer text (Τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Τίτου, ἐπισκόπου γενομένου Κρήτης πόλεως Γορτύνης, μαθητοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου) and with that of the shorter text (Τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Τίτου, ἐπισκόπου Γορτύνης τῆς Κρητῶν νήσου). I have underlined the decisive elements.

(68) On this manuscript, see EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*, I, 1, pp. 611-614 and F. HALKIN, *Un ménologe de Patmos (ms. 254)*, in *AB*, 72 (1954), pp. 15-34.

(69) Cf. *Une vie grecque*, pp. 225-262 (text: pp. 253-262).

(70) The most comprehensive discussion of the text is that by P. CONTE (Cf. *Il sinodo Lateranense*, pp. 235-249), but one can certainly also benefit from the survey of the Greek and Latin biographical sources on Pope Martin by P. CHIESA (Cf. *Le biografie greche e latine di papa Martino I*, in *Martino I papa (649-653) e il suo tempo. Atti del XXVIII Convegno storico internazionale, Todì, 13-16 ottobre 1991*, Spoleto, 1992, pp. 222-225 [see also p. 216, n. 10 and p. 218, n. 15]), from the studies by Bronwen NEIL (Cf. *The Lives of Pope Martin I and Maximus the Confessor: Some Reconsiderations of Dating and Provenance*, in *Byz.*, 68 [1998], pp. 91-109 and more



Peeters rather insufficiently elucidated characteristic of the text is the extensive and *verbatim* use of older material, to such an extent even that R. Devresse called the text a rhapsody<sup>(71)</sup>. Schematically the situation is as follows – the paragraph numbers are those found in the edition by Peeters – :

- § 2 < Acts of the Lateran Council (ed. R. RIEDINGER, *ACO*, Ser. II, 1, p. 2, ll. 3-7 ; p. 38, ll. 25-36 ; cf. also p. 46, ll. 20 and 24-26)
- § 3 < Martin's letter "Quoniam agnovi" to Theodore (Spudaeus) (ed. *PL* 87, 197 D1 - 200 A14 and *PL* 129, 587 A11 - 588 A2 ; NEIL, *Popes and Martyrs*, p. 166, l. 16 - p. 170, l. 17)
- § 3-5 < Martin's letter "Nosce voluit" to Theodore (Spudaeus) (ed. *PL* 87, 199 B1 - 202 C9 and *PL* 129, 588 A12 - 590 D8 ; NEIL, *Popes and Martyrs*, p. 172, l. 2 - p. 182, l. 14)
- § 6-12 < *Commemoratio eorum quae acta sunt a veritatis adversariis in sanctum et apostolicum Martinum* [CPG 7969 ; CPL 1734<sup>(72)</sup>]

Paragraph 13 deals with the Sixth Oecumenical Council (680/681), paragraph 14 with the council in Trullo (691), especially its 82nd canon<sup>(73)</sup>. The mention of the latter council is the basis for Peeters' assumption that the origin of the Greek *Passio Martini* is to be situated in the second quarter of the 8th century. With minor modifications this date is generally accepted<sup>(74)</sup>.

recently *Popes and Martyrs*, pp. 105-115), from the discussion of Martin's trial by W. BRANDES (Cf. *Krisenbewältigung*, p. 153 and n. 77, p. 155 [for other passages, see the "Quellenverzeichnis" on p. 558] : Brandes re-used parts of this article for the chapter "Anmerkungen zu den Quellen zur Biographie des Maximus Homologetes" in *PmbZ*, I, *Prolegomena*, pp. 171-179 [see especially, pp. 173-174]), and, finally, from the mostly bibliographical information provided by Fr. WINKELMANN (Cf. *Streit*, p. 182 [Nr. 181]).

(71) Cf. *Le texte grec de l'Hypomnesticum de Théodore Spoudée. Le supplice, l'exil et la mort des victimes illustres du monothélisme*, in *AB*, 53 (1935), p. 54, n. 1. P. CONTE is right in stating : "Gravi lacune di individuazione di fonti da parte del Peeters (1933) hanno esercitato negativi riflessi sugli studi successivi" (cf. *Il sinodo Lateranense*, p. 238).

(72) New edition by NEIL, *Popes and Martyrs*, p. 182, l. 15 - p. 220, l. 19.

(73) Cf. P.-P. JOANNOU, *Fonti*, IX, *Discipline générale antique (i<sup>re</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> s.)*, t. I, 1, *Les canons des conciles œcuméniques*, Grottaferrata (Roma), 1962, pp. 218-220. On the way the hagiographer summarizes this canon, see CONTE, *Il sinodo Lateranense*, p. 242, n. 56.

(74) See most recently the discussions by CONTE, *Il sinodo Lateranense*, p. 248 ("a ridosso del 730 o ... dopo il 754") and by NEIL, *Popes and Martyrs*, p. 108 ("dur-

However, it is the first paragraph which is of interest to the present purpose<sup>(75)</sup>. It reads as follows<sup>(76)</sup> :

Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ μακαριωτάτου Μαρτίνου  
ἀρχιεπισκόπου γεγονότος τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγίας τοῦ θεοῦ καθολικῆς  
καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας

Οὗτος ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μαρτίνος ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου Πωγωνάτου ἔκγονος<sup>(77)</sup> Ἡρακλείου ὅστις Κωνσταντίνος ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐν τῷ τῆς Φάτνης<sup>(78)</sup> λουτρῷ, μαχαίρᾳ ἀνηρέθη. Ὁ οὖν μακάριος Μαρτίνος, ὁ στῦλος τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, ὑπὸ τῆς θείας χάριτος προχειρισθεὶς χειροτονεῖται μετὰ τὸν ἐν ἀγίοις πάπαν Θεόδωρον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως Ῥώμης. Τοῖς οὖν ἀρχιερατικοῖς ἐνδρυνθεὶς θῶκοις οὗτος ὁ ἀποστολικὸς ἀνὴρ, ἰδὼν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις τὴν τῶν μονοθελητῶν κακίστην αἴρεσιν ἀναφνεῖσαν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἀνατολῇ, ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης πανταχοῦ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας τὰς ἀκτίνας ἐξέπεμπεν. Τηνικαῦτα δὲ καταλαβὼν ὁ ὄσιος Μάξιμος ὁ ὁμολογητὴς ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου τὴν πρεσβυτέραν Ῥώμην, καὶ εὐρῶν ἐκεῖσε ἐπισκόπους καὶ ἡγουμένους τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως διωχθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν αἰρετικῶν, παρασκευάζει Μαρτίνον τὸν ἀγιώτατον πάπαν Ῥώμης συναγεῖραι σύνοδον, καὶ ἀναθέματι καθυποβαλεῖν τοὺς τῶν μονοθελητῶν δογμάτων εἰσηγητάς.

Printed in bold are the words not paralleled in the biographical notes on Maximus the Confessor in *P* or the *Syn.CP*, nor in the *Comp.Vind.* As

ing the resurgence of monotheletism under Emperor Philippikos Bardanes [711-713]"

(75) Save from R. BRACKE (cf. *Vita*, pp. 400-405) this first paragraph of the *Passio Martini I papae* has attracted little attention until now.

(76) I have checked Peeters' edition against the *Patmiacus*, silently corrected some *orthographica* and made some minor changes to the punctuation.

(77) Genitive of the otherwise unattested form ἔκγων. The word ἔκγων however is well-attested. See the *Revised Supplement* by P. G. W. GLARE and A. A. THOMPSON to H. G. LIDDELL - R. SCOTT - H. S. JONES, *A Greek English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1996, p. 101, s.v. ἔκγων) and E. TRAPP, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts*, 3. Faszikel (δυσσαφής - ζωώτρια) (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften, 276. Band ; Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, Band VI/3), Wien, 1999, p. 433, where, however, the translation "Enkel" is given.

(78) Undoubtedly this is a misreading for Δάφνης. See also the text on Pope Martin I in *P*, quoted in footnote 80.



one can see, proper to the above text are mainly some epithets and the information pertaining to Pope Martin I alone.

First of all the text confirms the conclusions I have drawn for Saint Titus, and thus my interpretation of the situation for Maximus the Confessor: because of its title and its length of more than nine pages (in the edition by Peeters), the *Passio Martini* hardly qualifies as a βίος ἐν συντόμῳ in the technical sense of the word<sup>(79)</sup>, yet again it seems to be the source for the short note on Pope Martin I in *P*<sup>(80)</sup>.

But certainly the most remarkable characteristic of the above lines is their similarity with the beginning of the *Comp. Vind.*, and even more so with the partial *passio* on Maximus the Confessor in *P*. Turning again to the comparative table in chapter 1.6 of the present contribution, one can easily see that for (1), (2) and (3) the situation is virtually the same as in *P* and the *Syn. CP* together, while for (4) and (5) the *Passio Martini* is closest to *P*<sup>(81)</sup>. On the other hand, there is the verbatim correspondence between the end of the first paragraph in the *Passio Martini* and the *Comp. Vind.*<sup>(82)</sup>:

παρασκευάζει Μαρτίνον τὸν ἀγιώτατον πάπαν Ῥώμης, τοπικὴν συναγεῖραι σύνοδον, καὶ ἀναθέματι καθυποβαλεῖν τοὺς τῶν μονοθελητῶν κακίστων δογματῶν εἰσηγητὰς.

In other words, the way in which the *Comp. Vind.*, *P* and the *Syn. CP* refer to Emperor Constans II and recount his murder and Maximus' rôle in the preparation of the Lateran Council of 649 apparently goes back as far as the first half of the eighth century, which as already said is the generally accepted date of origin of the *Passio Martini*. And lastly, there are some remarkable similarities between the final prayer in the *Comp. Vind.*<sup>(83)</sup>, and thus possibly in the *Urpissio* on the one hand:

(79) It is unclear whether for Pope Martin I such a βίος ἐν συντόμῳ ever existed.

(80) Cf. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie*, p. 6 (September 16th): Μνήμη τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ μακαριωτάτου Μαρτίνου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγίας τοῦ θεοῦ καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πωγωνάτου ἐγγόνου Ἡρακλείου ὅστις Κωνσταντῖνος ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐν τῷ τῆς Δάφνης λουτρῷ μαχαίρᾳ τελευτᾷ.

(81) Because (6) and (7) are only relevant for Maximus' situation, they are absent from Martin's biography and quite expectedly so.

(82) Ed. ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΒΙČ, *Materialy*, p. 21, ll. 14-16: the words printed in bold are not found in the *Passio Martini*. - Unfortunately *P* breaks off before this sentence.

(83) Ed. ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΒΙČ, *Materialy*, p. 22, ll. 33-37.

ταῖς πρεσβείαις κύριε τοῦ σοῦ θεράποντος καὶ στερροῦ τῆς ὑπομονῆς ἀδάμαντος, Μαξίμου τοῦ πολυάθλου, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σου ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας στήριζον καὶ ἐκ πάσης αἰρέσεως λύτρωσαι, ὅτι μόνος κραταιὸς καὶ δεδοξαμένος ὑπάρχεις, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

and the final prayer of the *Passio Martini*<sup>(84)</sup> on the other hand:

Ὁ τὴν ἀγίαν σου ἐκκλησίαν τῷ ἀχράντῳ αἵματί σου ἐξαγοράσας καὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως αὐτὴν θεμελιώσας, Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ταύτην ἀσάλευτον ἐκ πάσης αἰρέσεως καὶ νῦν διαφύλαξον ὅτι μόνος κραταιὸς καὶ δεδοξαμένος ὑπάρχεις, εἰς τοὺς ἐξῆς καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Bracke rightly rejects the possibility of a dependency of the *Passio Martini* on the *Comp. Vind.* or vice versa<sup>(85)</sup>. A dependency of the *Passio Martini* on the *Comp. Vind.* would mean that both the *Comp. Vind.* and the *Urpissio* were written in the narrow time frame of some seventy years between Maximus' death in 662 and the achievement of the *Passio Martini*; that, notwithstanding the still vivid memory of Maximus, clear factual inaccuracies passed unnoticed<sup>(86)</sup>; and that it becomes very difficult to explain how the *Comp. Vind.* lacks the name of the bath in which Constans II was murdered while it is present in the *Passio Martini* in the admittedly mutilated form Φάτνης. A dependency of the *Comp. Vind.* on the *Passio Martini* on the other hand would make the evident relationship between the *Comp. Vind.* and the *passiones* in *P* and the *Syn. CP.* very problematic.

Bracke is not convincing, however, when he hypothesizes a horizontal relationship between the *Passio Martini* and the *Comp. Vind.* and con-

(84) Ed. PEETERS, *Une vie grecque*, p. 262, ll. 1-6 ab imo.

(85) Cf. *Vita*, pp. 402-405.

(86) See e.g. the three years Maximus would have lived in exile after his mutilations. I consciously only mention this example, as this is not the place to go into the discussion over the real course of life of Maximus the Confessor, on which see most recently BOUDIGNON, *Maxime le Confesseur*, pp. 11-43 and IDEM, *Le pouvoir de l'anathème ou Maximie le Confesseur et les moines palestiniens du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in A. CAMPLANI - G. FILORAMO (edd.), *Foundations of Power and Conflicts of Authority in Late-Antique Monasticism. Proceedings of the International Seminar (Turin, December 2-4, 2004)* (OLA, 157), Leuven - Paris - Dudley, MA, 2007, pp. 245-274. In the former Boudignon convincingly argues that Maximus was born and grew up in Palestine rather than in Constantinople; the latter evidences Maximus' close connections with Palestinian monastic circles and as such strengthens the conclusions of the first article.

tends that both "originated in the same type of premetaphrastic menology and were probably even the work of the same epitomist" (87). As already said, the *Passio Martini* is not a βίος ἐν συντόμῳ. Still, if one substitutes the *Comp.Vind.* with the *Urpessio*, this theory becomes more plausible. There are the elements adduced in the foregoing pages and also on a more general level it is difficult to ignore the similarities. Here we have two leading figures of the dyothelite party, who were tried about the same time. There is a dossier of documents concerning the trial and exile of each of them; and these dossiers, which may well have circulated together or at least in the same circles, were used for writing a *passio*. In short, I am convinced that both the *Urpessio* and the *Passio Martini* date from the same period, i.e. roughly speaking the first half of the eighth century, possibly even from the same circles. If so, rather than in Rome (88), these circles have to be situated in Palestine, a region where the innerchalcedonian tensions between the dyothelites and the emerging monothelite Maronite church continued long after the Sixth Oecumenical Council (89). This is the region also, where the famous Syriac life of Maximus the Confessor (90) was written, claiming, as al-

(87) Cf. *Vita*, p. 405.

(88) A Roman origin for the *Passio Martini* is defended by C. MANGO (cf. *La culture grecque et l'occident au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *I problemi dell'occidente nel secolo VIII*, Tomo secondo [Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, XX], Spoleto, 1973, pp. 703-704) and accepted by J.-M. SANSTERRE (cf. *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VII<sup>e</sup> s. - fin du IX<sup>e</sup> s.)* [Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires de la Classe des Lettres, 2<sup>e</sup> Sér., t. 66, fasc. 1], Bruxelles, 1983, pp. 138-139 and pp. 181-182). See the convincing counterarguments by CONTE, *Il sinodo Lateranense*, pp. 245-248. The discussion has recently been reopened by NEIL, *Popes and Martyrs*, pp. 108-109.

(89) Cf. M. MOOSA, *The Maronites in History*, Syracuse, 1986, primarily pp. 95-109 and pp. 195-216. See also Marie-France Auzépy, *De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIII<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> siècles) : Étienne le Sabaitte et Jean Damascène*, in *TM*, 12 (1994), pp. 196-199. Evidence of these tensions are to be found also in some clearly monothelite, some of them even explicitly "antimaximianist", Syriac texts dating from around or shortly after the Sixth Oecumenical Council of 680/681 (as a starting point, see S. BROCK, *Two Sets of Monothelite Questions to the Maximianists*, in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 17 [1986], pp. 119-140; reprinted as n. XV in *idem*, *Studies in Syriac Christianity. History, Literature and Theology [Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS357]*, Brookfield, Vermont, 1992).

(90) Ed. BROCK, *Syriac Life*, pp. 299-346. The edition of this Syriac *vita* has provoked a fierce discussion about the trustworthiness of the information it provides, and at the same time has forced scholars to reassess the information of

ready said, that Maximus was the adulterine son of a Samaritan and a Persian slave girl, and where an alternative *vita*, enunciating Maximus' high position on the social ladder of the imperial city, may have served not merely a hagiographical aim, but also a propaganda purpose.

## 2. Branch B

Three texts remain: two *vitae* (BHG 1236d and BHG 1234) and one long *passio* (BHG 1233m+n). They constitute a distinct branch in the final stemma, differing from the rest of the dossier most conspicuously by their length: Rec. III of BHG 1234 e.g. is about 15 times the length of the *Comp.Vind.* Unfortunately, however, this increase in length did not result from the availability of more data on Maximus' course of life, but was caused by the more or less verbatim use of the *Documenta* and of Theophanes the Confessor's *Chronographia*. Again I start from the bottom of the stemma.

### 2.1. Vita [BHG 1236d]

Tit.: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ δούλου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ

Inc.: Τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑψηγῶρων ἀνδρῶν προθέμενον λέγειν, ἐχρῆν καὶ νοῦν καὶ γλῶτταν πλουτεῖν τῆς τούτων πολιτείας ἰοόρροπα...

Des.: ... καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀμυήτοις τὴν γνώωιν τῶν τοιοῦτων πυροεῦοντα, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, μεθ' οὗ τῷ πατρὶ ἡ δόξα, ἅμα τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων ἀμήν.

Ms.: Bucarestiensis, Academiae Romanae, graecus 418 (olim 610) (s. XVI), ff. 74<sup>v</sup>-101

Ed.: unedited

Summary: (1.) Introduction; (2.) Historical exposé: how Emperor Heraclius was lured into monothelism by Athanasius I of Gammala; (3.) First part of Maximus' life: education (91), work at the imperial court as ὑπογραφεὺς πρῶτος τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπομνημάτων, to the monastery (of Philippicus [92]) in Chrysopolis and reluctant acceptance of the hegoumenate, his sorrows as hegoumenos, to Rome because

the Greek *vitae* and *passiones*. See most recently BOUDIGNON, *Maxime le Confesseur*, pp. 11-43.

(91) The εὐγένεια of Maximus' parents and his place of birth (Constantinople) are mentioned only further down in the text and in passing. See the text as quoted in footnote 112 of the present article.

(92) See footnote 7.

of the spread of monotheletism, stopover in North Africa and council held there to condemn monotheletism; (4.) Historical intermezzo: from Patriarch Sophronius until Emperor Constans II and Patriarch Paul II; (5.) Second part of Maximus' life: dispute with Pyrrhus and its aftermath, Lateran Council of 649, literary oeuvre, arrest and transport to Constantinople together with the two Anastasii and Pope Martin I by order of Emperor Constans II, Pope Martin's fate; (6.) Trials: D.B. and R.M.; (7.) Historical intermezzo: death of Emperor Constans II in Sicily, Concilium Constantinopolitanum III (680-681) and earlier council in Rome convened by Pope Agatho (680); (8.) Exile and death: Ep.Anast.; (9.) Maximus addressed and asked for support.

The situation of BHG 1236d can aptly be described as dormant: the text lies unedited in a single sixteenth-century manuscript, now in the Romanian Academy in Bucharest. As such, only R. Bracke devoted, or better was able to devote some attention to it<sup>(93)</sup>.

The rather traditional opening paragraph<sup>(94)</sup> contains two interesting remarks. First, the author declares that this is not the only hagiographic text he wrote: ἢ κὰν τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν θεοφιλῶς ζησάντων ἐνεσχολάσαμεν. One of these must have dealt with Pope Martin I, as further down the text reads: ἄπερ ἐντυχῶν τις τῷ τούτου (= Martin I) χάριν ἡμῖν ἐκπονηθέντι συγγράμματι γνοίη ἂν ἀκριβέστερον. Unfortunately, for chronological reasons none of the known texts dealing with Pope Martin I can have been written by the author of BHG 1236d.

Secondly, and more important for the present purpose, the introductory chapter also reveals that BHG 1236d is based on earlier texts, to the extent that its author only had to work on what pertains to the hearing, i.e. style in the broadest sense of the word: Ἦν οὖν εἰκὸς ἄλλων τὰ περὶ τούτου (= Maximus) διηγουμένων, ἡμᾶς ἀσχολεῖσθαι μόνον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν. It is R. Bracke's merit to have concluded that the text that was adapted and considerably shortened, is Rec.III of the most famous *vita Maximi*, i.e. BHG 1234<sup>(95)</sup>. I will return to this matter below in this article<sup>(96)</sup>.

(93) Cf. *Vita*, pp. 416-418.

(94) E.g. it contains the topos that an author should be up to his subject as concerns his νοῦς and his γλῶττα.

(95) Cf. *Vita*, p. 418.

(96) See chapter 2.3.

## 2.2. Vita [BHG 1234]

On the basis of the external features of the text they contain the manuscripts can be divided into three groups (see further down), which in the following will be indicated as Rec.I, Rec.II and Rec.III.

Tit.: Εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν ἄθλησιν (vel βίος καὶ ἄθλησις vel βίος καὶ πολιτεία vel βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ μαρτύριον vel βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ ἄθλησις vel βίος καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ ἄθλησις) τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Μαξίμου (vel μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ). One manuscript also adds the name of an author<sup>(97)</sup>.

Inc.: Καὶ πάντων μὲν τῶν κατὰ θεὸν πολιτευσάμενων ὁ βίος, λυσιτελής καὶ ὠφέλιμος,...

Des.: — Rec. I and II: ..., μόνον εἶ τι βέλτιον εἶη τούτῳ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι καταπράξασθαι. Some manuscripts add a doxology.

— Rec. III ends one paragraph earlier than Rec.I and II, i.e. with the words: ἔνθα ἡ μακαρία διαγωγὴ καὶ κατάπαυσις ἡ γαληνοτάτη, to which a doxology is added: ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, μεθ' οὗ τῷ πατρὶ δόξα, ἄρα τῷ παναγίῳ (vel ἀγίῳ) καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

Mss.: — Rec. I: *Atheniensis, Bibliothecae Nationalis, graecus* 1052 (s. XIII), ff. 268-294; *Bruxellensis, Bibliothecae Bollandianae* 193 (s. XVII), ff. 229-234<sup>v</sup>; *Constantinopolitanus olim Chalciensis, Panagias Kamariotissas* 17 (s. XI), ff. 188-207<sup>v</sup>; *Constantinopolitanus olim Chalciensis, Trinitatis* 86 (olim 93) (s. XII), ff. 248<sup>v</sup>-262<sup>v</sup>; *Genevensis graecus* 30 (s. X), ff. 22-23<sup>v</sup>, 25<sup>v-v</sup>, 24<sup>v-v</sup>, 26-30<sup>v</sup>; *Monacensis graecus* 10 (s. XVI), ff. 606-623; *Parisinus graecus* 1453 (s. XI), ff. 265-281; *Taurinensis B-III-31* (gr. 116) (s. XVI), ff. 297-309; *Vaticanus, Palatinus graecus* 245 (s. XII), ff. 86<sup>v</sup>-107<sup>v</sup>; *Venetus, Marciianus graecus* 135 (s. XIII), ff. 118-143<sup>v</sup>.

— Rec. II: *Atheniensis, Bibliothecae Nationalis, graecus* 225 (s. XIV), ff. 210<sup>v</sup>-226<sup>v</sup>; *Atheniensis, Bibliothecae Nationalis, graecus* 231 (s. XIV), ff. 255-269; *Athonensis, Lauras* 1211 (I 127) (s. XIV), ff. 1-27; *Athonensis, Vatopedinus* 474 (s. XIII), ff. 260-284; *Meteorensis, Barlaam* 154 (a. 1548), ff. 269-284; *Mosquensis, Bibliothecae Synodalis, graecus* 148 (Vlad. 410) (s. XV), ff. 179-191; *Parisinus graecus* 886 (s. XIII), ff. 366<sup>v</sup>-375<sup>v</sup>; *Parisinus graecus* 1508 (s. XIII), ff. 412-433<sup>v</sup>; *Patmiacus* 514 (a. 1322), ff. 343-366; *Romanus, Angelicus graecus* 120 (s. XI), ff. 323-331<sup>v</sup>; *Romanus, Vallicellianus graecus* 113 (G 74) (a. 1597), ff. 1-33<sup>v</sup>; *Vaticanus graecus* 508 (s. XII-XIII), ff. 240-264.

— Rec. III: *Athonensis, Cutlumusiu* 26 (s. XI), ff. 223-255<sup>v</sup>; *Athonensis, Dionysiu* 148 (a. 1540), ff. 429<sup>v</sup>-472<sup>v</sup>; *Athonensis, Cutlumusiu* 625 (ca. a. 1548/1549), p. 603-691; *Athonensis, Dochiariu* 68 (s. XVI), ff. 95<sup>v</sup>-154; *Athonensis, Dochiariu* 95 (s. XV), ff. 114-130<sup>v</sup>, 147-162<sup>v</sup>, 131-146<sup>v</sup>, 163-165; *Athonensis,*

(97) See footnote 122.

Lauras 456 (Δ 80) (s. XII-XIII), ff. 204-231; *Athonensis, Lauras* 1355 (Κ 68) (s. XIV), ff. 3-47; *Athonensis, Lauras* 1965 (Ω 153) (s. XVII), f. ?<sup>(98)</sup>; *Athonensis, Protatu* 36 (s. XIII), ff. 18-58; *Athonensis, Vatopediu* 499 (428) (s. XVII), ff. 344-390; *Athonensis, Vatopediu* 500 (429) (s. XIV), ff. 197-229; *Athonensis, Xeropotamu* 120 (a. 1617), ff. 290-324; *Constantinopolitanus olim Chalciensis, Scholae Theologicae* 37 (s. XVI), ff. 295-336; *Mosquensis, Bibliothecae Synodalis, graecus* 205 (Vlad. 391) (s. XIV), ff. 89-99, 124-125, 100-118, 128, 119-123, 126-127, 129-152; *Parisinus, Coislinianus graecus* 307 (a. 1552), ff. 131-158; *Patmiacus* 180 (s. XIV), ff. 86-127; *Romanus, Vallicellianus graecus* 113 (G 74) (a. 1597), ff. 35-72 and the marginalia on ff. 1-33; *Vaticanus graecus* 453 (a. 1381/1382), ff. 132-182; *Vaticanus graecus* 511 (s. XI), ff. 1-31; *Yalensis, Beineckianus* 252 (s. XVI), p. 629-634

To this list of manuscripts also *Calavrytensis, Megalu Spilaeu* 35 (s. XII) and *Trapezuntanus, Τοῦ Φροντιστηρίου* 5 (s. XV) should be added, the former certainly lost, the latter missing, but probably also lost. It is unclear whether these two manuscripts belonged to Rec.I, II or III.

Edd. : Edition of Rec. II, by Fr. COMBEFIS, *S. Maximi Confessoris, Graecorum Theologi eximiique Philosophi, Operum Tomus primus. Ex probatissimis quaeque mss. Codicibus, Regiis, Card. Mazarini, Seguierianis, Vaticanis, Barberinis, Magni Ducis Florentinis, Venetiis, etc., eruta, nova Versione subacta, Notisque illustrata, Parisiis*, 1675, pp. i-xxviii on the basis of *Parisinus graecus* 1508. Combefis' edition was reprinted by J.-P. MIGNÉ, PG 90, 68 A1 - 109 B9. The lines missing from Rec.II were edited by DEVRESSE, *La vie*, pp. 18-23 on the basis of two manuscripts from Rec.I, viz. *Paris. gr.* 1453 and *Vat., Palat. gr.* 245 and four manuscripts from Rec.III, viz. *Mosq., Bibl. Synod., gr.* 205 (Vlad. 391); *Paris., Coisl. gr.* 307; *Vat. gr.* 453 and *Vat. gr.* 511. — Edition and English translation of Rec.III by NEIL - ALLEN, *The Life* on the basis of all the aforementioned manuscripts of Rec.III, except for *Athon., Lauras* 1965 (Ω 153); *Athon., Protat.* 36 and *Yalens., Beineck.* 252, but without proposing any stemmatic classification of the manuscripts and therefore mentioning every single manuscript in the critical apparatus. — A comparison between my collations and the Latin translation by Jakob Spanmüller (Iacobus Pontanus, †1626) as printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* (cf. *Augusti Tomus tertius*, pp. 118-132), has revealed that the basis of this translation is the thirteenth-century *Venet., Marc. gr.* 135<sup>(99)</sup>. — At the

(98) No microfilm of this manuscript is available in the Vlatadon monastery in Thessalonica. However, on the basis of the information provided by EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*, I, 3, p. 510, footnote 1, by O. LENDLE, GNO, X, 1, Leiden - New York - København - Köln, 1990, pp. cch-cch and pp. ccxxvi-ccxxvii and by F. LEBRUN, *Nicétas le Paphlagonien. Sept homélies inédites*, Leuven, 1997, p. 101, it is safe to conclude that the manuscript is a late copy of *Athonensis, Lauras* 456 (Δ 80).

(99) See my forthcoming edition for the evidence.

end of the 16th century Caesar Baronius extensively used BHG 1234 for his *Annales Ecclesiastici*. However, as he states himself, he did not use the Greek text, but a Latin translation by Petrus Morinus<sup>(100)</sup>.

Summary<sup>(101)</sup>: — Rec.I+II: (1.) Introduction [α']; (2.) First part of Maximus' life: birth and early years in a high Constantinopolitan family [β'], education [γ'], work at the imperial court as ὑπογραφεὺς πρῶτος τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπομνημάτων [δ'], to the monastery (of Philippicus<sup>(102)</sup>) in Chrysopolis because of the πίστις καινοτομουμένη and reluctant acceptance of the hegoumenate [ε'], his sorrows as hegoumenos [ζ'], via Africa to Rome because of the spread of monotheletism [ζ']; (3.) Historical intermezzo: from Emperor Heraclius and Patriarch Sergius until Emperor Constans II and Patriarch Paul II [η'-ιγ']; (4.) Second part of Maximus' life: stay in North Africa and council held there to condemn monotheletism [ιδ'], dispute with Pyrrhus and its aftermath [ιε'-ισ'], Lateran Council of 649 [DEVRESSE, *La vie*, p. 18, ll. 1-23], literary oeuvre [DEVRESSE, *La vie*, p. 18, l. 24 - p. 22, l. 18], arrested and transported to Constantinople together with the two Anastasii and Pope Martin I by order of Emperor Constans II and Martin's fate [DEVRESSE, *La vie*, p. 22, l. 19 - p. 23, l. 6 + ιζ']; (5.) Trials: paraphrase of R.M. [ιη'-κγ'], of Ep.Max. [κδ'-κς'] and of D.B. [κζ'-λζ']; (6.) Historical intermezzo: death of Emperor Constans II in Sicily, Concilium Constantinopolitanum III (680-681) and earlier council in Rome convened by Pope Agatho (680) [λη']; (7.) Exile and death: Ep.Anast. [λθ'-μ']; (8.) Maximus addressed and asked for support [μα']; (9.) Nicolas addressed, the unidentified bishop who commissioned the vita.

— Rec.III<sup>(103)</sup>: identical to Rec.I+II, except that the paraphrase of R.M., Ep.Max. and D.B. is replaced by a large part of the original text of D.B. and R.M. respectively (see also further down). There is no trace of the text of Ep.Max. anymore, and also the last paragraph of the text was left out.

Commonly known as *the Vita Maximi*, BHG 1234 has thoroughly influenced our image of Maximus as a historical figure. The apparent success

(100) I used the 1611 re-edition of the *Annales Ecclesiastici* (cf. C. BARONIUS, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Tomus octavus, Editio novissima, postremum ab Auctore aucta et recognita, Antverpiae [ex officina Plantiniana], 1611). Different excerpts from BHG 1234 are found on pp. 357-473 (ad annos 640-657). On p. 358 Baronius writes: "quae habentur ad calcem operum eius Graecè scriptae in tribus codicibus Vaticanis: vertit eas in Latinum vir eruditus aequè ac pius Petrus Morinus doctor Parisiensis".

(101) The Greek numbers between square brackets refer to the chapter numbers in the edition by Combefis. — A summary of BHG 1234 is also presented by CONTE, *Il sinodo Lateranense*, pp. 250-251.

(102) See footnote 7.

(103) A summary of Rec. III is also presented by NEIL - ALLEN, *The Life*, pp. 22-23.



of the text during the Middle Ages <sup>(104)</sup> is mirrored by its popularity in present-day scholarly research. The reasons for this popularity are diverse. Due to its edition by Fr. Combefis and its reprint in the *Patrologia Graeca*, BHG 1234 is of course one of the most easily accessible texts of the hagiographic dossier. It is also the most comprehensive text, offering an account of Maximus' course of life from his birth in a high Constantinopolitan family until his death in exile. And finally, there are the literary and stylistic merits of the text. With its at times *recherche* vocabulary and tortuously hypotactical sentence structure, with its application of the rules of classical rhetoric and with its emphasis on Maximus' virtues, BHG 1234 clearly stands out from the rest of the texts in the hagiographic dossier. It is a fine example of a hagiographic *enkomion* <sup>(105)</sup> and as a matter of fact a large part of the manuscript tradition of this text consists of metaphrastic *menologia*.

Devreesse's division of the manuscript tradition into three different recensions <sup>(106)</sup> – please note that the numbering applied here differs from that in Devreesse's article: his first recension is my Rec. II and vice versa – was rapidly picked up in later research, but never seems to have been put to the test. Admittedly it is a practical way of quickly dividing the relatively high number of manuscripts in a workable number of groups. Yet, the term recension suggests a (conscious) revision of an original and as such is used improperly, at least for Rec.I and II <sup>(107)</sup>.

(104) With the obvious exception of the *Syn.CP*, BHG 1234 has by far the largest manuscript tradition of the hagiographic dossier.

(105) For a detailed discussion and examples of BHG 1234 as a hagiographic *enkomion*, see LACKNER, *Maximosvita*, pp. 313-314. On the hagiographic *enkomion* in general, see recently C. HÖCEL, *Symeon Metaphrastes. Rewriting and Canonization*, Copenhagen, 2002, p. 22.

(106) Cf. DEVREESSE, *La vie*. The numbering of the recensions applied here differs from that in Devreesse's article, his first recension being my Rec.II and vice versa.

(107) Notwithstanding the problems with the term recension, I decided to preserve it in the form Rec.I, Rec.II and Rec.III. The reason is twofold: first, the term is so deeply rooted in the research on BHG 1234 that the introduction of another name would risk to augment confusion; second, after careful consideration of possible alternatives, Rec. turned out to be the most elegant and clear solution. – The (improper) use of the term "recension" also influenced the scholarly discussions on BHG 1233m and BHG 1233n. See further down in this article.

The manuscripts of Rec.II all have a large *lacuna* in common, caused by an inadvertent scribe, who turned one page too many in the Rec.I manuscript he was copying <sup>(108)</sup>. In other words, Rec.II is a mere sub-family of Rec.I. My collations of the rest of the text confirm this. Only in the case of Rec.III one can distinguish the work of a redactor: the most drastic change he made concerns the middle part of the text. In Rec.I and II this middle part consists of a summarizing paraphrase of the *R.M.* and the *D.B.* respectively, with in between an almost verbatim copy of the *Ep.Max*; in Rec.III this paraphrase is substituted with the original text of the *D.B.* and the *R.M.* respectively, while there is no trace of the *Ep.Max.* anymore:

	Rec.I-II		Rec.III	
	order	text	order	text
R.M.	1	Summarizing paraphrase	2	Verbatim
Ep.Max.	2	Verbatim	\	\
D.B.	3	Summarizing paraphrase	1	Verbatim

The exact relationship between these different "recensions" will be elucidated in the introduction to my edition. In short, my collations clearly show not only that both Rec.II and Rec.III go back to Rec.I, but also that the origin of Rec.III is to be situated in the late tenth, early eleventh centuries, probably on Mount Athos <sup>(109)</sup>.

### 2.3. The relationship between BHG 1236d and BHG 1234

This approximate date of origin of Rec.III at the same time constitutes the *terminus post quem* for BHG 1236d. As already said, it is R. Bracke's merit to have stated the dependency of BHG 1236d on Rec.III of

(108) With the help of Prof. Dr. Jacques Noret and Dr. Basile Markesinis, I have been able to identify the manuscript responsible for the *lacuna* and also its direct ancestor. For the details I refer to my forthcoming edition.

(109) The rather incoherent article by B. NEIL (cf. *The Greek Life of Maximus the Confessor (BHG 1234) and its Three Recensions*, in M. F. WILES - E. J. YARNOLD [edd.], *Studia Patristica*, XXXVI. *Papers Presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1999*, Leuven, 2001, pp. 46-53) merely concludes that "the third recension is not independent".



BHG 1234<sup>(110)</sup>. This dependency is quite clear<sup>(111)</sup>, notwithstanding the sometimes radical interventions by the author of BHG 1236d into the source text. Most conspicuous is the shortening of the source text to little more than half the original number of lines<sup>(112)</sup>. As such Maximus' birth and education e.g. are dealt with in only a couple of lines and of the *Documenta* mainly the dogmatic digressions are retained<sup>(113)</sup>. Subject to structural interventions was the first historical intermezzo of BHG 1234 e.g., recounting the events from Emperor Heraclius and Patriarch Sergius until Emperor Constans II and Patriarch Paul II : it is split in two, with part in front of, part following the account of Maximus' birth, education and public life until his voyage to Rome via Africa.

#### 2.4. The search for the sources of BHG 1234 : status quaestionis

I turn to a more arduous problem : that of the origin of BHG 1234 and of the sources its author used.

In 1928, in his famous article *La vie de S. Maxime le Confesseur et ses recensions*, R. Devreesse only identified the *Documenta* that were used for

(110) See chapter 2.1 of the present contribution.

(111) See my forthcoming edition for the evidence. – A remaining problem is that of the exact manuscript of Rec.III that was used by the author of BHG 1236d. The question is complicated by the fact that BHG 1236d is preserved in a *codex unicus*, so that it is frequently unclear how to interpret the differences between Rec.III and BHG 1236d. But also for this problem I refer to my edition.

(112) I quote from my forthcoming edition. The words printed in bold have no verbal counterpart in Rec.III of BHG 1234 : Τὴν πίστιν οὖν ὁ μέγας Μάξιμος τότε ὁ νῦν ἡμῖν ὑπόθεσις τῷ λόγῳ προκείμενος καινοτομουμένην οὕτως ὁρῶν, ἀνὴρ γραμματικὴν μὲν καὶ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδευσιν ἐπιμελῶς ἐξασκήσας, ῥητορικῆς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν τέχνης ἤκων ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον, φιλοσοφίας δ' οὕτως φιλοπόνως ἀκροασάμενος ὡς φέρειν κατὰ πάντων τὰ νικητήρια, μείζον δὲ τοῦ ἐναρέτου βίου ἀντιποιοῦμενος, καὶ ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν προκόπτων ὑψηλαῖς ἀναβάσει, κἂν καὶ τοῦτον ἔχων τὸν τρόπον τῷ μετρίῳ ἦν ἐσάπαν κοσμούμενος (...) Τὴν μεγίστην οὖν ἔσας τῶν πόλεων τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ταύτην φημί ἥτις ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ πατρὶς (...)

(113) As such, it is little surprising that a considerably smaller part is preserved of the R.M. than of the D.B. with its focus on dogmatic discussions. Actually, of the former document only the fourth accusation is retained, the one brought forward by the ἀσκηρῆτις Gregory (cf. *PmbZ*, I, # 2366), viz. that Anastasius Monachus would have rejected the fact that the Emperor was also a priest (cf. R.M., ll. 112-212 [edd. ALLEN - NEIL, *Scripta*, pp. 21-29]). On this accusation, see BRANDES, *Krisenbewältigung*, pp. 194-196.

writing BHG 1234 : R.M., *Ep.Max.* and D.B. for the middle part of the text, and *Ep.Anast.* for the end of the text<sup>(114)</sup>. Since he believed that the text dated from around the Sixth Oecumenical Council (680/681)<sup>(115)</sup>, he did not have to search for the sources of the rest of the text.

This traditional picture changed drastically with the publication in 1967 of W. Lackner's *Zu Quellen und Datierung der Maximosvita*<sup>(116)</sup>, in which Devreesse's dating of BHG 1234 is rejected and two more sources are identified :

– *Vita A* of Theodore the Studite [BHG 1755], of which the achievement certainly postdates the year 868<sup>(117)</sup> and which served as a source in particular, but not exclusively for the account of Maximus' birth and youth and for the final paragraph ;

– a common historical source to which also Theophanes' *Chronographia*<sup>(118)</sup>, the account of the monothelite controversy at the beginning of Anastasius of Sinai's *Sermo III de creatione hominis* [CPG 7749]<sup>(119)</sup> and the *Synodicon Vetus*<sup>(120)</sup> go back ;

– the ancestor of the *Comp.Vind.*, i.e. the so-called *Urpasio*, which has to explain the similarities between BHG 1234 and the *Comp.Vind.* as concerns the factual data on Maximus' course of life<sup>(121)</sup>.

(114) Cf. *La vie*, p. 10.

(115) Cf. *ibidem*, p. 44 : "Je ne crois pas m'écloigner beaucoup de la vérité en la faisant contemporaine du VI<sup>e</sup> concile œcuménique (680-681) qui vengea la mémoire des victimes de Constant".

(116) Published in *AB*, 85 (1967), pp. 285-316.

(117) Cf. LACKNER, *Maximosvita*, pp. 310-311, also for the older literature. — On Theodore the Studite, see the recent monography by Th. PRATSCH, *Theodore Studites (759-826) - zwischen Dogma und Pragma. Der Abt des Stoudiosklosters in Konstantinopel im Spannungsfeld von Patriarch, Kaiser und eigenem Anspruch* (*Berliner Byzantinistische Studien*, 4), Frankfurt am Main e.a., 1998, where, however, in the presentation of the hagiographical sources hardly any secondary literature is mentioned (pp. 7-9). See also *PmbZ*, I, *Prolegomena*, pp. 75-76 (partly identical to the presentation by Pratsch) and # 7574.

(118) Already F. Combefis had drawn attention to the parallels between BHG 1234 and Theophanes' *Chronographia*, but before Lackner the question of the exact relationship between both texts was never addressed in detail. For an overview, see LACKNER, *Maximosvita*, pp. 299-300.

(119) Ed. UTHEMANN, *Anastasii Sinaitae Sermones*, pp. 55-85.

(120) Edd. DUFFY - PARKER, *Synodicon vetus*.

(121) Cf. *Maximosvita*, pp. 291-294.

Lackner concluded that BHG 1234 is a compilation from different sources made in the middle of the tenth century by Michael Exabulites, monk in the Constantinopolitan monastery of St John Stoudios<sup>(122)</sup>. In essence this conclusion still stands<sup>(123)</sup>, and regardless of the fact whether it was indeed Michael Exabulites who wrote Rec. I of BHG 1234, the Constantinopolitan origin of the text will be confirmed below in this article<sup>(124)</sup>. However, Lackner's identification of source texts needs two important corrections.

First, in 1972 J. L. van Dieten convincingly argued that BHG 1234 ultimately depended on Anastasius' homily with Theophanes' *Chronographia* acting as an intermediary<sup>(125)</sup>:

(122) See LACKNER, *Maximosvita*, pp. 315-316. – The name Michael Exabulites is transmitted by one of the oldest manuscripts of Rec. I of BHG 1234, viz. *Constantinopolitanus olim Chalciensis, Panagias Kamariotisses 17* (s. XI), in which the title reads: Βίος καὶ ἀθλησις τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Μαξιμου, συγγραφεὶς παρὰ Μιχαὴλ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ἐξαβουλίου, μονῆς τοῦ Στουδίου. A recent description of this manuscript and a plate of the aforementioned title (f. 188) can be found in M. KOUROUPOU – P. GÉHIN, *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés dans la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat Œcuménique. Les manuscrits du monastère de la Panaghia de Chalki*, Istanbul – Paris, 2008, pp. 98-99 and pl. 28.

(123) That does not mean that all scholars are aware of them. In 1974, for example, A.S. Proudfoot still regards BHG 1234 as one of Theophanes' sources for the Heraclian dynasty (cf. *The Sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian Dynasty*, in *Byz.*, 44 [1974], pp. 384-386). In the revised second edition of his otherwise excellent *Microcosm and Mediator. The Theological Anthropology Maximus the Confessor*, Chicago and La Salle, Illinois, 1995, Lars THUNBERG still writes that "his ancient biographer (was) an unknown admirer, evidently of a date only slightly later than that of his subject" (p. 1). And finally, even in the year 2003 still an article was published about Maximus the Confessor and his life, which completely ignores Lackner's article and in fact all recent research on this and related subjects (cf. D. J. SAHAS, *The Demonizing Force of the Arab Conquests. The Case of Maximus (ca 580-662) as a Political "Confessor"*, in *JÖB*, 53 [2003], pp. 97-116: "a traditional Greek *vita* written obviously by an admirer of Maximus and dated from about the time of the VIth Ecumenical Council (680/1) thus almost contemporary to Maximus' times" [p. 97]).

(124) See chapter 2.6.

(125) Cf. *Geschichte*, pp. 179-218. van Dieten's conclusion has since been accepted among others by the editor of Anastasius' homily, K.-H. UTHEMANN (cf. *Anastasioi Sinaitae Sermones*, p. 158; see also IDEM, *Die dem Anastasio Sinaitae zugeschriebene Synopsis de haeresibus et synodis. Einführung und Edition*, in *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum*, 14 [1982], pp. 69-71, n. 73a).

Anastasius' *Sermo III de creatione hominis*

Theophanes' *Chronographia*

BHG 1234

Second, Lackner's assumption that the *Urpasio* is one of the sources of BHG 1234 is doubtful for ill-founded. Lackner merely refers to the indication provided by the author of BHG 1234 himself that he knew of at least one other text concerning Maximus<sup>(126)</sup>; and to the absence of factual differences between BHG 1234 and the direct descendent of that *Urpasio*, viz. the *Comp.Vind.* The situation is somewhat obfuscated by the addition of large amounts of material from the *Documenta* and from Theophanes' *Chronographia* and by the rhetorical embellishments typical of BHG 1234. Nevertheless, the account in BHG 1234 of Maximus' life between his work in the imperial administration and the beginning of his trials is indeed identical with that in the *Comp.Vind.* However, the same goes for all the other texts in the dossier, and as such hardly constitutes a decisive argument for the relationship between the *Urpasio* and BHG 1234.

Access to BHG 1233m most likely would have made Lackner alter his opinion<sup>(127)</sup>.

## 2.5. Vita et passio Maximi [BHG 1233m et n; CPG 7707. 1]

The text is extant in two versions, the so-called "Recensio Mosquensis" (BHG 1233m) and the so-called "Recensio Atheniensis" (BHG 1233n).

Tit.: — BHG 1233m: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ ἀθλησις τοῦ ἀσιδίου καὶ μακαριωτάτου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Μαξιμου, καὶ περὶ τῶν β' μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ.

(126) In the introductory paragraph BHG 1234 reads: Οὐκοῦν ὡς μὲν οὐ ράδιον τῷ λόγῳ οὐδ' εὐπορον τὸ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπεξιέναι, παρήσειν καὶ αὐτὸς εὐλόγως δοκῶ μοι, μηδὲν πάντως ἐγκαλούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ παραλιπεῖν, ὅτι μὴ δ' ἄλλός τις τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ὅσα γε αὐτοὶ σύνισμεν, εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καθῆκεν αὐτὸν, τῷ χαλεπῇ δηλαδὴ καὶ δυσέφικτον ὄραν τὴν ἐγχείρησιν. (PG 90, 68 B7-13). The statement that "nobody before me, as far as I know, devoted himself to everything with regard to the man (= Maximus)", indicates that the author of BHG 1234 knew of at least one other text dealing with Maximus.

(127) Although Lackner nowhere mentions BHG 1233m, through the aforementioned article by DEVREESSE (cf. *La vie*, pp. 12-13) he must at least have been aware of its existence.

— BHG 1233n : Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ ὁμολογία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μαξίμου.

Inc. : Ἡρακλείου τῶν σκήπτρων τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπειλημμένου,...

Des. : — BHG 1233m : ... καὶ εἰς μέγιστον θαῦμα ἐνάγοντες τοὺς τε βλέποντας καὶ ἀκούοντας περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ ἐξαισίου θεάματος, εἰς δόξαν πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, τῆς μιᾶς καὶ ἀδιαρέτου θεότητος, ἣ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ.

— BHG 1233n : Σύνοδον δὲ συναθροίσας τὰς δύο θελήσεις καὶ ἐνεργείας ἀνακηρύττει, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ ταῦτα φρονούντας ἢ λέγοντας ἀναθέματι ὑποβάλλει. Εἰς δόξαν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, τῆς μιᾶς καὶ ἀδιαρέτου καὶ τρισυποστάτου θεότητος, ἣ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα τιμῆ καὶ προσκύνῃς νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων ἀμήν.

Mss. : — BHG 1233m : *Mosquensis*, *Bibliothecae Synodalis, graecus* 162 (Vlad. 380) (a. 1022), ff. 231<sup>v</sup>-252 and shortened in *Athonensis, Dionysii* 143 (a. 1632 vel 1633), ff. 560-586<sup>v</sup> and *Athonensis, Ivron* 424 (53) (s. XVI), ff. 361<sup>v</sup>-389<sup>v</sup>.

— BHG 1233n : *Atheniensis, Bibliothecae Nationalis, graecus* 2560 (s. XI), ff. 138<sup>v</sup>-158<sup>v</sup>.

Edd. : — BHG 1233m : two partial editions on the sole basis of the codex *Mosquensis* : by M.D. MURETOV, *Sv. Maksima Ispovednika žitie. Perevod, izdanie i primčcanija*, in *Bogoslovskij Vestnik* (1913-1914), pp. 1-297 (this article was reprinted in 1915 as *Tvorenija svjatago otca našego Maksima Ispovednika. Cast' pervaja : žitie Prepodobnago Maksima i služba emu. Perevod, izdanie i primčcanija [Tvorenija svjatyh Otcev v ruskom perevodě izdavaemyja pri Imperatorskoj Moskovskoj Duhovnoj Akademii, 69]*, Sergiev Posad, 1915) and some years later by EPIFANOVIC, *Materialy*, pp. 1-10.

— BHG 1233n remains unedited and is as a result virtually unknown<sup>(128)</sup>.

Summary<sup>(129)</sup> : (1.) *Historical exposé : from Emperor Heraclius and Patriarch Sergius until Emperor Constans II and Patriarch Paul II* ; (2.) *First part of Maximus' life : work at the imperial court as πρῶτος τῶν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ὑπηρετούντων γραμμασιν, to the monastery (of Philippicus [130]) in Chrysopolis because of the spread of*

(128) A. EHRHARD had already revealed the existence of a *vita Maximi* in codex *Atheniensis, Bibliothecae Nationalis, graecus* 2560 (cf. *Überlieferung*, I, 3, p. 798). However, only in 1958 did G. NOWACK reveal that though this text closely resembles BHG 1233m, it is to be distinguished from it (Cf. *Un manuscrit hagiographique de l'ancien fonds du monastère du Prodrôme (Serrès) : Le cod. Athènes, Bibl. Nat. 2560*, in *REB*, 16 [1958], pp. 155-156). Consequently, F. HALKIN gave it a separate number, viz. 1233n, in the *Auctarium* to the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* ([*Subs. hag.*, 47], Bruxelles, 1969, p. 131).

(129) A summary of BHG 1233m is also presented by CONTE, *Il sinodo Lateranense*, pp. 256-257.

(130) See footnote 7.

the new heresy and hegoumenate of the monastery, to Rome where Maximus wrote letters primarily to the Sicilians, anti-monothelite council held by Pope John IV<sup>(131)</sup>, dispute with Pyrrhus in Africa and its aftermath, Lateran Council of 649<sup>(132)</sup>, literary activity, the two Anastasii, Maximus arrested and brought to Rome together with Pope Martin I<sup>(133)</sup> and Martin's fate ; (3.) R.M. ; (4.) Maximus' literary oeuvre ; (5.) *Ep. Max. and D.B.* ; (6.) *Historical intermezzo : council in Rome convened by Pope Agatho (680), death of Emperor Constans II in Sicily, Concilium Constantinopolitanum III (680-681)* ; (7.) *Exile and death : Ep. Anast.*

The most extensive *passiones* of the dossier are the so-called *Recensio Mosquensis* [BHG 1233m] and the closely related *Recensio Atheniensis* [BHG 1233n]. Their designation as *recensio* is misleading<sup>(134)</sup> and they are not, as is often contended, alternative forms of BHG 1234<sup>(135)</sup>. Nor is BHG 1233n "a rather insignificant variant" of BHG 1233m<sup>(136)</sup>. A comparison of both texts with their sources – I will return to these sources immediately – results in a more balanced judgement : although BHG 1233m is clearly more faithful than BHG 1233n, the latter still quite often has readings that prove its independence from BHG 1233m. In other words, BHG 1233m and BHG 1233n are mutually independent, yet share a common ancestor<sup>(137)</sup>. In this way and only in this way they can be called "recensions", viz. recensions of the text to which they both go back. In the following pages I will use the admittedly rather unelegant BHG 1233m+n if I refer to both recensions together and as such to their ancestor.

(131) For a survey of the available data on this council, see WINKELMANN, *Streit*, pp. 95-96 (Nr. 67b). See also the additional remark in my review of Winkelmann's book (published in *JÖB*, 54 [2004], p. 301).

(132) The text of BHG 1233m explicitly refers to the acts of the council for more details : Εἰ δέ τις καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτης τῆς συνόδου ἀκριβέστερον μαθεῖν βούλοιοτο, ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ τὸ περὶ τούτων διαλαμβάνον συνοδικὸν βιβλίον εἰς χεῖρας λαβεῖν, καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπιγνώμην δύναμιν (BHG 1233m, p. 4, ll. 5-7). BHG 1233n is less explicit : ... καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας δόγματα διεπέψαντο.

(133) The two Anastasii are not mentioned at this point.

(134) The origin of the name seems to be the *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Decembris, Bruxellis*, 1940, p. 336, col. 2, where it is written : "Mosquensis quidem recensio, ceteris plerumque deterior, hoc saltem utilitatis attulit, quod in ea descripti sunt (...) loci duo e graeco exemplari epistulae Anastasii apocrisiarii".

(135) See already R. DEVREESE : "Une quatrième recension représentée par le Mosq. bibl. Synodale 380..." (cf. *La vie*, p. 43) ; and e.g. also W. BRANDES : "der *Vita Maximi* (BHG 1234 bzw. 1233m)" (cf. *Krisenbewältigung*, p. 152).

(136) Cf. BRACKE, *Vita*, p. 327 : "... een eerder onbelangrijke variant ...".

(137) I refer to my forthcoming edition for the evidence.

The most remarkable characteristic of *BHG* 1233m+n is the fact that almost every line has a clear counterpart in Theophanes Confessor's *Chronographia*, the *Comp.Vind.*, the *R.M.*, the *Ep.Max.*, the *D.B.* or the *Ep.Anast.* The question therefore presents itself exactly how these texts relate to *BHG* 1233m+n.

For the four *Documenta* the answer is hardly debatable. Since they date from roughly the time of Maximus' death, they were used as a source for *BHG* 1233m+n, not the other way around. As to Theophanes' *Chronographia* and the *Comp.Vind.*, however, a closer look is needed as some scholars have tried to invert the dependency<sup>(138)</sup>. First, however, I still have to discuss and prove the fact that *BHG* 1234 depends upon *BHG* 1233m+n.

## 2.6. The relationship between *BHG* 1234 and *BHG* 1233m+n

To prove the dependency of *BHG* 1234 on *BHG* 1233m+n<sup>(139)</sup>, it again does not suffice to refer to the almost identical account presented by both texts of (the historical backdrop of) Maximus' life. Such similarities may have been brought about by the coincidental use of the same source texts. A much more tangible indication of contact between both texts is needed, such as the occurrence of some similar expressions, absent from any of the other *passiones*<sup>(140)</sup>:

(1.) Ἡρακλείου τῶν σκήπτρων τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπειλημμένου, καὶ Σεργίου ... (*BHG* 1233m, p. 1, l. 4<sup>[141]</sup>) — Ἡρακλείου τῶν τῆς βασιλείας σκήπτρων ἐπειλημμένου, καὶ Σεργίου ... (*BHG* 1234, 76 C1-2);

(2.) μετὰ τὰ μεγάλα ἐκεῖνα καὶ παράδοξα κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν τρόπαια (*BHG* 1233m, p. 1, ll. 9-10<sup>[142]</sup>) — μετὰ τὰ πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τρόπαια, καὶ τὴν κατὰ Περσῶν ἐκείνην περιφανῆ ἀριστείαν (*BHG* 1234, 76 C9-10);

(138) See chapter 3 of the present contribution.

(139) For chronological reasons neither *BHG* 1233m nor *BHG* 1233n can have been used by the author of *BHG* 1234, but their common ancestor, i.e. *BHG* 1233m+n, can. Therefore, in the following pages it will be possible only to refer to those passages where the texts of *BHG* 1233m and *BHG* 1233n coincide, at least to a sufficient degree.

(140) I refer to the edition of *BHG* 1233m by Epifanovič and to volume 90 of the *Patrologia Graeca* respectively.

(141) The opening sentence of *BHG* 1233n is identical.

(142) *BHG* 1233n reads Περσῶν, not τῶν Περσῶν.

(3.) καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι μόνη ἡ πρεσβυτέρα τῶν πόλεων Ῥώμη τοῦ τοιοῦτου μύσου τῆς αἰρέσεως καθαρεύει (*BHG* 1233m, p. 3, ll. 10-11<sup>[143]</sup>) — ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐγίνωσκε τὴν πρεσβυτέραν Ῥώμην τοῦ τοιοῦτου καθαρεύουσαν μύσου (*BHG* 1234, 76 A9-10);

(4.) After having referred to the anti-monothelite council of 680<sup>(144)</sup>, to the murder of Constans II in Sicily and to the *Concilium Constantinopolitanum III* (680/681), both *BHG* 1233m+n and *BHG* 1234 have the words Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον (*BHG* 1233m, p. 8, ll. 33-34<sup>[145]</sup>; *BHG* 1234, 108 A10).

Admittedly also these verbal similarities may have their origin in the use of the same source texts. However, there is no trace whatsoever of such a text and, until proof of the contrary, the most economical solution should be favoured, i.e. a direct dependency of one text on the other.

The direction of this dependency can be established fairly easily. In the first place, the author of *BHG* 1233m+n does not know anything about Maximus' birth and youth. If *BHG* 1233m+n were dependent on *BHG* 1234, this complete silence about a biographically so important matter would be a strange thing, especially since apparently the author of *BHG* 1233m+n had no need to be concise. In the second place, common to *BHG* 1233m+n and the other *passiones* are also some expressions which are not found in *BHG* 1234 (nor in *BHG* 1236d):

— The expression ζήλω θείῳ κινούμενος, for example, to indicate the way in which Maximus leaves the monastery in Chrysopolis and goes to Rome, is found both in *BHG* 1233m+n (p. 3, ll. 11-12) and in the *Comp.Vind.* (p. 21, l. 13). The *Syn.CP* reads θείῳ ζήλω ὡσπερ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἐξαφθεις (col. 888, 6), while *BHG* 1235 has ζήλω οὖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας θείῳ πυρούμενος (p. 274, l. 24). In *BHG* 1234 there is no such expression<sup>(146)</sup>.

— A similar situation is found for the account of the Ekthesis being put on display in the narthex of the Hagia Sophia. This is worded as καὶ ἐγγράφως ἀνατεθεῖσαν ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι τῆς μεγάλης Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν ἐκκλησίας in

(143) In *BHG* 1233n the sentence reads: μόνη γὰρ αὕτη ἐδείκνυτο καθαρεύειν τοῦ τοιοῦτου μύσου τῆς αἰρέσεως.

(144) Cf. *Synodicon vetus* 140 (p. 116 in the edition by DUFFY - PARKER, *Synodicon vetus*).

(145) In *BHG* 1233n these words are not found. However, because of the similarity with *BHG* 1234, the situation in *BHG* 1233m is likely to be more original than the one in *BHG* 1233n.

(146) In *P* the text breaks off before this passage.



BHG 1233m (p. 3, ll. 5-6 [147]), as καὶ ἐγγράφως ἀνατεθεῖσαν ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας ἐν Κωνσταντίνου πόλει (or Κωνσταντινουπόλει) in P (p. 103, ll. 21-22 [148]) and the *Comp. Vind.* (p. 21, ll. 11-12) and as καὶ διατάγματα τινα τῆν τοιαύτην περιέχοντα βλασφημίαν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπόμπευε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης προύκειτο ἐκκλησίας in the *Syn. CP* (col. 887, 15-17). Again there is no such expression in BHG 1234 [149].

In the third place, also as far as the structure of BHG 1233m+n and that of BHG 1234 are concerned, the former is closer to the other *passiones* than the latter. Indeed, all aforementioned *passiones* start with situating Maximus' life historically under the reign of Emperor Constans II Pogonatus (641-668), then turn to Maximus' work at the imperial chancellery. This same structure is seen in BHG 1233m+n, even though not merely Constans II is referred to, but the whole development of monenergism and monotheletism from Heraclius' accession to the imperial throne and the beginning of Sergius' patriarchate until Constans' reign and Paul's patriarchate (BHG 1233m, p. 1, l. 1 - p. 2, l. 30). In a hagiographic *enkomion*, however, such as BHG 1234 this structure is not possible [150]. Its author therefore moved the account of Maximus' early years to the front, so that the historical exposé is now found between the announcement of Maximus' decision to leave Chrysopolis and to travel to Rome and the account of his stay in North-Africa. This flashback is elaborately justified and announced. Indeed, at the end of the introduction the text reads :

Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τινα τῶν τηνικαῦτα πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ μεταξύ διαμνημονήσοι ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔξω πάντως τοῦ λόγου, οὐδὲ τῶν τότε καιρῶν, πολλὴν κερικηκότων ὡς ἴστε τὴν κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπήρειαν. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἄνωθεν ὡς οἶόν τε τὰ κατὰ τὸν ὅσιον τέως διηγητέον, δι' ὃν καὶ τὸν λόγον ἤδη ἐνεστησάμεθα. (PG 90, 68 C8 - 69 A3)

Immediately before the flashback the following announcement is made :

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ λόγος προεκδραμῶν, παρήκε τὰ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ εἰπεῖν, καὶ ὅθεν τὴν

[147] BHG 1233n has καὶ ἐγγράφως ἀναστελλομένην ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

[148] P does read ... ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι ..., not ἐν νάρθηκι as is seen in the edition by DMITRIEVSKIJ (cf. *Opisanie*).

[149] That it is also missing in BHG 1235 is no counterargument as at the beginning of this article I have shown that BHG 1235 is dependent on *Syn. CP*.

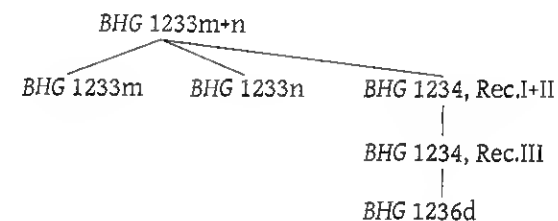
[150] Cf. also LACKNER, *Maximosvita*, pp. 293-294.

ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἢ πονηρὰ αὐτῆ δόξα καὶ ἀποτρόπαιος, οὕτω τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παράξασα, καὶ πολλοὺς εἰς τὸν ὅμοιον ὑποσύρασα ὄλισθον. Οὐκοῦν ἀναγκαῖον μικρὰ περὶ ταύτης διαλαβεῖν, εἴθ' οὕτως προσθεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ὅσα ἐξῆς τῆς ὑποθέσεως. (PG 90, 76 B6-12)

And the return to the subject of the text, i.e. the life of Maximus, is worded thus :

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπανιτέον ἡμῖν πάλιν πρὸς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Μαξίμου, ὃν καὶ ὁ λόγος ὑπόθεσιν ἐνεστήσατο, εἰ καὶ περὶ ἄλλα τὴν διήγησιν ἔτρεψεν, ὧν δὴ καὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἀναγκαῖων μνησθῆναι ἐν ἀρχῇ καθυπέσχετο. (PG 90, 81 C6-10)

The absence of information on Maximus' birth and youth in BHG 1233m+n, the absence of some expressions in BHG 1234 and the (elaborately justified) position of the historical exposé all point to a dependency of BHG 1234 on BHG 1233m+n and not the other way around. As such, it is safe to draw the relationships as established until now in the following way :



Comparing BHG 1234 with BHG 1233m+n actually is quite an interesting exercise. It can considerably clarify the meaning of the former, for example as concerns the reference to a *Vita* or *Passio Martini I papae* [151]. BHG 1234 reads : ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν γ' οὖν, οὐ σχολὴ τέως ἐμοὶ

[151] The presence of such a reference in BHG 1233m and BHG 1234 has been the subject of quite some confusion in the past. In 1933 P. PEETERS wrote, "Le manuscrit de Moscou (= BHG 1233), non plus que les autres redactions grecques connues de nous, ne fait aucune allusion à la Vie de S. Martin" (cf. *Une vie grecque*, p. 226). And in 1985 P. ALLEN stated, "the reference in BHG 1233m to the *Vita s. Martini* (BHG 2259) ... is unknown to or unnoticed by the various compilers of the recensions of the *Vita Maximi*" (cf. *Blue-Print for the Edition of Documenta ad Vitam Maximi Confessoris spectantia*, in C. LAGA - J. A. MUNITIZ - L. VAN ROMPAY [edd.], *After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History offered to Professor Albert Van Roey for his Seventieth Birthday* [OLA, 18], Leuven, 1985, p. 17).



καθὰ ἐπράχθη διεξελεθῆναι, πρὸς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Μαξίμου ἐπειγομένῳ. Πολλοὶ δὲ ἴσως ἐκεῖνα, οἱ μὲν, ἤδη ἐροῦσιν, οἱ δὲ, καὶ εἰρήκασιν οἶμαι τὸν ἄνδρα τιμῶντες, καὶ τούτου τὴν πολιτείαν σεμνύοντες, Ἡμῖν δ' ὡς ὁ λόγος ἔχει, τὰ τοῦ σκοποῦ διίτω (PG 90, 88 A8-13). This turns out to be nothing more than a verbose and actually quite vague rephrasing of the univocal καθὼς ἢ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστοροῦσα διαλαμβάνει γραφή in BHG 1233m (p. 4, ll. 24-25 [152]).

It can also shed light on which source texts were actually used by the author of BHG 1234, and which texts were only known to him through the intermediary of BHG 1233m+n. For although he treated his source texts with a certain degree of freedom, it is still possible to conclude that of the *D.P.*, the *R.M.*, the *D.B.* and of Theophanes Confessor's *Chronographia* he almost certainly had a copy at his disposal (153).

And finally, such a comparison also enables one to see what information was added by the author of BHG 1234. When speaking of the monastery in Chrysopolis e.g., he writes σπουδῇ προσχωρεῖ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ἡῖονα, ὃ τῆς Χρυσοπόλεως προσωνόμασται (PG 90, 72 D9-11). The information that Chrysopolis is on the other shore has no counterpart in BHG 1233m+n. The explicitness of the addition together with the absence of an indication as to what opposite shore is meant betrays the author of BHG 1234 as living on the European side of the Bosphorus, probably in Constantinople.

The following picture now seems to emerge from the available evidence. In the tenth century a certain Bishop Nicolas (154) commissioned a *vita* of Maximus the Confessor, one that would satisfy the literary taste of his day. The search for information turned up a number of useful

In fact, already in 1967 W. LACKNER had drawn attention to the presence of such a reference in BHG 1234 (cf. *Maximosvita*, p. 312). See also CONTE, *Il sinodo Lateranense*, pp. 253-254.

(152) In BHG 1233n there is no such sentence.

(153) The situation is less clear for the *Ep. Max.* and the *Ep. Anast.* Again I refer to my forthcoming edition for the evidence. Suffice it to say that, though difficult to prove, it is certainly not excluded that also of these texts the author of BHG 1234 had a copy at his disposal.

(154) This bishop is mentioned in the final chapter of Rec. I+II of BHG 1234 as the man who commissioned the text (see the summary of Rec. I+II of BHG 1234 [chapter 2.2]). Unfortunately the text does not provide enough data to identify him.

texts dealing with Maximus' public life - BHG 1233m+n, the dossier of *Documenta* and Theophanes' *Chronographia* -, yet nothing about Maximus' family, his birth and his youth. To fill this gap the author forged Maximus' descent from a rich Constantinopolitan family on the basis of *Vita A* of Theodore the Studite [BHG1755] (155). The choice of this particular source text is one of the elements that situates the origin of BHG 1234 in Constantinople, possibly in the monastery of Stoudion, the other elements being the already quoted title of BHG 1234 in the eleventh-century *Constantinopolitanus olim Chalciensis, Panagias Kamariotisses* 17 (156); and the already discussed sentence in BHG 1234 about the monastery of Chrysopolis being on the other side of the Bosphorus (157).

This conclusion is similar to that of Lackner as corrected by van Dieten (158), except that now, finally, BHG 1233m+n can be given its proper place in the development of Maximus' hagiographical dossier.

Let me finish this chapter with a hypothesis worded as a question. Could it be that BHG 1234 was composed with the specific intention of including it in the *corpus Maximianum*, which was probably composed in Constantinople under the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus? As an attempt to bring together the whole of Maximus' literary legacy this *corpus* certainly is in tune with the 'cultura della συλλογή' (159) of Constantine's time. In the same way, BHG 1234 tries to incorporate everything that is known about Maximus' life (and more). Although difficult to answer, the question might be worth considering, since in its oldest manuscripts BHG 1234 is the final piece of the *corpus Maximianum*. Only later the text is picked up by the compilers of menologies. In any case, both the *corpus Maximianum* and BHG 1234 seem to date from the same place and time, i.e. tenth-century Constantinople.

### 3. The relationship between branches A and B

Two questions remain: that of the relationship between BHG 1233m+n and the chronicler Theophanes on the one hand and that of

(155) See chapter 2.4 of the present article.

(156) See chapter 2.4 together with footnote 122 of the present article.

(157) See the foregoing paragraph.

(158) See chapter 2.4 of the present article.

(159) Cf. P. ODORICO, *La cultura della συλλογή*, in *BZ*, 83 (1990), pp. 1-21.

the relationship between *BHG* 1233m+n and the *Comp.Vind.* on the other hand.

The first editor of *BHG* 1233m, M.D. Muretov, believed that Theophanes used this text as one of the sources for his *Chronographia* <sup>(160)</sup>. R. Bracke more or less follows suit: he considers *BHG* 1233m to be the most faithful, yet textually deteriorated representative of the earliest *Vita Maximi*, which he calls  $\psi$ . Completed between 680 and 700, it is this  $\psi$  which would have been the source of both Anastasius of Sinai's *Homilia III de creatione hominis* and Theophanes' *Chronographia* <sup>(161)</sup>. It is quite difficult to refute Bracke's assertion on textual grounds: this hypothetical  $\psi$  is of course not preserved and any counterargument provided by the text of *BHG* 1233m – there is for example the absence in *BHG* 1233m+n of the episode on the Alexandrian union of 633 – can be explained as a textual deterioration. However, by positing a lost text  $\psi$ , Bracke's hypothesis clearly fails the test of Occam's razor, especially since there is a more parcimonious and elegant solution.

The present-day *communis opinio* states that Theophanes made use of Anastasius' homily for writing his account of the monothelite heresy <sup>(162)</sup>. If this is true – and I see no counterarguments –, the most logical and economical explanation is that the author of *BHG* 1233m+n used Theophanes' *Chronographia* as one of his sources and that, in other words, in the same way as for *BHG* 1234 Theophanes' chronicle holds a middle position between *BHG* 1233m+n and Anastasius' homily <sup>(163)</sup>. This implies that the completion of *BHG* 1233m+n is to be dated to the period of roughly one hundred years between the beginning of the 9th century, when Theophanes finished his *Chronographia*, and the middle of the 10th century, when *BHG* 1234 was written.

(160) As indicated by DEVRESSE, *La vie*, pp. 15-16, footnote 1 and by EPIFANOVIČ, *Materialy*, pp. v-vi.

(161) Cf. BRACKE, *Vita*, pp. 333-340 and pp. 376-377.

(162) See chapter 2.4 and footnote 125 for a bibliography.

(163) Cf. already EPIFANOVIČ, *Materialy*, p. VI; VAN DIETEN in *BZ*, 75 (1982), p. 360; CONTE, *Il sinodo lateranense*, pp. 256 and 259. BRACKE (cf. *Vita*, pp. 336-340) rejects this possibility, but only because of a supposed similarity between the image of the monothelite heresy as another Αιγυπτιακή πλιγγή at the beginning of *BHG* 1233m+n (p. 1, ll. 6-7) and the image of the doctors at the beginning of Anastasius' homily (Ed. UTHEMANN, *Anastasioi Sinaitae Sermones*, p. 55, ll. 1-5). However, this argument is very weak and convincingly refuted by J. L. VAN DIETEN (in *BZ*, 75 [1982], pp. 359-360).

Now that *BHG* 1233m+n is chronologically confined, the problem of its relationship with the *Comp.Vind.* can be addressed. In other words, what is the origin of the quite considerable number of lines both texts have in common? Indeed, *BHG* 1233m, p. 4, ll. 8-18 and p. 5, l. 9 – p. 6, l. 2 are almost identical to parts of the *Comp.Vind.*, to the extent that Epifanovič did not even bother to reprint these lines in his edition of the latter text <sup>(164)</sup>. And although *BHG* 1233m, p. 2, l. 31 – p. 3, l. 12 and *Comp.Vind.*, p. 21, ll. 6-14 are not as close – *BHG* 1233m is considerably longer –, the correspondences are still quite apparent. Compare the *Comp.Vind.*:

Ὁ οὖν μακάριος Μάξιμος ἐνδίκως φιλόσοφος ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἐν γνώσει τε καὶ βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ περιδοξὸς ὑπάρχων, πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς μυστογράφοις γεγονὼς ἀπὸ τῶν πρώων βασιλέων, σύμβουλος ἀγαθὸς τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπάρχων, ἐκάστοτε τὰ πρακτέα εἰσηγούμενος, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ θεῖος διδάσκαλος. Οὗτος τὴν τῶν μονοθελητῶν κακίστην αἴρεσιν ἰδὼν πλατυνομένην καὶ κρατοῦσαν, καὶ ἐγγράφως ἀνατεθεῖσαν ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, καταλιπὼν τὰ βασιλεία, γέγονε μοναχὸς ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ Χρυσοπόλεως. Εἶτα ζήλω θεῖῳ κινούμενος, τὴν πρεσβυτέραν καταλαμβάνει Ῥώμην,...

with *BHG* 1233m <sup>(165)</sup>:

Τούτων οὕτως γινομένων, Μάξιμος, ὁ τῷ ὄντι φιλόσοφος, καὶ πράξει καὶ θεωρίᾳ τὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας κρατῶντων δόγματα, καὶ τὰ πρῶτα φέρων ἐν ταῖς βασιλείοις αὐλαῖς – πρῶτος γὰρ τῶν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ὑπηρετούντων γραμμασιν ἦν –, καὶ τὸ εὐδόκιμον πάντοθεν ἔχων, πρὸ πάντων δὲ τὸν θεῖον φόβον ἐνστερνισμένος, καὶ κατὰ τὸν ψαλμὸν, προσορώμενος τὸν κύριον ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ διαπαντός, ἰδὼν ἀπανταχοῦ τὰ τῆς αἰρετικῆς κακοδοξίας ἐφαπλωθέντα σχοινία, καὶ τὴν πάλαι μόλις τῷ τε πολλῷ τῶν πατέρων πόνῳ καὶ τῇ σπουδῇ καταργηθεῖσαν καὶ νεκρωθεῖσαν τῶν μονοφυσιτῶν αἴρεσιν, πάλιν τῇ τῶν κρατούντων ῥαθυμῖα καὶ ἀμελεία ἀνανεουμένην καὶ κρατῶντομένην καὶ ἐγγράφως ἀνατεθεῖσαν ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι τῆς μεγάλης Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν ἐκκλησίας, λιπὼν τὰ βασιλεία, πρόσεισι τῷ μονήρει βίῳ, ἀποταξάμενος τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ, καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς Χρυσοπόλεως μοναστηρίῳ τὰ τῶν μοναχῶν ἀμφιέννυται, ἐν ᾧ καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπρόσιτον, ἡγούμενος καὶ καθηγητῆς τῶν ἐκεῖσε γίνεται. Θεωρῶν δὲ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτὴν μέρη, κατανεμόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς δηλωθείσης αἰρέσεως, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι μόνη ἡ πρεσβυτέρα τῶν πόλεων Ῥώμη τοῦ τοιοῦτου μύσου τῆς αἰρέσεως καθαρεῖ, ζήλω θεῖῳ κινούμενος ταύτην καταλαμβάνει.

(164) Cf. EPIFANOVIČ, *Materialy*, p. 21, l. 17 and l. 19.

(165) The words not printed in bold are also found in the *Comp.Vind.*

Where do these lines come from? *BHG* 1233m+n is an unlikely candidate for reasons threefold. First, in that case, of the quite long text which is *BHG* 1233m+n only the lines it shares with the *Comp. Vind.* would have been written by its author, or better compiler, while all the other lines were taken from a considerable variety of sources. Moreover, there is the strange position of the catalogue of Maximus' œuvre in *BHG* 1233m+n, namely between the text of the *R.M.* and that of the *Ep. Max.* This results in an even stranger juxtaposition of numbers: when at the end of the *R.M.* Maximus is asked for his age, he answers ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε (75 [166]), while at the beginning of the catalogue, i.e. only a couple of lines further, it is said περὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα λέγεται γεγονέναι (about 90 [167]). This is the inaccuracy of a compiler, rather than that of an author. And, finally, if *BHG* 1233m+n had been used as a source for the *Comp. Vind.*, the latter would be a compilation from different sources, which would be strange for a text that explicitly states to be a *compendium*, an ἄθλησις ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ. In short, I am convinced that *BHG* 1233m+n cannot be the source of these lines.

Now, given the assumption of an *Urpessio*, of which the *Comp. Vind.* is a shorter version, the question is whether the compiler of *BHG* 1233m+n used the *Comp. Vind.* as his source or rather its ancestor, the *Urpessio*. The only real indication is the reference in *BHG* 1233m+n to Maximus' hegoumenate (168), while in the *Comp. Vind.* this step in Maximus' biography is not mentioned. This does not necessarily exclude the possibility that the *Comp. Vind.* was a source for *BHG* 1233m+n. Indeed, one might assume that by the time *BHG* 1233m+n was written, Maximus' biography had become more or less common knowledge, so that the compiler of *BHG* 1233m+n can be expected to have remedied this hiatus. Or one might assume that the compiler of *BHG* 1233m+n found a reference to Maximus' hegoumenate in doing research prior to writing his text. But in view of these hypotheses, it seems equally justified to consider the *Urpessio*, rather than the *Comp. Vind.*, as the text used by the compiler of *BHG* 1233m+n. Since all the other *passiones* refer to Maximus' hegoumenate, most likely also the *Urpessio* did.

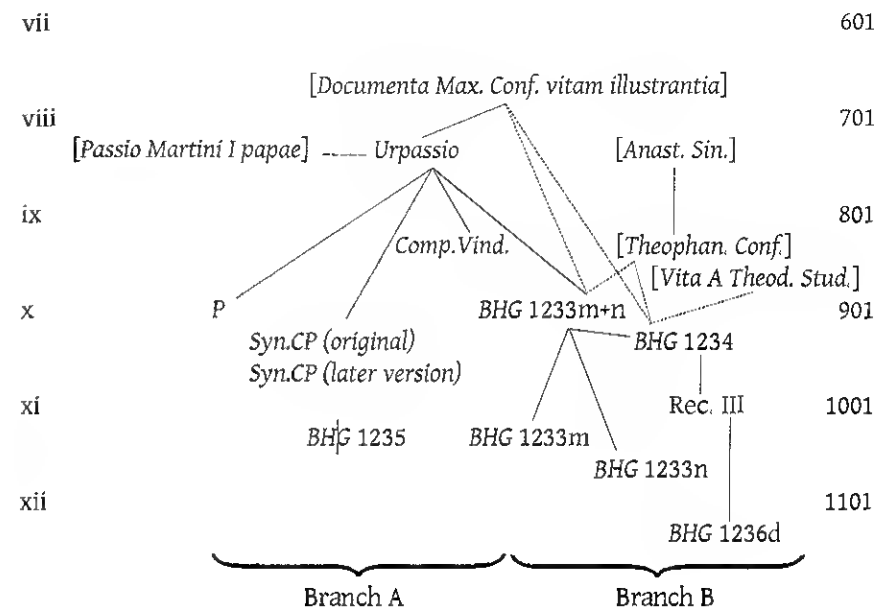
(166) Cf. *R.M.*, l. 450 (edd. ALLEN - NEIL, *Scripta*, p. 47).

(167) Ed. EPIFANOVIČ, *Materialy*, p. 5, l. 15.

(168) In *BHG* 1233m and *BHG* 1233n the wording is almost identical: ἐν ᾧ καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπρόσιτον ἠγοούμενος καὶ καθηγητῆς τῶν ἐκεῖσε γίνεται (*BHG* 1233m, p. 3, ll. 8-9); ἐν ᾧ καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπρόσιτον ἄριστος καθηγητῆς τῶν ἐκεῖσε γίνεται (*BHG* 1233n).

#### 4. Stemma and conclusion

By combining all the relationships that have been established above, the following over-all *stemma* emerges (169):



Suffice it to add that the general outline of the *Urpessio* is probably best preserved in the *Comp. Vind.*, which presents itself as a summary, and that as concerns the exact contents of this *Urpessio* one has to make a comparison of the four texts that go back to it, viz. the *passiones* in *P* and in the *Syn. CP*, the *Comp. Vind.* and *BHG* 1233m+n.

While brooding on an elegant way of concluding this article, I came across the text of a lecture held at the Collège de France on May 6th 1935 by Hippolyte Delehaye. I quote the last paragraph (170), gladly

(169) The texts that do not belong to the dossier *stricto sensu* are put between square brackets.

(170) *L'ancienne hagiographie byzantine: les sources, les premiers modèles, la formation des genres. Conférences prononcées au Collège de France en 1935 par Hippolyte*

handing over the final words of this article to one of the greatest scholars on Byzantine hagiography. I leave it to the reader to decide whether and to what extent I have been able to exemplify Delehaye's words with the hagiographic dossier on Maximus the Confessor :

"Nous avons parlé des *remaniements*. Ils sont nombreux dans l'hagiographie grecque, et il est bien des Passions dont <nous> possédons deux ou trois formes successives. C'est d'ailleurs une particularité caractéristique des textes hagiographiques en général d'être soumis à des révisions continues, et de suivre les caprices de la mode. Ils n'ont rien de la fixité des textes classiques. On retouche le style, on supprime des passages jugés superflus, on en développe d'autres."

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#### SUMMARY

The Greek hagiographic dossier concerning Maximus the Confessor (ca. 580-662) consists of a number of different *passiones* and *vitae*, which all present basically the same information, frequently worded in a similar, if not identical way. In the present article an attempt is made to explain this situation by establishing the relationships between these texts. For the first time the *passiones* in the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum* and in *Patmiacus 266* are taken into consideration. Moreover, the conclusions for the most famous *vita* (BHG 1234) may prove to be important for our knowledge of Maximus' course of life.

Delehaye (... 1941) *Bollandiste*. Textes inédits publiés par B. JOASSART et X. LEQUEUX. Préface de G. DAGRON (= *Subs. hag.* 73), Bruxelles, 1991, pp. 20-21. I wish to thank B. Joassart for having presented me with an offprint of this publication.

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#### Documenta

With *Documenta* we refer to the following set of texts edited by ALLEN - NEIL, *Scripta* :

*R.M.* - *Relatio Motionis* [CPG 7736] ;

*D.B.* - *Disputatio Bizyae cum Theodosio* [CPG 7735] ;

*Ep.Max.* - *Maximi Epistola ad Anastasium monachum discipulum* [CPG 7701] ;

*Ep.Cal.* - *Anastasii monachi Epistola ad monachos Calaritanos* [CPG 7725] ;

*Ep.Anast.* - *Anastasii Apocrisiarii Epistola ad Theodosium Gangrensem* [CPG 7733] ;

*Hypomn.* - *Hypomnesticum* [CPG 7968] ;

*Contra Const.* - *Contra Constantinopolitanos* [CPG 7740].

To these texts should be added (see footnote 3) :

*D.P.* - *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* [CPG 7698].

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## A PROPOSITO DI UNA RECENTE EDIZIONE DEL PANEGIRICO PER L'IMPERATORE ANASTASIO DI PROCOPIO DI GAZA

A coronamento dei suoi precedenti lavori sulla lingua e il testo di Procopio di Gaza <sup>(1)</sup>, nonché sugli aspetti propriamente retorici e letterari dell'opera del sofista <sup>(2)</sup>, Giuseppina Matino ha di recente offerto, al pubblico di specialisti, e non, di letteratura tardoantica, una nuova edizione del *Panegirico per l'imperatore Anastasio* <sup>(3)</sup>. Il volume, del quale procedo subito ad una breve descrizione prima di soffermarmi sui suoi aspetti più innovativi, è infatti aperto da un'ampia e agile *Introduzione* (pp. 13-37), che, articolata in diversi paragrafi, avvia gradatamente i lettori, anche i non addetti ai lavori, alla conoscenza della figura e dell'opera del Gazeo. In tale sede, dopo due rapide schede sulla vita e la produzione letteraria dell'autore (*Vita e opere di Procopio di Gaza*, pp. 13-17) – purtroppo ancora rigidamente distinta tra attività di sofista, pagano, e di teologo, cristiano <sup>(4)</sup> –, la tradizione manoscritta e la storia delle

(1) Sotto tale aspetto la studiosa ha rivolto il proprio interesse non solo al *Panegirico* (G. MATINO, *Considerazioni linguistiche e testuali sul Panegirico per l'imperatore Anastasio I di Procopio di Gaza*, in *MNEMOSYNON. Studi di letteratura e umanità in memoria di Donato Gagliardi*, Napoli, 2001, pp. 375-386), ma anche alle *Lettere* (EADEM, *Nota all'Episolario di Procopio di Gaza*, in *Atti Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti*, Napoli, 2002, pp. 161-171; EADEM, *La lingua delle lettere di Procopio di Gaza*, in *Sicilorum Gymnasium*, 57 [2004] [=Atti del VI Congresso Nazionale dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini], pp. 531-541).

(2) Cf. G. MATINO, *Lessico ed immagini teatrali in Procopio di Gaza*, in *Approches de la Troisième Sophistique. Hommages à J. Schamp*, éd. par E. AMATO avec la collaboration di A. RODUIT et M. STEINRÜCK (Collection Latomus, 296), Bruxelles, 2006, pp. 482-494.

(3) Cf. PROCOPIO DI GAZA, *Panegirico per l'imperatore Anastasio*, introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commentario a cura di G. MATINO (*Quaderni dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, 41), Napoli, 2005, 137 pp. (ISBN 88-7431-298-9).

(4) Si veda, sull'argomento, il fondamentale contributo di E. AMATO, *Paganesimo e cristianesimo in Procopio di Gaza: su un'incompresa allegoria del vino eucaristi-*

edizioni (*Il panegirico per l'imperatore Anastasio*, pp. 17-18), la Matino si sofferma sulla concezione di regalità elaborata da Procopio nel quadro più ampio della "Kaiserideologie", di cui vengono tracciate le linee generali a partire dall'età alessandrina e fino all'età giustiniana (*Il pensiero filosofico e politico*, pp. 18-23). Definite le posizioni ideologiche dell'autore, la Matino indaga, sull'esempio già dal Kempen<sup>(5)</sup>, l'organizzazione retorica degli argomenti e l'uso dei *topoi* encomiastici alla luce delle teorizzazioni di scuola codificate nel *De Epidictis* di Menandro retore (*L'occasione del Panegirico e la sua struttura*, pp. 24-28), questioni, queste ultime, affrontate più dettagliatamente nel commento. Dopo aver accennato al problema della datazione dell'opera (*Il problema della datazione*, pp. 28-29), inquadrata nel contesto culturale dell'ambiente gazeo (*Il contesto storico e culturale*, pp. 29-31), la Matino si sofferma sui principali fenomeni linguistico-grammaticali della prosa di Procopio, ispirata ad un modello di "equilibrato atticismo" (*Lingua e stile*, pp. 31-37). L'interesse per l'aspetto più squisitamente linguistico e stilistico-retorico è, del resto, prevalente anche nel *Commentario* (pp. 77-124), nel quale la studiosa raramente affronta questioni filologiche e problematiche di carattere storico<sup>(6)</sup>. Chiudono il volume un *Indice di nomi e cose notevoli* (pp. 127-131) e un *Index locorum* (pp. 133-135) di valido aiuto per il lettore.

Senza entrare nel merito di questioni più squisitamente storico-letterarie riguardanti la posizione politico-ideologica di Procopio<sup>(7)</sup>, la

co, in *Athenaeum*, 98 (2010) (in corso di pubblicazione), che ha ampiamente dimostrato come la voce del sofista e del teologo trovino una sorprendente e inaspettata convergenza anche nella produzione profana del Gazeo.

(5) Cf. C. KEMPEN, *Procopii Gazaevi in Imperatorem Anastasium Panegyricus*, diss., Bonnæ, 1918, pp. XIV-XXII.

(6) Sulla figura storica di Anastasio e per un bilancio del suo impero, si vedano, da ultimi, l'ampio e ricco volume di F. K. HAARER (*Anastasius I. Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World* (ARCA. Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, 46), Cambridge, 2006), il quale affronta nel dettaglio anche la questione della datazione del *Panegirico* (pp. 277-278); e quello di M. MEIER, *Anastasios I. Die Entstehung des Byzantinischen Reiches*, Stuttgart, 2009.

(7) Dopo il primo e organico studio sulla figura dell'imperatore Anastasio (C. CAPIZZI, *L'imperatore Anastasio I (491-518). Studio sulla sua vita, la sua opera e la sua personalità* (OCA, 184), Roma, 1969), della questione si era già occupata M. MINNITI COLONNA (*La politica di Anastasio I nel Panegirico di Procopio di Gaza*, in *Koivovía*, 6/1 [1982], pp. 15-30; EADEM, *L'ideologia imperiale nel Panegirico di Procopio di Gaza*, in *Le trasformazioni della cultura nella Tarda Antichità. Atti del Convegno tenuto a Catania Università degli Studi, 27 sett. - 2 ott. 1982*, I (St), Catania, 1982, pp. 119-132).

"Quellenforschung" e gli aspetti stilistico-retorici del *Panegirico*<sup>(8)</sup>, questioni finora già ampiamente affrontate dalla critica, e per le quali la Matino offre sovente una sintesi più che un personale apporto, mi limiterò ad analizzare gli elementi di maggiore novità proposti dalla studiosa in rapporto al testo greco stabilito e alla relativa traduzione in lingua italiana, di fatto *princeps* nella storia degli studi.

Premetto che una nuova edizione critica del *Panegirico*, a cura di E. Amato e di chi scrive, è ora disponibile nella "Bibliotheca Teubneriana"<sup>(9)</sup> e che delle argomentazioni che saranno qui di seguito svolte in merito alla *constitutio textus* il lettore potrà trovare puntuale riscontro in tale edizione. Ma, per tornare al volume della Matino, va subito detto che esso interpreta il bisogno, che da tempo si avvertiva, di leggere il *Panegirico* in un testo greco finalmente stabilito secondo criteri ecdotici più attendibili rispetto alle precedenti edizioni. L'ultima edizione in ordine di tempo, a cura di Alain Chauvot<sup>(10)</sup>, si era infatti limitata a

(8) Si vedano, oltre ai già citati della Matino, anche i lavori del KEMPEN (*Procopii Gazaevi*, pp. XIV-XXII) e della M. MINNITI COLONNA (*Prolegomena a una nuova edizione del Panegirico per l'imperatore Anastasio di Procopio di Gaza*, in *ANTIΔΩΡON. Hulde aan Dr. Maurits Geerard bij de voltooiing van de Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, I, Wetteren, 1984, pp. 89-99).

(9) Cf. *Procopius Gazaevus. Opuscula rhetorica et oratoria*, primum omnia collegit, edidit, apparatus critico instruxit E. AMATO, adiuvante G. VENTRELLA. *Cum testimoniis et fragmentis. Accedunt Procopii et Megethii rhetoris epistulae nuper editae mutuae sex*, Berolini - Neoeboraci, 2009. Comune è la cura del testo greco, mentre la stesura degli apparati delle fonti e delle luoghi paralleli è a carico di chi scrive.

(10) Cf. *Procopé de Gaza, Priscien de Césarée. Panégyriques de l'empereur Anastase I<sup>er</sup>*, textes traduits et commentés par A. CHAUVOT (*Antiquitas*, Reihe 1, *Abhandlungen zur Alten Geschichte*, 35), Bonn, 1986. Sui limiti filologici di tale edizione, nonché su talune imprecisioni di traduzione, si vedano le valide osservazioni sollevate da J. SCHAMP, nella sua recensione al volume (*L'Antiquité Classique*, 59 [1990], pp. 399-402). Per le disattenzioni circa i riferimenti bibliografici si veda, invece, P. FLORET in *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, 63 (1989), pp. 331-332 : 332. Del resto, lo stesso Chauvot aveva dichiarato, preliminarmente (p. xi), di non aver fatto "œuvre de philologie". Nondimeno, sotto l'aspetto critico-testuale, va segnalata una novità di rilievo: la correzione del trådito πολλὰ con χ soprascritto (f. 176, 22) in πολλαχού (sulla questione, cf. *infra*, p. 6). L'editio princeps del *Panegirico* si deve, invece, a J. B. C. d'ANSE DE VILLOISON (*Anecdota Graeca*, II, Venetiis, 1781, pp. 28-45). Finora negletta dagli studiosi, seguì, tra il 1792/1797 e il 1810, l'edizione del *Panegirico* a cura di Francesco DEL FURIA, recante personali congetture degne di interesse, oltre che la prima ver-

riprodurre pressoché fedelmente il testo critico fornito nell'ormai invecchiata edizione del Kempen<sup>(11)</sup>. Questa, pur meritoria e fondamentale sotto diversi aspetti, risulta tuttavia priva dell'apparato dei *loci similes* e aperta ad interventi emendatori dettati, più che da un reale bisogno di sanare o migliorare il testo, da una rigida idea di atticismo e di coerenza ritmico-stilistica<sup>(12)</sup>, in manifesta concessione al gusto dell'epoca di normalizzare ritmicamente le clausole irregolari addebitandole ad un errore di trasmissione del testo<sup>(13)</sup>.

sione in lingua latina. È merito di E. AMATO (*Il Panegirico per l'imperatore Anastasio di Procopio di Gaza nell'edizione e traduzione latina di Francesco Del Furia*, in *Medioevo Greco*, 9 [2009] [in corso di pubblicazione]), al quale si rinvia anche per un dettagliato inquadramento della figura del Gazeo e della storia degli studi (art. *Procopios de Gaza*, in R. GOULET [ed.], *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, V, Paris, 2009 [in corso di pubblicazione]), aver restituito al lavoro dell'erudito fiorentino il giusto riconoscimento dopo l'oblio cui è stato condannato, forse anche per le fuorvianti affermazioni di MINNITI COLONNA, *Prolegomena*, p. 89, n. 4. Successiva a quella di Del Furia è l'edizione del B. G. NIEBUHR (*Dexippi, Eunapii, Petri Patricii, Prisci, Malchi, Menandri Historiarum quae supersunt* e recensione Imm. Bekkeri et B. G. Niebuhrii cum versione Latina per Io. Classenum emendata. *Accedunt Eclogae Photii ex Olympiodoro, Candido, Nonnosio et Theophane et Procopii Sophistae Panegyricus, Graecae et Latinae, Prisciani Panegyricus*, annotatione Henr. Valesii, Labbei et Villioisonis, et indices Classeni, Bonnae, 1829, pp. 489-516, riprodotta in *PG*, 87/3, 2793-2826), che in diversi punti si allontana dall'edizione del Villoison a favore del testo tràdito. Le congetture proposte sono spesso relegate in apparato e accolte dal Ritter per la sua versione in lingua latina.

(11) Cf. *Procopii Gazaei*. Il Kempen, tuttavia, non visionò mai il codice, ma si affidò per la collazione all'amico H. Heimannsfeld.

(12) Cf. MATINO, *Considerazioni linguistiche*, p. 383.

(13) Nell'ambito della *querelle* intorno alla legge prosodica fissata da L. MEYER (*Der accentuirte Satzschluss in der griechischen Prosa vom IV. bis XVI. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen, 1891), a dare l'idea del contesto nel quale si trovò ad operare il Kempen, è sufficiente ricordare i numerosi interventi proposti per il testo delle lettere procopiane da L. GALANTE (*Contributo allo studio delle epistole di Procopio di Gaza*, in *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 9 (1901), pp. 207-236 : 216-218), interventi tutti tesi, attraverso inversioni, espunzioni ed integrazioni, a ripristinare una presunta forma regolare, adducendo a giustificazione la testimonianza coriciana secondo cui, al dotto orecchio di Procopio, non sarebbe sfuggita neppure συλλαβή τις ἐπιβουλεύουσα τῷ ῥυθμῷ (CHORICIUS, *Opera* VIII, 8 [p. 112, 13-14 FOERSTER/RICHTSTEIG]). Va però dato atto al Kempen di aver mostrato una certa cautela rispetto alle suggestioni che, in tal senso, gli venivano dalla *temperie* culturale in cui la sua edizione vide la luce. I suoi interventi spesso si limitano a proposte relegate nell'apparato nel quale lo studioso dà conto anche delle

Rispetto a tale edizione, quella proposta dalla Martino, oltre che presentare l'apparato dei passi paralleli, si avvantaggia di un criterio storiografico che, basato su una conoscenza più approfondita dei fenomeni linguistici del greco in età tardantica, mira alla difesa delle lezioni del *Marcianus gr.* 428, come è noto *codex unicus* dell'opuscolo procopiano<sup>(14)</sup>.

#### a) Testo

Occorre rilevare, tuttavia, che rispetto alla tendenza conservatrice nei confronti della lezione tràdita<sup>(15)</sup>, la Martino rivela sovente un atteggiamento fluttuante, se non contraddittorio. Si assiste, infatti, da un lato, a una difesa rigida del testo tràdito, anche quando esso risulti indifendibile; dall'altro, ad una scontata ed acritica accettazione delle correzioni proposte dai precedenti editori, talvolta neppure menzionati in apparato. A ciò si aggiunga che una lettura più attenta del *Marcianus gr.* 428, della quale il presente contributo si giova grazie alla scrupolosa collazione condotta da Eugenio Amato, avrebbe consentito alla Martino di ritrovare nello stesso codice congetture e proposte di correzione già avanzate dagli editori precedenti.

Ad illustrare il primo aspetto, cito il caso dei tràditi θάλασσα (§ 2, 40 Martino) e θαρσοῦσα (§ 19, 365 Martino), che nell'edizione del Kempen sono giustamente corretti in θάλαττα e θαρροῦσα, una correzione necessaria giacché la grafia atticistica è sempre rispettata dal codice per i vocaboli in questione; l'*usus scribendi* dell'autore legittima, dunque, e impone la correzione<sup>(16)</sup>.

congetture, mai supinamente recepite, del suo maestro August Brinkmann. Si pensi infatti all'inversione, pur di evitare l'iato, νέω πρεσβύτης ἦκει in luogo del tràdito πρεσβύτης νέω ἦκει (§ 1, 14 AMATO/VENTRELLA [13 MATINO]).

(14) Un tempo appartenuto al cardinale Bessarione, il codice, vergato da un unico copista e risalente agli inizi del XIV sec., raccoglie insieme con il *Panegirico* (ff. 174-181v) anche 32 *Orazioni* di Elio Aristide (ff. 1r-37r et 48r-174r), l'*Achillis ad Ulixem antilogia* (ff. 37v-48r) di Libanio e la *Consolatio ad Apollonium* di Plutarco (181v-184v). La scrittura, una minuscola recente, presenta un tratto nitido e lettere piuttosto grandi. Per la descrizione del codice, si veda E. MIONI, *Bibliotheca Divi Marci Venetiarum Codices graeci manuscripti, Thesaurus antiquus*, II (codices 300-625), Roma, 1985, pp. 193-194.

(15) La studiosa aveva già anticipato tale orientamento in MATINO, *Considerazioni linguistiche*.

(16) Per il sostantivo θάλαττα numerosissime sono le occorrenze nel *Panegirico*: § 2, 39; § 7, 134; § 9, 188; § 13, 279; § 19, 358; § 20, 370; § 21, 384; § 28,

Analogamente, al § 18, pur di difendere il testo tràdito, la *Matino* rifiuta di espungere, sull'esempio del Niebuhr (seguito anche dal Kempen e dallo Chauvot), la congiunzione negativa all'interno del sintagma τὰ μὴ διανεσθηκότα τοῖς μετεώροις. La proposta del Niebuhr, si rivela, al contrario, quanto mai necessaria, giacché, come si dimostrerà qui di seguito, essa assicura coerenza logica al testo.

349-356 *Matino* (378-383 *Amato/Ventrella*)

καὶ δευτὸν ἡγούμενος διὰ μᾶς ταύτης πάντας ἀνθρώπους πειρᾶσθαι τῶν δυσχερῶν, ὅχετους ὑδάτων εἰς ὕψος ἐπάρας καὶ εἰς ταῦτον ἀγαγὼν τὰ μὴ διανεσθηκότα τοῖς μετεώροις καὶ δι' ἀνωμάλου καὶ τραχείας γῆς εὐθείαν ὁδὸν διατυπώσας τῷ ρεύματι, πηγὰς διὰ ταύτης πόρρωθεν συνήπτες [...] (17).

All'interno della sezione dedicata alla politica urbanistica dell'imperatore, Procopio ricorda la costruzione, su disposizione di Anastasio, di un acquedotto in una città notoriamente afflitta dal problema del rifornimento idrico (16) a causa della particolare conformazione idrogeologica della regione: piccole sorgenti, ciascuna insufficiente da sola a soddisfare i bisogni della città e tutte lontane le une dalle altre, sparse su un territorio diseguale, accidentato e pietroso. Per sopperire alla situa-

467 *MATINO*. Per il verbo θαρρέω si vedano le forme θαρροῦντες (§ 1, 32 *MATINO*) e θαρρεῖν (§ 9, 191 *MATINO*).

(17) Per comodità del lettore, riproduco, d'ora in avanti, la trad. della *Matino*: "...e, giudicando una vera calamità che a causa di questa sola città tutti quanti gli uomini dovessero soffrire, facesti costruire delle tubature che correvano ad una certa altezza e, fatte convogliare in un solo luogo le acque che non salivano in luoghi elevati, apristi una via agevole alla corrente attraverso un terreno accidentato e pietroso, e grazie ad essa raccogliesti le acque provenienti da fonti lontane".

(18) Da quando il *VILLOISON* (*Anecdota*, p. 41, n. 1) per primo avanzò l'ipotesi sulla base della circonlocuzione utilizzata da Procopio per descrivere la città (*Πόλις ἐστὶν ἱερά, τῶν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα Paneg. § 18, 340 MATINO*), questa è stata apoditticamente identificata da tutti gli editori (si vedano, nell'ordine, *DEL FURIA, Procopii*, p. 31, n. 83; *NIEBUHR, Dexippi*, p. 609 ad 508, 3; *CHAUVOT, Procopie*, pp. 160-161; *MATINO, Panegirico*, p. 114 ad 340) in Ierapoli di Siria, l'attuale Mambig. Sulla stessa posizione si allinea anche *HAARER, Anastasius I*, pp. 277-278. Con valide argomentazioni, C. P. *JONES* (*Procopius of Gaza and the Water of the Holy City, GRBS*, 47 [2007], pp. 455-467) ha però ora dimostrato che la città beneficiaria dell'intervento imperiale deve, più verosimilmente, riconoscersi in Gerusalemme.

zione, Anastasio dispone la costruzione, attraverso un sistema di canali, di un unico bacino di raccolta, in cui convogliare le acque rinvenienti da fonti diverse, per poi far rifluire la mole d'acqua così ottenuta in unico ampio condotto che, superando i dislivelli del territorio, procedesse dritto fino alla città. La *Matino* intende la proposizione ἐπάρας καὶ εἰς ταῦτον ἀγαγὼν τὰ μὴ διανεσθηκότα τοῖς μετεώροις come "fatte convogliare in un solo luogo le acque che non salivano in luoghi elevati". Tuttavia, è facile rilevare come l'ostacolo all'approvvigionamento idrico della città, secondo quanto riferisce Procopio, non sia rappresentato dalla circostanza per cui le sorgenti sarebbero localizzate a bassa quota. Che le stesse si trovino in luoghi elevati è confermato dal fatto che Anastasio fa portare il sistema dei canali εἰς ὕψος, laddove appunto dovevano già trovarsi le sorgenti, di modo che se ne potesse sfruttare, secondo le usuali pratiche di costruzione dei Romani, la naturale pendenza dall'alto verso il basso. La principale difficoltà alla costruzione dell'acquedotto è rappresentata, invece, secondo quanto è lecito supporre sulla base del testo, dall'essere tali sorgenti assai distanti tra di loro e disseminate in un territorio disomogeneo dal punto di vista orografico: Procopio, infatti, loda Anastasio per essere riuscito a congiungere tali sorgenti (πηγὰς διὰ ταύτης πόρρωθεν συνήπτες), non per averne sollevate le acque. Appare, pertanto, equa la proposta avanzata dal Niebuhr di espungere la negazione μὴ: ciò restituisce al passo un senso più congruo rispetto al contesto linguistico e alle pratiche costruttive dell'epoca. Inoltre, con il Jones, occorre intendere il verbo διαίσιστημι più che nell'accezione di "balzar su, sgorgare", come finora interpretato (19), in quella di "essere separato": l'azione messa in atto da Anastasio per convogliare in un unico punto le acque delle πηγὰί e congiungerle ha senso solo se immaginiamo le stesse come variamente dislocate sul territorio.

Al § 3, Procopio elogia la religiosità viva e sincera di Anastasio, chiamando a testimoniare in suo favore l'intera città di Costantinopoli con le seguenti parole:

65-69 *Matino* (71-75 *Amato/Ventrella*)

ἀλλὰ τούτων μάρτυρες οὐκ ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἢ φαῦλοι καὶ οὓς ἂν τις παραγράψαιτο τῆς γνώμης μεμψάμενος, ἀλλὰ πόλις ὅλη καὶ βασιλέων ἢ πόλις,

(19) Il Ritter rendeva con "qui in superioribus locis scaturirent"; analogamente Chauvot: « fis... couler vers un même point les eaux dont la source se trouve en altitude ».

ἐπὶ σοὶ βοῶσα καὶ πρὸς ἱερέως ἀνάγουσα σχῆμα καὶ ἄπερ ἐμαρτύρει τοῖς ἔργοις βεβαιοῦσα τῇ ψήφῳ <sup>(20)</sup>.

Il participio ἀνάγουσα è correzione, non necessaria, proposta dal Villoison del trådito ἀνήγου. La 2ª pers. dell' imperf. medio-passivo è però agevolmente spiegabile. Come in altri passi del *Panegirico*, Procopio anche qui sembra rivolgersi direttamente ad Anastasio, sia pure nella forma di un inciso: "difatti <sup>(21)</sup> venivi elevato alla dignità di sacerdote". Con l'espedito di una partecipata allocuzione all'imperatore, il Gazeo rende più vivo e movimentato il proprio discorso proprio nel momento in cui ricorda la profonda e devota pietas dell'elogiato.

Al § 14, Procopio definisce il sistema di tassazione praticato dagli imperatori precedenti come una "pubblica Erinni <sup>(22)</sup>". Il codice ha Ἐρινύων corretto dal Kempen in Ἐρινύων e tacitamente accolto dalla Matino. Eppure, numerosi sono i paralleli con la letteratura greca di tutti i tempi <sup>(23)</sup> e persino con lo stesso Procopio (*Descriptio imaginis* 23, 13 Friedländer), che accreditano la lettura del codice. Lo stesso dicasi per ἀνδρία corretto in ἀνδρεία dal Kempen e di lì passato, anch'esso tacitamente, nel testo stabilito dalla Matino (§ 10, 208 Matino [226 Amato/Ventrella]).

Al § 17, nell'introdurre la politica urbanistica generosamente promossa dall'imperatore a favore di diverse città, Procopio dichiara che le opere pubbliche volute da Anastasio sono troppo numerose per poter essere ricordate tutte, ragion per cui l'oratore si limiterà a menzionarne solo alcune:

(20) "Ma ci sono testimoni di quanto ho detto, e non in numero esiguo né di poco conto, le dichiarazioni dei quali qualcuno potrebbe impugnare chiamando in causa la loro mancanza di giudizio, ma è tutta la città e per di più la città degli imperatori, che lo ha proclamato nei tuoi riguardi e ti ha sollevato alla dignità del sacerdozio ed ha sanzionato col voto ciò di cui era testimone nei fatti" (trad. G. MATINO).

(21) Sul valore esplicativo del καί, cf. R. KÜHNER, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, II Teil: *Satzlehre*, 3 Aufl. von B. GERTH, Band 2, Hannover - Leipzig, 1904, § 521, 2.

(22) Cf. PROCOPIUS, *Panegyricus* § 14, 301 MATINO (327 AMATO/VENTRELLA).

(23) La grafia con doppio ν è ampiamente attestata nella letteratura greca già a partire da Alceo (fr. 129, 14 VOIGT). A titolo di esempio rinvio, ove ce ne fosse bisogno, al solo Libanio, autore assai caro a Procopio (*Orationes* 15, 10, 9; 43, 18, 3; 58, 34, 5; *Declamationes* 6, 1, 6, 2; 6, 2, 58, 8 FOERSTER etc.).

337-338 Matino (365-366 Amato/Ventrella)

ὄν τὰ πλεῖστα παρείς - μείζω γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ νικῶντα τὴν χρείαν <sup>(24)</sup> - [...].

Il participio νικῶντα è correzione, non necessaria, del Kempen rispetto al trådito νικῶντος. Se, infatti, si ritiene τοῦ καιροῦ νικῶντος un genitivo assoluto, Procopio potrebbe aver avuto presente l'espressione libaniana « il tempo è inferiore al bisogno <sup>(25)</sup> ». Immaginando per un attimo di avere, contrariamente alla situazione descritta da Libanio, molto tempo a disposizione, anche più del necessario, ugualmente - sembra dire Procopio - non sarebbe possibile ricordare tutte le opere realizzate da Anastasio. L'elogio della munificenza dell'imperatore si fa così esaltazione iperbolica: « troppo numerose, infatti (sc. per essere ricordate tutte), persino se il tempo a nostra disposizione fosse superiore al bisogno ».

Al § 29, quasi a conclusione del *Panegirico*, Procopio descrive, come effetto del buon governo di Anastasio, un impero ormai pacificato in cui le città, recuperate finalmente al loro antico splendore, si abbelliscono delle effigi dell'imperatore:

472-474 Matino (514-516 Amato/Ventrella)

καὶ φαῖδραὶ μὲν αἱ πόλεις, ἄλλη κατ' ἄλλα σεμνυνομένη, πᾶσαι δὲ κοινὸν προβέβληνται κόσμον, τὰς σὰς εἰκόνας ἐπ' εὐεργεσίας ἰστώσαι, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων ἡμεῖς <sup>(26)</sup>.

La lettura εὐεργεσίας è, anch'essa, correzione del Villoison in luogo del trådito εὐεργεσίας. Tuttavia, la correzione non è necessaria. L'uso della preposizione ἐπί con genitivo causale nel significato di "auf Grund", in luogo della consueta costruzione con il dat., è attestato nella

(24) La studiosa propone la traduzione: "infatti sono numerosi e oltrepassano il tempo a nostra disposizione". Si vedano anche le traduzioni di Del Furia ("haec enim maiora sunt, magisque tempus, et ratio postulat") e di Ritter ("ampliora enim haec sunt, quibus enarrandis tempus non sufficiat") che, pur presupponendo il testo trådito, più che tradurlo sembrano parafrasarlo lungi da ogni pretesa di fedeltà al testo.

(25) Cf. LIBANIUS, *Progymnasmata* 4, 1, 10, 5 FOERSTER: ἐλάττων ὁ καιρὸς τῆς χρείας.

(26) "... e le città sono splendide, ché ciascuna si inorgogliesse delle sue bellezze ma tutte esibiscono un ornamento comune, collocando tue statue in ringraziamento dei benefici e noi con esse" (trad. G. MATINO).



letteratura greca già a partire da Elio Aristide <sup>(27)</sup> (autore, come è noto, particolarmente caro a Procopio). L'espressione può pertanto essere resa, senza difficoltà alcuna e necessità di correzione, con "sulla base, per via della tua generosità <sup>(28)</sup>". Tale interpretazione consente, inoltre, di riconoscere nell'espressione un'immagine metaforica che sembra derivare direttamente da Sinesio, il quale paragonava la virtù del principe alla base, al piedistallo sul quale erigere le statue in onore dello stesso: "la pietà sia posta in primo luogo a solido fondamento sul quale si levi sicura la nostra statua. Se si regge su tal piedistallo, giammai la tempesta la farà crollare <sup>(29)</sup>" (trad. di A. Garzya).

In un caso la Matino accoglie tacitamente la congettura già formulata dal precedente editore. Si tratta dell'avverbio *πολλαχού* (l. 135), correzione dello Chauvot del trådito *πολλα* con *χ* soprascritto, e sciolto in *πολλάκις* dal Villoison, in *πολλαχῆ* dal Kempen. Sicché non stupisce che quasi tutti i recensori del volume della Matino <sup>(30)</sup>, nell'approvare la scelta testuale a favore di *πολλαχού*, ne tolgano il merito allo Chauvot, attribuendolo direttamente alla Matino stessa.

In altri casi, come sopra accennato, alcune congetture e proposte di correzione formulate dagli editori precedenti si ritrovano già nel

(27) Cf. W. SCHMID, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius von Halikarnass bis auf den zweiten Philostratus*, II, Stuttgart, 1889, p. 240. Lo scambio del genitivo per il dativo in dipendenza dalla preposizione *ἐπί* è attestato già nei papiri di età tolemaica (cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, II/2, Berlin - Leipzig, 1934, § 125, 3).

(28) Non escluderei, comunque, che qui la locuzione *ἐπ' εὐεργεσίας* possa avere anche valore avverbiale, e sia dunque da intendersi nel senso di «generosamente». Quest'ultima ipotesi, se pare confermata dall'uso del medesimo costruito in *ἐπ' ἀδείας* (PROCOPIUS, *Panegyricus* § 18, 384-385 AMATO/VENTRELLA [355 MATINO]), sembra però contrastare con la circostanza per cui l'*εὐεργεσία*, nell'economia argomentativa del *Panegirico*, è prerogativa costante dell'imperatore (più che dei sudditi e delle città dell'impero). Tuttavia, non è inverosimile che qui le due interpretazioni possano convivere una accanto all'altra. Ne risulterebbe un testo polisemico e che dimostra, comunque, la genuinità della lezione trådita. La correzione in *ἐπ' εὐεργεσίας*, infatti, altro non farebbe che banalizzare e appiattare la semantica del testo.

(29) Syn. Op. 1, 10, 1 Lamoureux: *Εὐσέβεια δὲ πρῶτον ὑποβεβλήσθω κρηπίς ἀσφαλῆς, ἐφ' ἧς ἐστήξει τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔμπεδον καὶ οὐ μῆποτε αὐτὸ περιτρέψῃ χειμῶν τῆς κρηπίδος ἐχόμενον.*

(30) Si vedano le recensioni di P. CASSELLA (*Medioevo Greco*, 6 [2006], pp. 300-302) e D. MILO (*Vichiana*, IV ser. 8 [2006], pp. 349-351).

codex <sup>(31)</sup>, segno della scarsa attenzione paleografica finora riservata allo stesso. A tal proposito, desidero soffermarmi su un passo assai emblematico.

Al § 9, nel ricordare l'organizzazione politico-militare che fa delle tribù degli Isauri una pericolosa minaccia per l'impero <sup>(32)</sup>, Procopio afferma:

197-199 Matino (214-215 Amato/Ventrella)

βασιλέων δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς πρόσταγμα τῶν ἐκ μὴ προσηκόντων στρατηγῶν τε ὄχλος καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ παρασκευὴ [...].

Nel passo, le parole *πρόσταγμα τῶν*, correzione proposta dal Brinkmann di un presunto trådito *προσταγμάτων*, creano una incongruenza logica che vari interventi emendatori hanno tentato, invano, di sanare <sup>(33)</sup>. La lezione del codice, chiarissima, è invece *πρόταγμα τῶν*, da dividere nelle parole *πρόταγμα τῶν*, come già divinato e opportunamente chiarito da E. Amato <sup>(34)</sup>, e ora confermato da una più attenta collazione

(31) Si tratta delle seguenti voci: *ἀνατάσει* (§ 6, 121 MATINO [132 AMATO/VENTRELLA]), *Σολύμων* (§ 9, 187 MATINO [203 AMATO/VENTRELLA]), *ἀπείρατον* (§ 20, 371 MATINO [401 AMATO/VENTRELLA]), leggibili, contrariamente a quanto sostenuto dagli editori precedenti, già nel ms. Tra queste, la Matino continua a considerare come una congettura del Villoison la parola *ἀνατάσει*. Sono, invece, ascrivibili a distrazione della studiosa la confusione di *ε* per *η* in *οὐ μὲν ἀλλά* anziché *οὐ μὴν ἀλλά* (§ 24, 422-423 MATINO [458 AMATO/VENTRELLA]) e l'omissione dell'accento d'enclisi in *Πόλις ἐστὶν ἱερά* (§ 18, 340 MATINO [368 AMATO/VENTRELLA]) in luogo di *Πόλις ἐστὶν ἱερά*.

(32) Sulla rivolta degli Isauri, si vedano, da ultimi, HAARER, *Anastasius I*, pp. 11-28 e MEIER, *Anastasios I*, pp. 75-83.

(33) Del Furia, che pure proponeva dubbiosamente di scrivere *πρόσταχθέντων* (cf. AMATO, *Il Panegirico per l'imperatore*), rendeva il passo, sulla base del testo stabilito dal Villoison, con "At ipsi pro regibus quorum prope signa consisterent". Il Niebuhr si limitava a pubblicare il testo presunto trådito, con *προσταγμάτων*, ricordando in apparato la congettura del Ritter (*προστάγματα*) ed una propria (*πρόσχημα*), ma entrambe insufficienti a chiarire il senso del passo, che così rimaneva privo di alcuna proposta di traduzione nella versione latina a cura dello stesso Ritter. Si vedano, ancora, le traduzioni di Chauvot ("Mais un ordre des empereurs était pour eux l'affaire de ceux qui n'étaient pas de leur espèce, de même que la mise sur pied de guerre de nombreux généraux et tout le reste des préparatifs de combat") e della stessa Matino ("Avevano una legislazione statale non pertinente, una folla di guerrieri e tutto il resto dell'apparato bellico").

(34) Cf. AMATO, *Il Panegirico per l'imperatore*.

del codice. Tale lezione restituisce un senso assai più perspicuo al testo che potrà intendersi: "avevano (sc. gli Isauri) a disposizione un'avanguardia di capi, di quelli ἐκ μὴ προσηκόντων, una torma di comandanti e il restante apparato bellico".

La *iunctura* ἐκ μὴ προσηκόντων, con valore avverbiale, indica un modo di agire difforme rispetto ad ogni norma etica o giuridica (35). Da fonti storiche apprendiamo che le tribù isauriche, in alternativa ai governatori imperiali, si erano dati dei capi la cui autorità l'imperatore non aveva mai riconosciuto: *Anastasio rege facto, se superbe atque insolenter gerebant* (sc. Isauri), *et seditionem in eum fecerunt; et sibi tyrannos constituerunt, et rectores qui ab Anastasio mittebantur non recipiebant* (Zacaria Scolastico, *Historia ecclesiastica* VII, 2 [II, p. 13, 26-29 Brooks]). Pertanto, nella locuzione avverbiale ἐκ μὴ προσηκόντων, sostantivata dall'articolo τῶν, non è difficile riconoscere quei 'leaders' politici e militari affatto autonomi rispetto all'autorità di Bisanzio e che, agli occhi di Procopio e dell'impero, non potevano che apparire come "illegittimi".

La studiosa raramente interviene sul testo trådito (36) e solo per sanare una corruzione evidente. Così al § 21, quando Procopio mette a confronto le mura di Temistocle con il Lungo muro di Anastasio (37):

385-388 Matino (417-419 Amato/Ventrella)

ὡς μικρὸν πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὸ Θεμιστοκλέους εἶναι, πλάτους εἵνεκα καὶ <τοῦ> τὰς ἀμάξας ἀμφοτέρως φέρειν, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τοῦναντίον ἀλλήλαις ἐπὶ τοῦ τεῖχους ἐχώρου.

Nel passo fa difficoltà l'infinito φέρειν oggetto di diverse ipotesi emendatorie (38). La Matino ha proposto l'integrazione dell'articolo

(35) Sulla *iunctura* si veda, *infra*, n. 52.

(36) Come si è detto (cf. *supra*, n. 31), è certamente dovuto ad un refuso il μὲν ἀλλά che si legge alla l. 423 Matino anziché μὴν ἀλλά del codice (Marcianus gr. 428, f. 180v, 28).

(37) Sulla datazione, la storia, la natura e le finalità dell'opera difensiva voluta dall'imperatore, si veda ora HAARER, *Anastasius I*, pp. 106-109.

(38) L'editor princeps proponeva di correggerlo nel participio φέρον, proposta accolta dal Del Furia che così traduceva il brano: "adeo ut prae hoc muro parvus sit ille Themistoclis, quamvis binos in se cursus, inter se quoque occurrentes, latitudine excipere potuisset". Il Niebuhr, invece, preferiva stampare il testo così come tramandato dal codice, con evidente imbarazzo del Ritter (cf., *infra*, n. successiva), mentre il Kempen proponeva una soluzione paleograficamente insostenibile: integrare dopo φέρειν il participio <δυναμένον> dal quale dipenderebbe l'infinito.

<τοῦ> prima di τὰς ἀμάξας che fa di φέρειν un infinito sostantivo dipendente dalla preposizione εἵνεκα. Tale ipotesi, tuttavia, ingenera un nonsenso. Si intenda, con la Matino: "sì che di fronte ad esse (sc. le mura fatte erigere da Anastasio) è piccolo persino il muro di Temistocle, per l'ampiezza e perché accoglieva due carri, anche se essi correvano lungo il muro uno incontro all'altro". È evidente che tra gli enunciati non esiste alcun reale rapporto di causa/effetto (39). Si può, tuttavia, avanzare un'altra ipotesi che ha il vantaggio di salvare il testo trådito. Diversamente da quanto finora proposto dagli editori, la soluzione alla questione va cercata, a mio avviso, non nella seconda sezione del brano (πλάτους - ἐχώρου), laddove figura il controverso infinito, quanto nella prima (ὡς - εἶναι), che finora è stata così intesa: "sicché rispetto a questo (sc. muro) è piccolo quello di Temistocle". Il dimostrativo τοῦτο, tuttavia, piuttosto che un aggettivo cui debba necessariamente sottintendersi il sostantivo τεῖχος, mi sembra un assai più comune forma neutra del pronome, nel senso di « ciò, questa cosa ». Ne consegue che il valore di pronome dimostrativo che, di riflesso, assume l'articolo τό ("quello, quella cosa") potrà agevolmente spiegare il successivo φέρειν come infinito epesegetico. Si intenda, dunque, in una prima traduzione di lavoro: "rispetto a questa cosa è un'inezia quell'altra di Temistocle, cioè di...". Tale interpretazione è facilmente sostenibile se si considera il contesto linguistico. Che Procopio con il pronome τοῦτο non si riferisca al muro in sé è evidente: poco prima l'autore non lo ha descritto nelle sue dimensioni esteriori e meramente fisiche, ma ne ha esaltato la funzionalità in rapporto alla specificità difensiva. È su questo terreno che avviene il confronto fra le costruzioni di Anastasio e di Temistocle: da un lato la capacità del Lungo muro, esteso per tutta la Tracia, di tener fuori dell'impero l'impeto dei barbari e di resistere a ogni loro assalto (τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀποκλείον τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ πᾶσαν πολεμίων ἀπωθούμενον προσβολήν (40), dall'altra quella delle mura temistoclee di consentire il passaggio di due carri contemporaneamente. Così impostata, la σύγκρισις fa apparire come una trascurabile inezia la tanto decantata

(39) Il Ritter, infatti, dinanzi al testo trådito, pur senza avanzare alcuna congettura, riconosceva tra i due enunciati un rapporto di opposizione, preferendo dare al secondo una funzione concessiva: « Itaque parvus prae hoc etiam Themistoclis murus est, licet (corsivo mio) ejus latitudo celebratur, quod duo plaustra sibi occurrentia ceperit ».

(40) Cf. PROCOPIUS, *Panegyricus* § 21, 415-417 AMATO/VENTRELLA [384-385 MATINO].

capacità del muro di Temistocle καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἀμφοτέρας φέρειν, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τοῦναντίον ἀλλήλαις ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἐχώρουν. Il testo tradito, pertanto, potrebbe essere tradotto, senza ipotizzare alcun intervento emendatorio, con "sicché rispetto a questa (peculiarità) è poca cosa quella (sc. 'del muro') : forma di *comparatio compendiaris* di Temistocle, di reggere cioè, per via dell'ampiezza, persino due carri contemporaneamente, quand'anche sul muro procedessero l'uno incontro all'altro".

Benché la Matino non lo ritenga necessario, mi sembra bisognoso di un intervento, sia pure meno drastico di quelli finora proposti, anche il seguente luogo al § 24 :

417-419 Matino (452-455 Amato/Ventrella)

ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐρώωντάς φασι παντὸς μᾶλλον χρόνου ἐπισταμένους τὰ παιδικά, ὅσῳ καὶ μᾶλλον εἶδέναι φιλονεικοῦσιν, ὅμως μηδὲν ἠδέως λέγειν τε καὶ ἀκούειν, ὃ μὴ τούτων ἔχει τὴν μνήμην.

La Matino <sup>(41)</sup> ha il merito di aver inteso il tradito χρόνου, corretto in χρήματος a partire dal Niebuhr, non come "genitivus comparationis" dipendente da μᾶλλον e rafforzato dall'attributo παντός, ma come un autonomo complemento di tempo. Quanto al valore di χρόνου, la Matino pensa ad uno scambio, tipico della lingua post-classica, di genitivo in luogo dell'accusativo (con o senza διὰ ed ἐπί), cioè a una confusione tra il tempo determinato e il tempo continuato <sup>(42)</sup>, ma anziché tradurre, così come ci si attenderebbe sulla base delle sue precedenti osservazioni, con "per un certo tempo, per lungo tempo", propone di tradurlo con "da tempo". Tale valore per il genitivo semplice χρόνου pare attestato solo in Aristofane (*Equites* 944), mentre dalla koiné in poi ricorre nel significato di "lange Zeit" <sup>(43)</sup>. Diversamente, il dativo χρόνῳ è ampiamente attestato nella lingua classica <sup>(44)</sup>, nonché presso gli atticisti <sup>(45)</sup> nel senso di "col tempo", un significato che sembra meglio adat-

(41) Cf. MATINO, *Considerazioni linguistiche*, p. 386.

(42) Cf. A. N. JANNARIS, *An Historical Greek Grammar chiefly of the Attic Dialect as written and spoken from Classical Antiquity down to the Present Time, founded upon the Ancient Texts, Inscriptions, Papyri and Present Popular Greek*, London, 1897, § 1344.

(43) SCHMID, *Der Atticismus*, III, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 53 ; IV, Stuttgart, 1896, p. 57.

(44) Cf., e.g., AESCHYLUS, *Agamemnon* 126, 463, *Choephoroi* 650 ; HERODOTUS IX 62, 1 ; XENOPHANES, fr. 18 Diels/Kranz.

(45) Per Sinesio, cf. W. FRITZ, *Die Briefe des Bischofs Synesius von Kyrene. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Attizismus im IV. Und V. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 80.

tarsi al presente contesto in cui si ammira la capacità degli amanti di guadagnare, nel tempo, una conoscenza esclusiva e profonda rispetto all'oggetto del proprio amore.

Tale uso è ben attestato anche in Procopio, che offre un confronto, a mio giudizio, risolutivo : in *Epistulae* 41, 2-5 Garzya/Loenertz il sofista gazeo ripete alla lettera l'incipit della similitudine, ed insiste ancora sul senso del tempo nel legame amoroso : ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐρώωντάς φασι χρόνῳ καὶ μόλις ἐπιτυχόντας ὑπὸ τῆς παρουσίας ἡδονῆς τῶν προλαβόντων πόγων ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι.

Infine, desidero richiamare l'attenzione su di un passo, che pur non avendo suscitato curiosità ed interesse presso gli editori precedenti, in quanto in apparenza non darebbe luogo ad alcuna durezza o nonsenso, potrebbe nondimeno risultare corrotto o, quanto meno, dovrebbe essere inteso in maniera affatto diversa da come finora lo si è voluto leggere.

Al § 25, nel mettere a confronto la personalità di Anastasio con quella di altre figure regali consegnate alla storia per l'eccezionalità delle loro virtù o dei loro meriti verso il regno e i sudditi, Procopio ricorda l'esempio di Ciro definito dai Persiani benefattore e padre in ragione dei benefici ottenuti dal suo popolo, ma non certo, afferma ironicamente Procopio, per le ingiustizie e i torti subiti dai Medi e le sofferenze procurate al nonno materno Astiage. Dopo la caustica puntualizzazione, Procopio, nel tirare un bilancio del regno di Ciro, ne compendia la vicenda storico-biografica con le seguenti parole :

433-436 Matino (469-472 Amato/Ventrella)

Καὶ οὕτως ἀδίκῳ πόθῳ καὶ δράμασιν οἰκείοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεδέξατο, καὶ ταῦτα σιδήρῳ καὶ μάχαις ἐπήει τοὺς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐρώωντάς εἰς δουλείαν ἄγων καὶ νόμους ἀήθεις, κακῶν τῶν προσηκόντων ἀνεδήσατο τὴν Ἀσίαν <sup>(46)</sup>.

La sintesi finale κακῶν τῶν προσηκόντων ἀνεδήσατο τὴν Ἀσίαν, intesa nel senso che Ciro sottomise l'Asia "a spese dei suoi parenti" <sup>(47)</sup>, intro-

(46) "Così Ciro grazie ad ingiusta ambizione ed a tragedie familiari ottenne il potere ed in più con la forza delle armi assalì coloro che aspiravano alla libertà, sottoponendoli alla schiavitù ed a leggi per loro inconsuete" (trad. G. MATINO).

(47) La traduzione della Matino riprende sostanzialmente quella proposta da Chauvot : "aux dépens de ceux qui lui étaient proches". Del Furia proponeva "propriis expulsis", mentre il Ritter, nel tentativo di dare un senso alla locuzione, rendeva con "per victoriam de necessariis".

duce uno squilibrio nella coerenza logica (e anche retorica) dell'argomentazione. A ciò si aggiunga che il valore riconosciuto alla preposizione  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  dai precedenti editori <sup>(48)</sup> è talmente raro da indurre ad escludere l'ipotesi per cui Procopio, in una declamazione pubblica, pur retoricamente sostenuta, possa aver fatto ricorso ad una simile rarità linguistica, senza il rischio di risultare oscuro al proprio uditorio. Quanto all'economia argomentativa del brano, è evidente come il riferimento ai parenti (il solo Astiage) appaia immotivato nel presente contesto. Procopio, infatti, sta descrivendo le caratteristiche politiche del regime, liberticida e tirannico, imposto da Ciro. Il richiamo ai parenti, pertanto, appare fuori luogo oltre che inutile, se si considera che sul piano familiare nessun confronto era possibile tra Ciro, discendente da un illustre casato, e Anastasio, i cui genitori erano tanto oscuri da non meritare alcuna menzione in Procopio. Il confronto con Ciro, confronto che mira ad esaltare le qualità opposte di Anastasio, non ha senso sul piano dei rapporti familiari: la  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , invece, diventa calzante sul terreno della legittimità o meno dei mezzi attraverso cui Ciro ed Anastasio ascendono al potere (illeciti in un caso, leciti nell'altro) e sul loro sistema di governo (tirannico in un caso, garante della libertà e delle prerogative di ciascun organo dell'impero nell'altro). La voce  $\pi\rho\sigma\eta\kappa\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ , più verosimilmente, sarà da intendersi come gen. plur., piuttosto che di οἱ προσήκοντες, del pt. neutro τὸ προσήκον, che richiama immediatamente l'idea della liceità del potere: l'espressione  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  (τῶν) προσήκόντων non è rara nel significato di "secondo convenienza, meritatamente, a buon diritto <sup>(49)</sup>". Ora, Procopio ha appena dichiarato che Ciro si è

(48) È evidente come tutti gli editori del *Panegirico* abbiano avuto difficoltà nel rendere il presente passo, una difficoltà che hanno tentato di risolvere attribuendo alla preposizione  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  un valore assai insolito, senza mai fondare le ragioni della loro scelta sulla base di passi paralleli o con rinvio alla bibliografia grammaticale di riferimento. L'unico possibile confronto, per tale uso della preposizione  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ , sarebbe con *Apocalypsis Joannis* 15, 2 τοὺς νεκρῶντας  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  τοῦ θριῶν che, secondo J. H. MOULTON - N. TURNER (*A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, III, Edinburgh, 1963, p. 260), è da intendersi probabilmente come "a compressed phrase (sc. by separating themselves from or and delivered themselves from)".

(49) Cf., e.g., PLUTARCHUS, *Publicola* 14, 3, 3; *Pompeius* 46, 2, 1. Solo in AELIANUS, *De natura animalium* X, 48, 78, il sintagma  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  τῶν προσήκόντων, utilizza il pt. οἱ προσήκοντες nel significato de "i genitori", mentre la preposizione ha il valore assai comune di « da parte di ».

(50) Cf. THUCYDIDES III, 67, 2.

imposto alla guida dell'impero sopprimendo la libertà dei sudditi e negando ogni valore alle leggi fino ad allora in uso, in altre parole, negando ogni principio etico e giuridico. Sicché occorre in qualche modo integrare, nel testo greco, la negazione per la *iunctura*  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  τῶν προσήκόντων. Si può pensare, pertanto, sulla base dell'occorrenza del sintagma οὐκ  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  προσήκόντων già in Tucidide <sup>(50)</sup>, autore come è noto particolarmente caro ai Gazei <sup>(51)</sup>, di correggere il trådito  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa$  τῶν προσήκόντων in  $\kappa\acute{o}\upsilon\kappa$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  τῶν προσήκόντων, ovvero in  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa$  τῶν <μη> προσήκόντων <sup>(52)</sup>, ed intendendo, nell'uno e nell'altro caso: "in maniera non conforme, senza decenza, senza scrupoli". Una seconda ipotesi, che salverebbe il testo trådito, è quella di considerare l'espressione in senso palesemente antifrastico: "e, (proprio) come si conviene, Ciro sottomise l'Asia", oppure, come mi suggerisce Aldo Corcella, "in maniera conveniente al suo modo di essere, nel modo che gli era proprio".

#### b) Traduzione

La versione in lingua italiana, la prima in assoluto del *Panegirico*, benché generalmente fluida e gradevole, lascia tuttavia interdetti il lettore in diversi passaggi.

Al § 3, Procopio, dopo aver ricordato la nobile discendenza di Anastasio, dalla quale egli non ha tralignato, e la cui fama anzi ha superato, loda la decisione dell'imperatore di aver voluto porre a fondamento della propria virtù l'eusébeia <sup>(53)</sup>. Segue la dichiarazione: ταῦτα προσετίθεις τῷ πῶθῳ, che Martino rende con "queste cose aggiungevi al desiderio di essere pio". Procopio, però, non parla di propositi supple-

(51) Sulla fortuna di Tucidide in ambiente gazeo, si veda J. BALÁZS, *A Gazai iskola Thukydides-Tanulmányai*, Budapest, 1940.

(52) La *iunctura*  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  μη προσήκόντων è attestata in PROCOPIUS, *Epistulae* 43, 17-18 GARZYA/LOENERTZ e nello stesso *Panegirico* (§ 9, 214 AMATO/VENTRELLA [198 MATINO]), per cui cf., *supra*, p. 8. Si veda, sempre in Procopio, la forma  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$  τοῦ μη προσήκοντος (*Epistulae* 137 GARZYA/LOENERTZ). 3

(53) Cf. PROCOPIUS, *Paneg.* § 3, 65-68 AMATO/VENTRELLA (59-63 MATINO): "Disceso da avi siffatti ed educato come conviene a chi si è dimostrato superiore a tutti, coltivando col tempo le virtù e ritenendo opportuno che una vita eletta avesse un nobile fondamento, tu riconoscevi quest'ultimo nel possesso della pietà". (Ἐκ τοιούτων γὰρ προελθῶν καὶ τραφεῖς, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τὸν οὕτω τοῖς πᾶσι νενηκκότα, καὶ προϊόντι τῷ χρόνῳ συναύξων τὰς ἀρετὰς, πρέπειν ἡγούμενος ἀρίοτου βίου καλὴν ὑποκείσθαι κρηπίδα, τῆς εὐσεβείας τὸ κτήμα ἐλογίζου).



mentari dell'imperatore rispetto alla già lodata volontà di essere pio. L'espressione deve, pertanto, rendersi con "questo obiettivo affidavi, commettevi al tuo desiderio", nel senso di "desideravi raggiungere tale obiettivo<sup>(54)</sup>".

Al § 10, se è senza dubbio condivisibile la scelta di ripristinare la lezione del codice *ποκίλη των αγώνων εύεργασία*, corretta e banalizzata in *ποκίλη τῶν ἀγώνων έξεργασία* dal Kempen, tuttavia il senso in cui la intende la Martino crea una sfaldatura nell'economia argomentativa del *Panegirico*. Procopio ricorda come Anastasio avesse vinto i nemici ben due volte e nello scontro e dopo lo stesso, in un caso con il valore militare, nell'altro con la clemenza verso i vinti:

207-209 Martino (224-227 Amato/Ventrella)

Οὓς γὰρ ἀνδρεία κατηγωνίσω καὶ φρονήσῃ στρατηγικῇ καὶ ποικίλῃ τῶν ἀγώνων εύεργασία, τούτους ἢ χρηστότης ἐπομένη ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς σώζειν ἐκέλευε [...].

La studiosa ha proposto di rendere il controverso *ποκίλη τῶν ἀγώνων εύεργασία*, dapprima, con "le molteplici azioni generose nelle battaglie<sup>(55)</sup>" e, successivamente, nella traduzione che accompagna l'edizione procopiana, "con grande magnanimità in combattimento". L'idea per cui Anastasio avesse vinto le tribù nomadi degli Isauri *ποκίλη τῶν ἀγώνων εύεργασία* rientra nell'ottica dell'esaltazione delle virtù militari dell'imperatore: tale qualità figura, infatti, accanto al "coraggio" e all'"astuzia tattica", presupposti indispensabili per una felice risoluzione del conflitto. Ma per un simile scopo non è chiaro come possa risultare determinante, al pari dell'*ἀνδρία* e della *φρόνησις* *στρατηγική*, la "magnanimità in combattimento", quando cioè il nemico costituisca ancora una seria minaccia per la salvezza della patria. La magnanimità dell'imperatore è difatti esercitata verso i vinti e non verso i nemici in battaglia. L'espressione, piuttosto, sembra riferirsi alla "generosità" con cui Anastasio si è sempre speso contro il pericolo rappresentato dalle tribù degli Isauri e contro cui lo stesso dovette intra-

(54) A tale interpretazione avrebbero dovuto indurre già la traduzione di Del Furia ("et illuc cum tua desiderata ac vota spectarent") al quale era ignota la correzione del Ritter (di *προετίθεις* in luogo del trådito *προσετίθεις*) accolta invece nell'edizione del Kempen e di lì passata in Chauvot ("voilà ce que tu proposais à ta passion").

(55) Cf. MATINO, *Considerazioni linguistiche*, p. 385.

prendere non una sola, ma svariate battaglie. Sicché il passo dovrà intendersi piuttosto « con varia generosità di operazioni belliche ». L'ambiguità del passo deriva dal fatto che Procopio ha metaforizzato il termine *εύεργασία*, trasferendolo dall'ambito delle qualità civili, cui è solitamente riservato, a quello delle virtù militari. Procopio, infatti, intende fornire un quadro uniforme ed omogeneo dell'imperatore, i cui sforzi, tanto in tempo di guerra quanto in tempo di pace, egli descrive come tutti protesi e finalizzati al miglioramento delle condizioni di vita dei sudditi (§ 11): egli, infatti, sin dall'*incipit* figura nel ruolo di *εύεργέτης* (§ 1, 6 Martino) del proprio popolo.

Al § 13, prima di ricordare l'odiata tassa del *chrysargyron*, abolita da Anastasio<sup>(56)</sup>, Procopio premette:

269 Martino (292-293 Amato/Ventrella)

καὶ μοι μηδεὶς παραττέσθω τὴν γνώμην [...].

La Martino traduce con "e nessuno ostacoli il mio proposito", riconoscendo un improbabile valore attivo al verbo. Al contrario, la diatesi medio/passiva non pone difficoltà alcuna. Il timore di Procopio, infatti, non è quello per cui qualcuno, tra il pubblico, possa ostacolare l'oratore nel suo proposito di rievocare la tassa del *chrysargyron*, quanto piuttosto quello per cui gli ascoltatori, turbati dal ricordo, possano mutare disposizione d'animo nei confronti dell'oratore che, nel rinnovare la memoria dell'iniqua tassa, ha rinnovato anche la sofferenza un tempo ingiustamente patita a causa della stessa<sup>(57)</sup>.

Procopio prosegue ricordando, non senza sarcasmo, come a tale balzello, gravante su ogni attività economica, fossero state sottoposte persino le prostitute, la cui infelice scelta di vita, a giudizio dell'autore, non può essere banalizzata, ridotta a mera attività commerciale. Il Gazeo si sofferma sull'ulteriore umiliazione (oltre cioè a quella fisica e psicologica) alla quale le meretrici dovevano allora soggiacere: fare della violazione del proprio corpo una mercanzia alla stregua delle altre, affinché anch'essa potesse essere sottoposta al tributo:

(56) Sulla questione, cf., da ultimo, HAARER, *Anastasius I*, pp. 194-197.

(57) Pertanto la traduzione più plausibile mi sembra: "e nessuno turbi la propria disposizione nei miei confronti". Si vedano, infatti, le versioni analoghe di Del Furia ("nec ullus mihi mente turbetur"), Ritter ("atque ut tranquilla me audiat mente vos rogo") e Chauvot ("et je vous prie de garder votre calme en face de moi").



283-284 Matino (307-308 Amato/Ventrella)

ἀλλ' ὧμιον ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὕβριν, καὶ τοῦ μὴ σωφρονεῖν μισθὸς κατεβάλλετο [...].

La Matino così traduce il brano: "ma facevano commercio dell'impudicizia del corpo sì che il prezzo da pagare per la loro colpa si abbassava". Una simile traduzione riconosce a καταβάλλω il significato concreto di "abbassare". Sfugge alla studiosa che la *iunctura* μισθὸν καταβάλλειν può significare solo "versare un compenso, rendere il dovuto", come dimostrano numerosi passi della letteratura greca a partire da Luciano<sup>(58)</sup>. Inoltre l'uso del verbo καταβάλλω è tecnico per indicare il versamento di ammende o tributi<sup>(59)</sup>, un'accezione quanto mai consona al presente contesto, in cui si parla, appunto, di una imposta. Dunque dovrà intendersi: "della violazione del proprio corpo facevano commercio e il guadagno della loro intemperanza veniva reso, versato". Occorre puntualizzare che, in assenza di un complemento di termine, l'ambiguità del testo potrebbe accreditare diverse interpretazioni. Supponiamo, nell'ordine, due differenti destinatari: "e il guadagno/compenso della loro intemperanza veniva versato (alle prostitute)", che può intendersi tanto nel senso che veniva loro resa da parte dei clienti una certa somma in cambio delle prestazioni offerte<sup>(60)</sup>, quanto nel

(58) Oltre a LUCIANUS, *Toxaris* 31, 6, si veda anche, e.g., PHILOSTRATUS, *Vita Apollonii* IV 39, 10; 32. LIBANIUS, *Progymnasmata* 7, 3, 11, 6 FOERSTER; IULIANUS, *Oratio* 2 (3) 16, 34 BIDEZ; GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSIS, *Epistulae* 48, 8, 4.

(59) Con τιμή come oggetto, il verbo ricorre assai di frequente nella letteratura greca: cf., e.g., in PLATO, *Leges* 932d; DIO CHRYSOSTOMUS *Orationes* 7, 27; LUCIANUS, *Vitarum Auctio* 25; LIBANIUS, *Orationes* 48, 37; con τέλος in ANDOCIDES, *De mysteriis* 93; PLUTARCHUS, *Sertorius* 6, 6; CASSIUS DIO, *Historiae Romanae* LXII 3, 2; POLLUX, *Onomasticon* IX 31; l'espressione καταβάλλειν τέλη ricorre anche in una iscrizione cretese edita in H. COLLITZ, F. BECHTEL, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, 3.2, Göttingen 1905 (Nendeln 1973), p. 298 (nr. 5018a, ll. 17-18) e in un papiro contenente una ordinanza regale di età tolemaica (ca 265 a.C.) pubblicato in B. P. GRENFELL - A. S. HUNT, *The Hibeh Papyri* 1, London 1906, p. 162 (nr. 29, ll. 6-7).

(60) Così intendono Ritter ("sed cum vendendam proponeret corporis contumeliam, impudicitia mercede redimebatur") e Chauvot ("mais elles faisaient commerce de la débauche, et de l'inconduite on tirait une somme"). Tali traduzioni sono ammissibili, ma poco plausibili: che le prostitute ricavassero un guadagno dai clienti non poteva certo costituire, nella loro vita, un elemento di novità introdotto dalla tassa del *chrysargyron*.

senso che l'imposta del *chrysargyron*, intollerabile per le altre categorie professionali, nella fattispecie, era in un certo senso una misura proporzionata alla loro colpa: alle prostitute "veniva reso il fio della loro intemperanza<sup>(61)</sup>". Benché tali interpretazioni siano entrambe possibili<sup>(62)</sup>, il contesto induce a ritenere più plausibile che il μισθὸς fosse versato non alle γυναῖκες, ma alle casse imperiali, come subito dopo lo stesso Procopio precisa: καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἀτυχημάτων ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως θησαυρὸς ἐπληροῦτο. Che il retore di Gaza non abbia da subito esplicitato il destinatario dei guadagni della prostituzione può rispondere alla volontà dell'autore stesso, che, elaborando un testo ricercatamente polisemico non rinunciava ad un'ironia caustica e pungente tanto contro la prostituzione in sé, quanto contro l'assurdità di un' imposta ingiusta. Una traduzione come "veniva reso/versato il fio della loro intemperanza" può, in parte, dar conto della polisemia del testo.

Certamente dovuto a distrazione è il modo in cui la Matino rende i due seguenti passi.

Al § 14, nell'elogiare la politica finanziaria dell'imperatore, promotore di un cospicuo alleggerimento della pressione fiscale, Procopio ne esalta i meriti sviluppando un confronto con Pisistrato, di cui riferisce l'aneddoto<sup>(63)</sup> secondo cui il tiranno di Atene avrebbe concesso l'esenzione dalle tasse ad un vecchio contadino affaticato dal lavorare una terra pietrosa e sterile:

305 Matino (332 Amato/Ventrella)

Ἄττικὸν εἶδε πρεσβύτην πέτραν ἐργαζόμενον [...].

(61) È questo l'aspetto colto nella traduzione di Del Furia: "sed corporis venalem iniuriam efficiebant, pretiumque nefarii criminis persolvebant". La stessa MATINO (*Considerazioni linguistiche*, p. 382, n. 25) aveva fornito un'interpretazione affatto analoga ("ma vendevano l'impudicizia del corpo e pagavano il prezzo del loro peccato"), in seguito ingiustamente accantonata.

(62) Tali possibili implicazioni sono state variamente recepite nelle traduzioni finora proposte (cf. supra, nn. 58-59).

(63) Cf. ARISTOTELES, *Athenaion politeia* 16, 6; DIODORUS SICULUS IX 37, 2-3; ZENOBIUS IV 76 (I, p. 105, 76 LEUTSCH-SCHNEIDEWIN; W. BÜHLER, *Zenobii Athoi proverbia*, IV, Göttingen, 1982, p. 67-73); SUDA, s.v. σφακελισμός (IV, p. 484, 6 ADLER).

La Matino, diversamente da tutti i suoi predecessori <sup>(64)</sup>, traduce con "vide un vecchio dell'Attica che lavorava la pietra", dando a intendere che il lavoratore fosse non un contadino, ma un tagliapietre <sup>(65)</sup>.

Al § 16, Procopio deplora gli spettacoli teatrali della pantomima, durante i quali ragazzi efebici interpretavano con gesti e movenze languide, anziché con la voce, la vicenda mitica rappresentata, suscitando così lo scomposto entusiasmo del pubblico :

326-327 Matino (352-355 Amato/Ventrella)

παῖδες, ὡς περ τὴν ἰδίαν εἰς γυναῖκας ἀμειβόμενοι φύσιν, γυναῖκες ἤθελον εἶναι τῷ σχήματι καὶ διεκλῶντο τοῖς μέλεσιν, ἀντὶ γλώττης κινούμενες τὴν χεῖρα καὶ δῆμον ὅλον πρὸς ἀσελγῆ θέαν ἐκμαίνοντες.

Contro tutte le precedenti traduzioni <sup>(66)</sup>, concordi nel restituire l'idea per cui a mandare in delirio il pubblico fosse proprio la vistosa e istrionica gestualità degli artisti, la Matino traduce l'espressione ἀντὶ γλώττης κινούμενες τὴν χεῖρα con "portando la mano davanti alla bocca". Risulta difficile comprendere cosa abbia di indecente il portare la mano davanti alla bocca, né la studiosa, solitamente attenta a questioni linguistico-grammaticali, chiarisce perché abbia preferito al valore più comune e diffuso di ἀντί nel senso di "in luogo di" quello più raro di "di fronte".

Al § 18, Procopio ricorda, tra i problemi cronici che affliggevano alcune realtà dell'impero, i disagi provocati dalla penuria di acqua e i tentativi delle popolazioni locali di porvi rimedio con la costruzione di cisterne :

346-347 Matino (375-376 Amato/Ventrella)

καὶ ἀντ' ἄλλου τινὸς ὑδάτων θησαυροὺς ἐπεποίητο [...].

In una città <sup>(67)</sup> afflitta da una crisi idrica pressoché continua, è naturale che l'acqua divenisse il bene in assoluto più prezioso e il più 'tesau-

(64) Del Furia traduceva con : "senem in sterili quodam loco laborantem ... conspexit" ; Ritter : "senem Atticum conspexit saxum fodientem" ; Chauvot : "il vit un veillard de l'Attique qui labourait un sol caillouteux".

(65) Eppure, già il DEL FURIA (p. 28v, n. 18) aveva precisato che πέτρα è nel senso di "locus asper ac sterilis", come può del resto ricavarsi da numerosi passi della letteratura greca, riportati in nota dallo stesso studioso (cf., e.g., ISOCRATES 8, 117, 5 ; MENANDER, *Dyscolus* 3-4 ; LUCIANUS, *Phalaris* 2 8, 5).

(66) Cf. Del Furia : "pro lingua manus commoventes" ; Ritter : "manumque pro lingua moventes" ; Chauvot : "en remplaçant la voix par le geste".

(67) Sulla città in questione e sulla sua particolare conformazione idrogeologica del suo territorio, cf., *supra*, pp. 466-467.

rizzato'. È in questo senso che andrebbe intesa la dichiarazione di Procopio, che gioca sulla polisemia (tesoro/deposito) di θησαυρός : "in luogo di un altro bene, si accumulavano tesori d'acqua", e non, come propone la Matino, ricalcando la traduzione dello Chauvot ("et, faute d'autre solution"), "in mancanza di altra soluzione i cittadini avevano costruito serbatoi d'acqua <sup>(68)</sup>".

### c) Commentario

Tra gli obiettivi del commentario è il tentativo, già egregiamente esperito dal Kempen, di tracciare e verificare l'aderenza di Procopio alla topica del genere epidittico e alle convenzioni dell'ideologia imperiale. Pur nella ricchezza dei riferimenti alla letteratura encomiastica greca e latina, stupisce non trovare alcun rinvio ad autori contemporanei e/o conterranei rispetto allo stesso Procopio <sup>(69)</sup>. Cito, a tal proposito, almeno un significativo parallelo con l'opera di Coricio. Al § 13, Procopio ricorda la capacità di Anastasio di tradurre in azioni concrete i propri progetti :

285-288 Matino (310-313 Amato/Ventrella)

Ταῦτα τῶν πρὶν κρατούντων τινές, δόξαντες εἶναι φιλόανθρωποι, ἠλέουν μὲν, βοηθεῖν δὲ οὐκ εἶχον, ἀλλ' ἠβουλῆθησαν μόνον καὶ μέχρι τούτου τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐνεδείξαντο, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἔργον ἐκφέρειν μετὰ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐθαύμαζον <sup>(70)</sup>.

Nel brano Procopio mette a profitto un *topos* non inusuale nella letteratura encomiastica : a differenza dei predecessori, pur animati da

(68) La traduzione che qui si propone trova riscontro in quella procurata da Del Furia "pro qualibet alia re, aquarum sibi Thesausos efficiebant". Il Ritter, da parte sua, tentava di aggirare l'ostacolo parafrasando il testo con "cumque terrae vena deesset, pluviae thesauros struxerant".

(69) A tal fine segnalo il fondamentale contributo, sfuggito all'attenzione della Matino, di T. VILJAMAA, *Studies in Greek Encomiastic Poetry of the Early Byzantine Period* (Societas scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes humanarum litterarum, 42, 4), Helsinki - Helsingfors, 1968.

(70) "Alcuni degli imperatori precedenti, che pur avevano fama di essere filantropi, commiseravano questa situazione, ma non riuscivano a porvi rimedio. Essi mostravano solo di averne il desiderio e limitatamente a questo dimostravano la loro virtù ; ritenevano in realtà impossibile portare a compimento il loro desiderio" (trad. G. MATINO).

buone intenzioni, l'elogiato è il solo in grado di mettere in opera i propri propositi e di risolvere una situazione difficile, rimasta da tempo irrisolta. Tale motivo <sup>(71)</sup>, significativamente, ritorna nell'*Encomio per Sommo* di Coricio :

πολλοὶ προθυμίαν ἐπεδείξαντο μόνην, ἔδειξεν ἢ πείρα σαφῶς, ὡς οὐδὲν ἄπρακτον ὅπου ἂν τύχη Σοῦμμος παρών <sup>(72)</sup>.

Se è evidente la ripresa concettuale, non mancano neppure, nell'opera dell'allievo, i richiami testuali a quella del maestro : δόξαντες εἶναι φιλόανθρωποι ... τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐνεδείξαντο (Proc.) ~ προθυμίαν ἐπεδείξαντο (Chor.) ; ἀλλ' ἠβουλήθησαν μόνον (Proc.) ~ προθυμίαν ... μόνην (Chor.) ; τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἔργον ἐκφέρειν (Proc.) ~ οὐδὲν ἄπρακτον (Chor.). Sicché un'analisi dei *topoi*, che tenga in considerazione anche e soprattutto le figure di maggior spicco del vivace e dinamico ambiente in cui Procopio esercitò il proprio magistero, potrebbe ampliare la nostra conoscenza di quell'originalissimo fenomeno che fu la scuola di Gaza tra V e VI sec., su quella fioritura della retorica che può a ragione considerarsi come "l'ultima voce della sofistica greca <sup>(73)</sup>".

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#### SUMMARY

The recent edition, established in 2005 by Giuseppina Matino, of the *Panegyricus on Emperor Anastasius* by Procopius from Gaza gives the opportunity to discuss about the ecdotal methods until now adopted for the *constitutio textus* of Procopian works. The errors present in the Italian translation show the complexity of the text often rich in images and figures.

(71) Cf. ANONYMUS, *Panegyricus Iuliani Imperatoris* XII 20-21 GUIDA.

(72) CHORICIUS, *Opera* IV, 1, 17, 2-5 FOERSTER/RICHSTEIG : "in molti... avevano dimostrato solo il proprio impegno, la realtà dimostrava che ovunque fosse Sommo nulla rimaneva insoluto".

(73) Cf. A. GARZYA, *La prosa retorica greca*, in I. LANA - E. V. MALTESE (diretta da), *Storia della civiltà greca e latina*, III, Torino, 1998, pp. 426-445 : 441.

## ON THE ORIGIN OF TAUGAST IN THEOPHYLACT SIMOCATTA AND THE LATER SOURCES (\*)

Theophylact Simocatta, in his *History* completed during 620-630 <sup>(1)</sup>, gives us an interesting account of a famous city and a great nation with the name of Taugas (Ταυγάς or Ταυγάστ). According to his account, the city of Taugas borders on India, and is 1500 miles distant from those who are called Turks. The barbarians whose abode is near Taugas are a very brave and populated nation, and unrivalled in size among the nations of the world. Following this narrative, the author provides an all-important account containing some valuable information on historical events and institutions of the country under the same name <sup>(2)</sup>.

(\*) My sincere thanks are hereby expressed to Professor Valerie HANSEN from Yale University for correcting the English of this paper.

(1) Cf. Michael and Mary WHITBY, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta: An English Translation with Introduction and Notes*, Oxford, 1986, pp. XIII-XVII ; M. WHITBY, *The Emperor Maurice and His Historian: Theophylact Simocatta on Persian and Balkan Warfare*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 28-33.

(2) "The ruler (κλιματάρχης) of Taugas is called Taisan (Ταῖσάν), which signifies 'son of god' in the Greek tongue. The realm of Taugas is never disturbed by discord, for the lineage provides them with the selection of their leader. Statues are the cult of this nation, the laws are just, and their life is full of temperate wisdom. They have a custom, which resembles law, that males should never embellish themselves with gold adornment, even though they have become owners of a great abundance of silver and gold as a result of their large and advantageous trading. A river divides this Taugas now, and in the time past it formed the boundary between two great nations who were mutually hostile ; the dress of one was black, and of the other red. Then in our times, while Maurice wielded the Roman scepter, the nation of the black-coats crossed the river and attacked the red-coats ; next, having gained victory, it became master of the whole empire. This Taugas in fact, the barbarians say, was founded by Alexander the Macedonian when he enslaved the Bactrians and the Sogdians, and burnt twelve myriads of barbarians. In this city the ruler's women have

As we will argue next, this statement combines true knowledge with false information. According to the historian himself, his sources were taken from the letter of the Turkic khagan in 598<sup>(3)</sup>. However, as it is indicated by the narrative, it is possible that Simocatta made use of governmental archives preserved in the previous decades in Constantinople, including those of Menander the Protector, who recorded the diplomatic exchanges between the Turks and the Byzantine empire from 568 to 586<sup>(4)</sup>. Besides, some points of his knowledge, such as the legend about Alexander, could by no means be conveyed by an official letter. The existence of numerous Turks and Sogdians in Constantinople, as shown by the fact that 106 ones returned to their native land with the Byzantine emissary Valentinus in his last mission to the Western Turks in 576<sup>(5)</sup>, shows that the Byzantine author had more

chariots made of gold, each of which is drawn by one bullock lavishly decorated with gold and precious stones; and even the oxen's reins are gold-inlaid. The man who has assumed the dominion of *Taugas* used to pass the night with seven hundred women. The women of the nobility of *Taugas* used silver chariots. They say that Alexander built another city at the distance of a few miles, which the barbarians call *Khubdan* (Χουβδάν). When the leader dies, he is mourned forever by his women, with shaven heads and black raiment, and it is the law for them never to leave the tomb. *Khubdan* is divided by two great rivers, whose banks are lined with nodding cypresses, so to speak. The nation has many elephants; and they associate in trade with the Indians, and they say that these Indians who live in the northern regions are born white. The worms, from which come the Seric threads, are possessed by the nation in very great numbers and are in turn possessed of varied colour; and barbarians eagerly practice the husbandry of the said creatures" (THEOPHYLACT VII, 9, 2-11). Cf. the original Greek text in H. W. HAUSSIG, *Theophylakts Exkurs über die Skythischen Völker*, in *Byz.*, 23 (1953), pp. 285-286; and the translations by H. YULE, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, I, London, 1915, pp. 29-33, and by Michael and Mary WHITBY, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, pp. 191-192.

(3) Cf. J. BURY, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, II, London, 1923 (= Amsterdam, 1966), p. 136 ff.; E. CHAVANNES, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, translated by FENG CHENG-JUN, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958, p. 220. WHITBY, *The Emperor Maurice and His Historian*, p. 315, seems to be mistaken in assuming that the letter was sent in 595.

(4) R. C. BLOCKLEY, *The History of Menander the Guardsman: Introductory Essay, Texts, Translation and Historiographical Notes* (ARCA. Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, 17), Liverpool, 1985, pp. 111-127 and 171-179; S. VAILHÉ, *Projet d'alliance turco-byzantine au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *EO*, 12 (1909), pp. 206-214.

(5) Cf. BLOCKLEY, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, p. 171.

than one channel of information. In other words, he obtained his knowledge about the peoples in Central Asia and far beyond both directly and indirectly. Simocatta became interested in the peoples of Central Asia most likely because of Heraclius's alliance in 620s with the Khazars, the branch of the Turks who migrated westward and established their abode in the north of the Caucasus, from where they could attack the Persians<sup>(6)</sup>.

Many studies have previously been done on the text of Simocatta<sup>(7)</sup>, even so, some puzzling problems remain unsolved, of which the origin of the name *Taugas* is the most fundamental and controversial.

Simocatta, in speaking of *Taugas*, had no idea which people the name referred to and where the country was located. Not until the modern times did scholars realize which nation it referred to. In the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the French sinologist J. Deguignes (1715-1800) first associated the name with China, showing that the passage refers to episodes of the Chinese history. Edward Gibbon (1734-1794), the famous British historian of the Roman Empire, accepted this view. J. Klaproth in 1826 came to the same conclusion in writing that "*Taugas* est évidemment la Chine, réunie en un seul empire sous le sceptre des Soui [Sui]. Le fleuve qui partageait le pays de *Taugas*, est le *Kiang* [Yangtzi River]". He was obviously unaware that Deguignes anticipated him in this direction<sup>(8)</sup>. Thereafter the identification of *Taugas* with China was generally accepted by all scholars. To this day, no consensus has been reached, however, on the etymological origin of the name.

J. Deguignes proposed that the *Ta-göei* (i.e. great Wei), a dynasty established by a Turkic race in northern China from 385 to 556, was origin of the name<sup>(9)</sup>. The weakness of this view lies not only in the differing pronunciations of *Taugas* and *Ta-göei*, but also in the lack of tes-

(6) Cf. WHITBY, *The Emperor Maurice and His Historian*, pp. 316-317.

(7) Cf. CHAVANNES, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*; P. A. BOODBERG, *Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties*, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 3 (1938), pp. 223-253; HAUSSIG, *Theophylakts Exkurs*; WHITBY, *The Emperor Maurice and His Historian*; H. MIYAKAWA-ZAMA and A. KOLLAUTZ, *Ein Dokument zum Fernhandel zwischen Byzanz und China zur Zeit Theophylakts*, in *BZ*, 77 (1984), pp. 6-19, etc. are among the most basic and important studies.

(8) Cf. J. KLAPROTH, *Mention de la Chine donnée par Théophylacte Simocatta*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 8 (1826), pp. 227-230.

(9) Cf. YULE, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, I, p. 32.



timony showing the use of this name by the northern barbarians. Even so, this view is still accepted by some scholars <sup>(10)</sup>.

F. Hirth suggests that Taugas should be identified with *Tang-jia* (i.e. the Tang Family), the royal family who victoriously established the great Tang Dynasty in 618 AD. The Japanese scholar S. Kawabara accepts this opinion and expounds it in an erudite way <sup>(11)</sup>. Nevertheless, this point of view is invalidated in view of the fact that the historical events in Simocatta took place during the reign of the emperor Maurice (582-602), in other words, prior to the enthronement of the Tang family. Accordingly it had no probabilities for Simocatta to hear the name *Tang-jia*.

In 1912, P. Pelliot, in his paper "L'origine du nom de la Chine", adopted Deguignes' view, making a new suggestion that the name should be identified with *T'o pa*, the original name of the Turkic race. He argues that the north of China was occupied in the period from 386 to 556 by a foreign dynasty coming from eastern Mongolia which took the Chinese name *Wei*; but the Chinese historians had kept the native name of these invaders with the transcription *T'o-pa* (Thak-bat), and it is possible that the race made itself known to the peoples in Central Asia with its native name *T'o-pa*, which was further transcribed as Taugas (Ταυγας or Ταυγαστ) in Greek tongue <sup>(12)</sup>.

Actually, as early as 1904, the Japanese scholar K. Shiratori had initiated the *T'o pa* theory and explored it in further detail in 1931-1932 <sup>(13)</sup>. Since Pelliot and Shiratori are doyens in occidental and oriental academic circles, and especially because this theory sounds more plausible

(10) For instance, see Irene M. FRANCK and D. M. BROWNSTONE, *The Silk Road: A History*, New York - Oxford, 1986, p. 163.

(11) Cf. S. KAWABARA, *Pu shougeng kao* (A Study on Pu Shou-geng), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1954, pp. 103-109.

(12) *T'oung P'ao*, 13 (1912), pp. 724-742.

(13) Cf. K. SHIRATORI, *On the Countries Ta-chin and Fu-lin*, in *Shigaku-Zasshi*, vol. 15 (1904), nos. 4, 5, 8, 10, 11; see WANG GU-LU (trans.), *Saiwai shidi lunwen yicong* (The Collected Translations of Historical-geographical Studies by Shiratori), I, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1939, pp. 43-47; K. SHIRATORI, *A New Attempt at Solution of the Fu-lin Problem*, in *Tôyô Gakuhô*, vol. 19, no. 3 (1931) and vol. 20, no. 1 (1932), the English version appeared in *Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, XV, Tokyo, 1956, pp. 186-195.

than others, the *T'o-pa* theory has won many followers and has become the most influential <sup>(14)</sup>.

However, a closer and deeper consideration shows that this point of view is not yet overwhelmingly convincing. In view of the fact that the *T'o-pa* tribe had itself sinicized as soon as they had occupied northern China, and even adopted the Chinese name *Wei* for their newly-established empire in 386, it can hardly be expected that their native name had much chance to circulate among other peoples. As to the fact that the Chinese historians kept the native name of *T'o-pa*, it was due to their strong inclination of discriminating the race as barbarians and an alien race from the Chinese themselves; even the conquering Turkic race had already been assimilated into institutions and culture of the Chinese society.

Phonetically, *T'o-pa* was pronounced as *T'ak bwat* in the ancient Chinese lingual system and *T'ak buat* in medieval Chinese lingual system. For *Tau-ga*, it is possible to transcribe the first syllable with *T'ak*, but it is too forced to connect *bwat* or *buat* (in labial sounds) with *ga*, *ya* and *gha* (in guttural sounds). Thus, the identification of Taugas with *T'o-pa* should not be taken for granted.

Of the modern Chinese scholars, Hong Jun (1839-1893), in his work *Additional annotations to the translation of Yuan History*, was the first to initiate the discussion of the origin of the name, noting that, "when I read D'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols* and come across the name *Tamgadj*, I was puzzled with its meaning, ... not until I annotated *Chang-chun-zhen-ren xi-you-ji* <sup>(15)</sup>, and read the passage that '*T'ao-hua-shih* is their name for the Chinese', I came finally to realize from this example that the name *Tamgadj* is derived from *Ta-he-shi* (大贺氏), the native name of one of the Cathayan tribes. As the Mongols called China Cathay, the Russians have kept the appellation of Cathay for China till the present day ... from

(14) Cf. BOODBERG, *Marginalia*, pp. 238-241; S. K. KLJASTORNYJ, *Turkic-runi Inscriptions*, Moscow, 1964; Chinese translation by LI PEIJUAN, Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991, p. 111.

(15) Cf. LI ZHI-CHANG, *Chang-chun-zhen-ren xi-you-ji* (The Travels of the Taoist Changchun), Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2001, p. 51. An English version has been made of this work with title *The Travels of an Alchemist: the journey of the Taoist Ch'ang Ch'un from China to the Hindukush at the summon of Chingiz Khan, recorded by his disciple Li Chih-Ch'ang*. Translated with an introduction by A. WALEY, London, 1931 (= London, 1979).



this instance we know that the Cathayans in zenith of power were known by its original name to their neighboring peoples". However, as Zhang Xing-lang has pointed out, Hong's theory was based on the single and isolated source, *Chang-chun-zhen-ren xi-you-ji*, and ignored the much earlier existence of *Taugas* in *Simocatta* (16).

In 1944, Liang Yuan-dong suggested that *Tauyác* in the Greek source and *Tabyač* in the Turkic inscriptions should be identified with the Turkic word *Tangri* ("heaven"), meaning "son of heaven" for Chinese emperors, and therefore it is with this title that *Tauyác* or *Tabyač* was intended for China (17).

In 1983, Prof. Zhang Xun put forth a new suggestion, pointing out that the nomadic peoples were habitually calling the Chinese emperors by their native title of Khan (i.e. Khagan), to which they added "ta" (i.e. great) as a prefix to show respect, and thus to combine an adjective "ta" with the title Khan to create a new appellation, *Ta-(k)han*, for China (18). The two above-mentioned scholars have chosen to tackle the problem by connecting *Taugas* with the barbarian appellations for Chinese emperors.

Prof. Cen Zhong-mian has even made greater efforts than other to the question. In 1935, he identified *Taugas* with *Tun-huang* (*Dun-huang*), the famous fortification town in the west end of the Gansu Corridor (19), ten years later, however, he gave up this opinion in view of its lack of persuasion and turned to other points of view, but in vain. However, he is justified in calling attention to the fact that the Xiong-nu race, for their frequent contacts with the Chinese from the period as early as in the late Warring States (403 BC - 221 BC), might have retained the same appellation for China, without varying it with the ups and downs of dynasties in China during the period from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC to late 6<sup>th</sup>

(16) Cf. ZHANG XINGLANG, *Zhongxi jiaotong shiliao huibian* (The Collected Sources on Relations between China and West), I, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977, p. 193.

(17) Cf. LIANG YUANDONG, *Taohashi wei tianzi, taohuashi han wei tiankehan shuo* (On identification of *Taugas* with *Tangri*, and *Taugas* khagan with *Tangri* khagan), *Bian zheng gong lun*, 3 (1944), no. 4, pp. 48-54.

(18) Cf. ZHANG XUN, *Taohuashi yu huiheguo* (*Taugas* and the Kingdom of Uighurs), in *Zhonghua wenshi luncong*, II, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983, pp. 39-43.

(19) Cf. CEN ZHONGMIAN, *Shi Taohuashi* (A Study on *Taugas*), in *Dongfang zazhi*, 33 (1935), no. 21.

century AD. This is validated by the parallelism that the name of Xiong-nu, the Chinese habitual appellation for the Huns, had been always invariably and uninterruptedly used by the Chinese for other nomadic peoples such as Turks, although the properly so-called Xiong-nu (Huns) race had disappeared from the horizon during the Sui and Tang Dynasties. In other words, the name *Taugas* was surely originated in antiquity and had been continually kept in use till the period of the Turks and later (20). This point of view is undoubtedly logical. From this starting point, I am inclined to connect *Taugas* with *Ta-han* (i.e. the great Han Dynasties).

Virtually, Prof. Zhang Xing-lang has previously come to the point in writing that: "I suppose *Taugas* be presumably be a phonetic transcription of *Ta-han*, for the Japanese read *Ta-han* as *Daigan* in modern times, and it is established fact that their reading for Chinese words keeps archaic pronunciations of the Sui and Tang Dynasties of China. After the Han Dynasty, the Chinese kept calling their native country as the *Land of Han*, which are fully proved by the Chinese pilgrims such as Fa Xian (Fa Hsian) and Xuan Zang (Xuan Tsang) in their travels (21)." It is pity that his point of view was not elucidated in detail in a monograph, and therefore was neglected by most scholars.

*Taugas* has its analogous forms in other languages, such as *Tabyač* in Turkic, and *Tabgač*, *Tabghaj*, *Tamgama*, *Tamghaj*, *Tooghaj*, *Tamghaj* and *Timghaj* etc. in Persian, Arabian and other western Asian languages (22).

(20) Cf. CEN ZHONGMIAN, *Taohuashi zhi xin shi* (A New Study on *Taugas*), in *Tujue ji shi* (The Collected Sources on History of the Turks), II, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958, p. 1049.

(21) Cf. ZHANG XINGLANG, *Zhongxi jiaotong shiliao huibian*, I, p. 192.

(22) Cf. YULE, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, I, pp. 33-34. The interchangeability of "i" in the syllable *tim* of *Timghaj* with "a" in the syllable *tab*, *tam* of other forms of the name is distinctly shown by the facts that, *Dizaboul* (the name of a Turkic Khagan) was transcribed as *Sindjibou* and *Jabgu* (a title of the ruler under Turkic khagan) as *Djibghu* in Arabic sources. See CHAVANNES, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (turcs) occidentaux*, pp. 200-201; also it is well-known that the word *Cynstn*, the Sogdian name for *Cina* (China), representing one form of *Činastān* (i.e. the land of Cina), is written as *Tzinistan* in Syriac in the well-known Nestorian Tablet of Si-gan fou; *Činastān*, appeared as *Činistan* (or *Činastān*) in Persian (Pahlevi). Cf. X. ZHANG, *The Name of China and its Geography in Cosmas Indicopleustes*, in *Byz.*, 74 (2004), p. 454.

Those similar forms show that they have slight variances in their consonant affixes with s, č, j, and share a common and same stem.

As it is well known, "γ" in the Greek alphabetic lingual system corresponds to "g" in Latin. In Turkic, Persian and Indian and Chinese linguistic systems, "g", "gh" and "h" are commonly interchangeable. The Turkic title *Jabgu*, for instance, was transcribed in "Yehu" in Chinese with elision of "b" in the first syllable "jab"; and the Persian name *muy* was transcribed in "muhu" in Chinese sources<sup>(23)</sup>; and "laghu" for "lahu", "oha" for "ogha", "samgha" for "samga", and "ghoduma" for "goduma" in Sanskrit language<sup>(24)</sup>. This evidence for the interchangeability among "g", "gh" and "h" leads us to the conclusion that "han" (or "gan") are very reasonably and smoothly attainable with adding a consonant "n" to any one of syllables *ga*, *ya* and *gha* to form *gan*, *yan* and *ghan*.

Historically, China was known by other peoples as *Chin* (or *Sin* as in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* and the *Geography* of Ptolemy) or *Seres* in earlier times in the Greco-Roman world. *Chin* is believed to have derived from Qin [Chin], the first mighty Dynasty of imperial China (221 BC- 206 BC), and became the name for China when it was approached by the Greco-Romans from the land route; *Seres* derived from the silkworm producing silk filament, *Ser* in Greek, and was the appellation for China when it was approached by the sea route<sup>(25)</sup>.

As far as the relations of China with other peoples, especially with the barbarians in northern steppe and Central Asia are concerned, the greater influence was made by the two Han Dynasties, which lasted for four centuries with a short interregnum (the Former Han lasted from 206 BC to 9 AD, and the Latter Han from 25 AD to 220 AD). The attacks on the Xiong-nu (Huns) by the powerful Former Han from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, initiated a long series of violent confrontations between the Chinese and the Xiong-nu, and thus made the Xiong-nu well acquainted with the Chinese, and caused the Chinese to turn to other western powers for alliance in Central Asia. Two expeditions made by Zhang Qian

(23) Cf. B. LAUFER, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran*, Chicago, 1919, Chinese trans. by LIN JUNYIN, Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2001, p. 361.

(24) Cf. LIN MEICUN, *Youtai ru hua kao* (On Arrival of Jews in China), in *Studies on Civilizations in the Western Regions*, Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 1995, p. 86.

(25) Cf. YULE, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 1, p. 1.

(Chang ch'ien), the great Chinese explorer, in 139 BC and 119 BC to Central Asia led China to establish frequent exchanges with the Western Regions, as the historian Si-ma Qian tells us in his masterpiece *Shi-ji* or *Records of the Historian*: "The embassies were sent by the Han court to the West Regions, sometimes with several hundred men in number, sometimes with over one hundred ... more than ten embassies were dispatched in one year, and five or six in another, some embassies for far-away countries took eight or nine years for their missions to go and return, and others for less faraway countries took several years for their missions<sup>(26)</sup>." In the Latter Han period, with the Xiong-nu being driven out of the region, the 30 years' control of the Tarim Basin by Ban Chao (Pan Chao), the Governor-General in the West Regions, from 73 to 101 AD, witnessed culmination of success of China in its relations with the Xiong-nu.

Remarkably, in the frequent contacts, peaceful or violent, between China and the Xiong-nu, the Chinese diplomats habitually called their native land *Ta-han*. For instance, when he was appointed for the second time by the emperor Mingdi (Ming-ti 58-76) to go on mission to the Xiong-nu, Zheng Zhong, the Han envoy, wrote to the emperor, expressing his reluctance to carry out the task, saying: "The last time I was sent on mission to the Xiong-nu and was presented to their Shan-yu (ruler), I refused to bow to him, the Shan-yu was angry with me and kept hatred ... if I am sent on mission this time to him again, I am sure that he will kill me. I feel ashamed to bow to the chief of the barbarians given my status of diplomat of *Ta-han*. If Shan-yu succeeds in making me to obey him, it will bring humiliations upon our *Ta-han*<sup>(27)</sup>." Another example is provided by a letter of Ban Chao (P'an Ch'ao), who wrote to the emperor in 78 AD, suggesting the imperial court send an army to extinguish the forces of the Xiong-nu, saying: "Wei Jiang (flourished from 572 BC to 559 BC) was a mere courtier of the Jin State, who was able to help his state to relieve the threats of the barbarian races by his diplomatic skill. Yet I am on mission on behalf of *Ta-han*. How can not I do anything in coping with the barbarians for our country<sup>(28)</sup>?" These cases show that *Ta-han* is the habitual name used by the Chinese in their diplomatic affairs with the Xiong-nu and other nomadic peoples.

(26) Cf. SI-MA QIAN, *Shi-ji*, ch. 123, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959, p. 3170.

(27) Cf. FAN YE, *Hou-han-shu*, ch. 36, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965, p. 1225.

(28) Cf. FAN YE, *Hou-han-shu*, ch. 47, p. 1575.

Simultaneously, the Xiong-nu used the name *Ta-han* for China in their frequent relations with the Chinese, as is amply demonstrated by a well-known letter in the second year of Tai-shi (95 BC). The Shan-yu, the Xiong-nu emperor, wrote to the imperial court of Han, urging the Han government to pay annual tribute to him: "*Ta-han* is master in south, and the Xiong-nu dominates in north. Our Xiong-nu people, the favored race of the Heaven, are not vexed over trivial matters of etiquette. We now desire to open the frontier markets with your *Ta-han*, to have your girls as our wives, and to have your presents of 10,000 *dan* of fine wine, 5,000 *hu* of millet and rice, and 10,000 clothes of silk, and other goods as we have agreed by pact. If you keep your promise, we will not make trouble on the frontiers<sup>(29)</sup>." Even though the Shan-yu flagrantly extorted wealth from the Han court of China, he still applied the name *Ta-han* to China. This instance shows that *Ta-han*, as a proper name, was habitually used for China by the nomadic tribes, even in hostile circumstances<sup>(30)</sup>.

Another example shows that the name *Ta-han* spread to the peoples of Central and Western Asia. In *Xi-yu-zhuan* (Account of the Western Regions) of *Wei-shu* (the History of the Wei Dynasty 386-549, written in 551-554 AD), we come across the passage pertaining the Persian embassy to China:

During the era of *Shen-gui* (i.e. 518-519 AD), Persia sent an envoy bearing a letter of the king addressed to the imperial court, with sundry article of tribute. The letter said: 'May the Tian-zi (Son of Heaven, i.e. emperor) of the most magnificent country in existence to reign where the sun rises, as the heaven-born Tian-zi of the Han (China). This homage is humbly offered by the King of Persia, Ju-ho-do (Kovad), repeating thousands of times his most reverential obeisance'. And the court accepted this<sup>(31)</sup>.

The Persian king's use of the title of Han for China suggests that the name Han (or *Ta-han*) persisted among the peoples in Central and

(29) Cf. BAN GU, *Han-shu*, ch. 94, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962, p. 3780.

(30) Numerous examples show that, since the Han Dynasty, successive Chinese dynasties called themselves *Ta-han* and the northern nomadic nations refer to China using the same designation. For more instances, see RU CHUANMING, *Tabyač yuyuan xin kao* (A new interpretation on the etymological origin of Tabyač), in *Xueshu jilin*, vol. 10, Shanghai: Shanghai yuandong chubanshe, 1997, pp. 259-260.

(31) Cf. WEI SHOU, *Wei-shu*, ch. 102, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974, p. 2272.

Western Asia, even in the Wei Dynasty (386-556) when the *To pa* tribe, the Turkic race mentioned above, dominated northern China. In the case of Persian letter, we have *Han* in Chinese translation, and it would be reasonable to presume that *Tan-han* was the original term in the Persian version. In the two centuries following the collapse of the Han Dynasty, the local feudal states established by the nomadic tribes were too insignificant for other peoples to learn their names; so far as the impact on Central Asia is concerned, the Wei Dynasty established by the *To pa* tribe could do nothing more than recover and vitalize the memory of the Han empire.

Zhu Yu, a scholar in the Song Dynasty (960-1127), has pointed out a notable fact in his work *Ping-zhou ke-tan*, that "the Han Dynasties made their authority obeyed among the barbarian tribes in the northwest regions, by whom China was called Han; the Tang Dynasty extended its authority to the barbarians in southeast regions, by whom China was thus termed Tang. In the era of Chong-ning (1102-1106), the imperial officials wrote to the imperial court, saying that the neighboring peoples termed China as *Han-Tang* in their documents according to their local custom in frontier, the imperial government should inform them to change their appellation for China from the old ones into the name of Song. ... It is granted by the imperial edict<sup>(32)</sup>." Hu San-xing, another scholar in the same dynasty, noted that "in the Han period, the Xiong-nu called the Chinese people *Qin* [*Chin*] men. In the period from the Han to the Tang and to the present (Song), however, they term China Han, and thus they refer to Han-ren, Han-er etc. In every case they follow the old custom<sup>(33)</sup>." This testimony suggests that the Chinese, while calling themselves Han people in domestic affairs, used the name of *Ta-han* for their own country and people in foreign affairs with other peoples such as the Xiong-nu, and thus the name *Ta-han* was corrupted through the intermediate languages into such forms as *Tabyač* in Turkic and *Tavvác* in Greek.

As far as we know, Simocatta was the earliest author to mention the name of Taugast in this form, which was found thereafter in slightly dif-

(32) Cf. ZHU YU, *Ping-zhou ke-tan*, 2, see *Song yuan biji xiaoshuo da guan* (The collected anecdotes and novels in the Song and Yuan Dynasties), vol. 2, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001, pp. 2318-2319.

(33) Quoted by XU SONG, *Hanshu xiyuzhuan buzhu* (Additional annotations to Han-shu), II, Shanghai: Shanghai shangwu yinshuguan, 1937, p. 74.

ferent forms in various languages after the 8<sup>th</sup> century. However, it is reasonable to presume the Greek *Taugas* (Ταυγᾶς or Ταυγᾶστ) should have its provenance in Turkic language, for, as we have said, the Turks had been instrumental for its appearance in Simocatta's work. Oddly, not until the 8<sup>th</sup> century was the name of *Taugas* often mentioned in the form of *Tabyač* in Turkic inscriptions. It was employed as an appellation for a nation in some cases, and as an adjective qualifying nouns to compose new expressions such as "Tabyač khagans", "Tabyač people" and "Tabyač officials" in others. However, all these instances refer to the imperial dynasties in China<sup>(34)</sup>.

In the centuries following Simocatta, the peoples in Central and Western Asia began to refer to China using the name of *Tabyač* (or *Tabghāj*). In the period of the Uighurs' domination in Qoco (Khoco, i.e. Turfan), one monk named Singqu sāli Tutong from Bisbaliq (Beshebalic), in his translation of *bodistw taiito samtso ačarinīng yoriy-in uqitmaq* (Xuan-tsang's biography of the Great Tang) and *Jin-guang-ming zui-sheng-wangjing* from Chinese into Uighur version, used *twqač* or *tvyač* to refer to China and the Chinese language. It is apparent that *twqač* or *tvyač* represent Turkic *t(a)bqač* or *t(a)byač*. Prof. Fang Jia-sheng, in studying these two fragmentary documents, identifies *twqač* (*tvyač*), without any hesitation, with *Taugas* in Simocatta and *Tao-hua-shi* in Chinese sources. According to him, the Uighur versions were completed in the Song Dynasty (960-1127)<sup>(35)</sup>.

*Tabyač* was kept in use in its original sense by the Central Asian peoples. Mahmud al-Kašyari, the Karakhanid scholar, in his work *Diwan Luyat at-Türk* (Compendium of the Turkic Dialects) completed in 70s of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, wrote: "*Tavghaq* is the name for *Macin*, which is four months' distance to Cathay. *Cin* consists of three parts: the *Upper Cin*, i.e. *Tavghaq*, is located in the east; the *Middle Cin* is Cathay; and the *Lower Cin* is Barhkan, which is also called Kasgar; *Tavghaq*, in the present day, is termed *Macin*, and *Cathay Cin*<sup>(36)</sup>." The *Upper Cin*, the *Middle Cin* and

(34) Cf. RUI CHUANMING, *Gu tujue beiming yanjiu* (A Study on the Ancient Turkic Inscriptions), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998, p. 133.

(35) Cf. FENG JIASHENG, *Huihewen xieben pusa datang sanzang fashi zhuan yanjiu baogao* (A study on Uigalic version of Xuan Tsang's biography), in *Collected Papers by Feng Jiasheng*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987, pp. 376-379.

(36) Cf. MAHMUD AL-KASGARI, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, trans. by R. DANKOFF, part I, Harvard University, 1982, p. 341; ZHANG GUANGDA, *guanyu mahe-*

the *Lower Cin* refer respectively to the Song Dynasty, the Liao Dynasty in northern China and the Karakhanid Dynasty in Central Asia; his equation of Kashgaria with the *Lower Cin*, and his view regarding Central Asia as belonging to *Cin*, indicate that he chose to stress the long-existing relations of Central Asia with China<sup>(37)</sup>. It is in a strict and proper sense that he employed the name *Tavghaq*, signifying China.

This is further clarified by other evidence. In 1218, when his kingdom was in peril of the invading Mongolian army, Mahomed, Sultan of Khwarismia, received envoys from Chinghis Khan at Bokhara. He had interview secretly with one of those envoys who was a native of his own territories and asked him if it was true that Chinghis Khan had occupied Tamghaj<sup>(38)</sup>? The Sultan wanted to know about the Mongolian attacks on the Song Dynasty. In 1221, the Taoist monk Ch'ang-chun, at the request of Chinghis Khan, left for Central Asia. When he passed by Almalic, noticing that the local farmers irrigated their fields with canals, but the only method employed by the people of these parts for drawing water was to dip a pitcher and carry it on the shoulder or the head. Chinese buckets delighted them, and they said to the Taoist traveler: "You *Tao-hua-shih* (*taugash*) are so clever at everything!" The Taoist monk was told by the local people that "*Tao-hua-shih* is the name for the *Han-ren* (i.e. Han people)<sup>(39)</sup>." However, it seems that it never occurred to the learned Taoist monk that the name could be etymologically traced to the long-existing term of *Ta-han*.

It should be noted that the name *Taugas* underwent a gradual change in meaning in its westward spread. This is explicitly verified by a

*mu kashigali de tujue cihui yu jian yu ci shu de yuan xing ditu* (On the Turkic Compendium by Mahmud Kašyari and the circular map in the work), in *Xiyu shidi congkao chu bian* (Collected papers on history and geography of the Western Regions), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995, p. 70.

(37) Due to the establishment of rule of the Tang Dynasty in Central Asia, Central Asia was also included in the geographical conception of *Cin* (*Sin*). For instance, an Arab poet speaks of Kutaybah, the conqueror of Transoxiana, as being interred in the land of *Cin*, whilst it is known from other testimony that he was interred in Farghana. Cf. YULE, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, I, pp. 219-220.

(38) Cf. YULE, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, I, p. 33; C. D'OHSSON, *Histoire des Mongols*, I, Amsterdam, 1834, p. 203; translated by Feng CHENGJUN, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2001, p. 92.

(39) Cf. LI ZHI-CHANG, *Chang-chun-zhen-ren xi-you-ji*, p. 51; *The Travels of an Alchemist*, p. 86.



notable fact that the Turkic peoples, while kept the habitual use of Taugas for China, applied it to themselves to qualify their own identity as well. There are two historical fragments, both of which pertain to the tribute of precious jades presented by the Khotanese kingdom under the Karakhanid empire to the Song Dynasty. Of them one is recorded by Cai Tiao (Ts'ai T'iao), the son of the well-known minister Cai Jing (T'sai Jing, 1047-1126), in his work *Tie-wei-shan cong-tan* written prior to 1131, and the other by Zhang Shi-nan in his work *You-huan ji-wen* written after 1228.

Cai Tiao explains :

The emperor (of the Song dynasty), having decided to make imperial seal, proclaimed edict to order the Khotanese kingdom to pay tribute of precious jade. One day when I was on duty in the court, the minister Wang said to us : 'the Khotanese king addressed recently a letter to our court, I, on my part, in order to make a response to it, have it translated into Chinese by translators, and found a lot of fun in it. All the courtiers who were present were joyful to hear this and urged the minister to explain what it is. The minister therefore read it aloud : 'I, your nephew, the *Tiao-guan-chu* (i.e. Taugas) sovereign of the Karakhanid Khanate of five hundred lands, which receive the bright sun, addresses to you, my maternal uncle, the *Tiao-guan-chu* sovereign of the four worlds which receive the bright sun, for the jade you previously requested, I made every effort to search for it. However, it is regretful that no chunk is as big as you desire. I have ordered my subjects to search for it everywhere, as soon as it is found, it will be handed over to you'. Hearing this, all the courtiers laughed joyfully<sup>(40)</sup>.

*You-huan ji-wen* retains the original :

"I, the lion-like king, the *Tiao-guan-chu* sovereign of the Karakhanid Khanate of five hundred lands, which receive the bright sun, address to you, my maternal uncle, the *Tiao-guan-chu* sovereign of the four worlds, which receive the bright sun, for the jade you previously requested, I made every effort to search for it. However, it is regretful that no chunk is big as you desire. I have ordered my subjects to search for it along the two rivers, as soon as it is found, it will be handed over to you<sup>(41)</sup>."

(40) Cf. Cai TIAO, *Tie-wei-shan-cong-tan*, 1 ; see HUANG SHIJIAN, *Tiao-guan-chu kao* (A Study on Taugas), in *Dong-xi jiao-liu-shi lun-gao* (Collected papers on relations between the East and the West), Shanghai : Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998, p. 35.

(41) Cf. ZHANG SHI-NAN, *You-huan ji-wen*, 5 ; see HUANG SHIJIAN, *Dong-xi jiao-liu-shi lun-gao*, p. 35.

It is clear the two pieces of information refer to one and same event, and it is obvious that *Tiao-guan-chu* in the Chinese transcription is one form of Ταυγᾶς in Greek and Tabyač (or tabghač) in the Turkic inscriptions. According to *yu-fu-zhi* of the *Song-shu* (History of the Song Dynasty), and *fan-yi* in *Song-hui-yao ji-gao*, the Khotanese tribute of jade was made in the 7<sup>th</sup> year of the Zheng-he era, i.e. 1117 AD. The phrases "I, your nephew, the *Tiao-guan-chu* sovereign of the Karakhanid Khanate of five hundred lands ..." and "I, the lion-like king, the *Tiao-guan-chu* sovereign of the Karakhanid Khanate of five hundred lands ...", point to the fact that the Khotanese king, while terming the Chinese emperor *Tiao-guan-chu* sovereign, also called himself the *Tiao-guan-chu* sovereign<sup>(42)</sup>. Accordingly *Tiao-guan-chu* hereby can not be understood as referring solely and uniquely to China in the original sense.

The *Account of Khotan* in the official history of the Song Dynasty records that, in the 4<sup>th</sup> year of the Yuan-feng era (i.e. 1081 AD), the king of the Karakhanid Khanate "sent A-xin, a tribe ruler under his dominion, as an envoy bearing the letter addressed to our court, saying : the Karakhanid king in Khotan wrote to you, my maternal uncle, the *Han-jia* (i.e. the Han Family) sovereign of the great world, so and so ...". It is most worthy of note, that, in the place of "*Tiao-guan-chu* sovereign" appeared "*Han-jia* sovereign", in other word, *Tiao-guan-chu* and *Han-jia* are interchangeable. The equation of "*Han-jia* sovereign" with "*Tiao-guan-chu* sovereign" shows, that *Tiao-guan-chu* is another expression for *Han-jia*. Both are identified with Tabyač in Turkic ; the only difference lies in that *Han-jia* is a literal transcription, and *Tiao-guan-chu* a phonetic transliteration<sup>(43)</sup>.

The name was also found on the Karakhanid coins during the period from the 10<sup>th</sup> century to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It was commonly used with other nouns together to make new expressions, such as "Sulaiman Qadr Tabghāj qayan", "Qadr Tabghāj qayan" etc<sup>(44)</sup>. V. Barthold is acute in noticing the paradoxical phenomenon that some Islamic Khagans called themselves Tabgach-khan or Tamghach-khan, although they never took the Chinese territories under their domination or extended their

(42) Cf. HUANG SHIJIAN, *Dongxi jiaoliushi lungao*, pp. 34-38.

(43) Cf. HUANG SHIJIAN, *Dongxi jiaoliushi lungao*, p. 38.

(44) Cf. JIANG QIXIANG, *Xinjiang Atushi xian kalahan wangchao qianbi yaocang qingli jianbao* (Report on the Board of Karahanid Coins in Atushi of Xinjiang), *Wenwu*, 12 (1985), pp. 26-32.



rule into the borders of China ; however he was mistaken in supposing Tabgach-khan as meaning Chinese khan, suggesting that their practice of self-claiming Tabgach khagans was due to survival of some steppe tradition and pre-Islamic practice<sup>(45)</sup>. Such a mistake is undoubtedly due to his failure to notice the changes in meaning as the term spread westward.

In matter of fact, it is in a derivative sense that the *Tabghāj* was utilized by those Islamic Khagans to themselves, and could therefore no longer be perceived as *Ta-han* in the original sense. *Ta-han*, as we have pointed out, is the designation of the powerful Han dynasties, representing a great splendor and superiority of China in power and culture, symbolizing a vigorous vitality and magnificent initiatives in relations with other peoples, especially with the nomadic races in the north steppe and Central Asia ; the Tang Dynasty is the Golden Age of Chinese history, with its formidable strength in power, vigorous openness in culture, unprecedented prosperity in social life, and unparalleled success in dealing with the barbarians such as Turks in its northern borders and Central Asia. The glorious fame of China, which the Han Dynasties had enjoyed, was revived and enlarged under the old name of *Ta-han* (tao-hua-shi etc.) by the Tang Dynasty among the barbarian peoples, and in such a capacity, *Ta-han* was endowed with a new derivative sense signifying “of great power” or “of great splendor”, “of high nobility” and “of long-existed tradition” and other similar connotations. Those Islamic khagans intended, accordingly, in connecting their own title with *Tabghāj* to compose a new title *Tabghāj* khagan, to express their splendor and strength of power, signifying that they were “great khagans”, “powerful khagans” and “khagans of great and long-tradition people” etc.<sup>(46)</sup> This point of view is adequately corroborated by a significant example : in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the khans of Crimea proclaimed themselves as “great emperors of the Tāt and Tawḡāč (Tawḡāj)”. The Tāt are non-Turkish tribe. Pelliot is right in considering the name merely as the last outcome of the undue extension to the Turks and Mongols which

(45) Cf. V. BARTHOLD, *A History of Turkman People*, in *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, Leiden, 1956, English translation by V. and T. MINORSKY ; Chinese translation by Geng SHIMIN, Beijing : Zhonghua shuju, 2005, p. 24.

(46) Cf. NIU RUJI, *Wenhua de lüzhou : silu yuyan yu xiyu wenming* (The Oasis of Cultures : Languages on Silk Road and Serindia Civilization), Urumuqi : Xinjiang renming chubanshe, 2006, p. 194.

the name Tabyāč, “China” and “Chinese” (although etymologically the designation of a forgotten Altaic nation), had developed in the Middle Ages<sup>(47)</sup>, although his identification of Tabyāč with *T'o-pa* (Thak-bat) is less acceptable.

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#### SUMMARY

The term of Ταυγάστ was found first in the *History* of Theophylact Simocatta, the Byzantine historian. Phonetically, it was derived from *Ta-han*, i.e. the Great Han, an appellation for the two Han Dynasties by the Huns and other nomadic peoples. With the rise of the Turks in Central Asia and its frequent diplomatic exchanges with the Byzantine empire in the last half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, this term was acquainted with and written down by the Byzantine historian. This term, commonly used as a name, was accepted by the various ethnic groups during its westward spread to Central Asia and West Asia, referring to China, and to those ethnic groups themselves with a derivative meaning in many cases.

(47) Cf. P. PELLIOU, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, Paris, 1959, p. 274.

## COMPTES RENDUS

Paola VOLPE CACCIATORE, *Graeca et Byzantina. Studi raccolti da amici e allievi*, Naples, M. D'Auria Editore, 2006, 177 pages. ISBN 88-7092-259-6.

Il volumetto racchiude una serie di contributi, apparsi tra il 1981 ed il 2003 per lo più in atti e miscellanee, raccolti da colleghi ed allievi dell'A. in occasione del suo sessantesimo genetliaco. Essi spaziano dalla tragedia greca all'epigramma imperiale e bizantino, da Plutarco a Temistio e giù fino alla tarda stagione bizantina, non esclusa la ricezione dei classici in epoca contemporanea. Si tratta, in sostanza, come chiariscono i dedicatari del volume (p. 7), di una scelta degli scritti dell'A., dai quali possano emergere le tappe più significative e i diversi ambiti del percorso di ricerca della *laudanda*.

I primi due capitoli sono entrambi incentrati sulla tragedia attica ed in particolare sul personaggio di Aiace dell'omonima tragedia sofoclea e su quello dell'*Andromaca* di Euripide. Nel primo caso, l'attenzione della studiosa è incentrata interamente sulle preghiere di Aiace, perché è proprio attraverso esse che, secondo la studiosa, può cogliersi l'intero dramma della follia dell'eroe omerico, mettendone in evidenza 'la malinconica e desiderata solitudine ma pure la superba grandezza' (p. 15). Nel secondo, attraverso una rilettura dei passi del dramma (in particolare il prologo recitato dinanzi all'altare del santuario di Tetide), in cui più aspro è il lamento dell'eroina euripidea per la triste ed angusta condizione di schiava e concubina in cui ella versa dopo esser rimasta vedova di Ettore e più forte, dunque, lo scontro tra il passato e il presente, si tenta di delineare il carattere tragico di *Andromaca*.

Il terzo capitolo indaga la sostanza del concetto di *πολυπραγμοσύνη* in Plutarco, quale emerge soprattutto dal trattato (*De curiositate*) ad esso specificamente consacrato e raccolto, assieme agli altri scritti interessati al problema della cura dell'anima, nei *Moralia*. La lettura dell'A., che sorvola volutamente sulle fonti filosofiche alle quali l'erudito di Cheronea si sarebbe ispirato, è intesa piuttosto a studiare le forme di attuazione concrete messe in pratica dall'autore nell'esame di un'affezione dell'anima quale la *curiositas*, nella descrizione delle sue manifestazioni e nell'individuazione delle terapie necessarie a debellarla.

Legati dalla comune tematica epigrammatica sono i capitoli IV, VII e VIII. Se, infatti, nel primo la studiosa fornisce un'attenta ricostruzione della vicenda

biografica e della poetica dell'epigrammatista di età imperiale Antifilo di Bisanzio, nel VII la medesima cura è rivolta verso l'analisi degli epigrammi erotici di Agazia, di cui si indaga in particolare la rielaborazione tematica rispetto ai modelli ellenistici e la ricerca stilistica e linguistica. L'VIII, estremamente schematico, ma non per questo privo di interesse nelle conclusioni, è teso a sostenere l'ipotesi di un uso strumentale, vale a dire anche pratico e non solo letterario, dell'epigramma in età bizantina. A tal proposito, la studiosa richiama, opportunamente, gli esempi degli epigrammi illustrativi di icone o di altri arredi sacri ed in generale di oggetti di uso comune, in cui numerosi autori bizantini si provarono.

Veniamo, così, al capitolo V. Attraverso una lettura in parallelo della XV orazione del *corpus* dei discorsi di Temistio e del panegirico di Pacato per l'imperatore Teodosio, l'A. si sforza di mettere in risalto la topica del βασιλικὸς λόγος, mostrando come entrambi gli autori abbiano tenuto fortemente presenti nella composizione della loro rispettive opere le norme codificate in tal senso da Menandro il Retore, senza, tuttavia, per questo restare sordi ai richiami contemporanei ovvero del pubblico cui ciascuno dei due autori si indirizza.

Per il capitolo successivo, l'A. ha deciso di soffermarsi sulla *Parafrasi di Giovanni* di Nonno Panopolitano, al fine di mostrare, attraverso l'analisi dei racconti dei miracoli del vangelo giovanneo e la corrispettiva rielaborazione in versi da parte del poeta tardoantico, la compresenza dell'elemento pagano e cristiano nel lessico e nello stile di tale autore.

Si passa, quindi, nuovamente a Bisanzio nei capitoli IX e X. Il primo, richiamando la figura in parte dimenticata di Niceforo Cumno, poliedrico intellettuale bizantino vissuto a cavallo tra il XIII ed il XIV secolo, fornisce uno studio complessivo sull'uso della clausola ritmica nei suoi scritti. A tal fine, la studiosa, che si ispira programmaticamente alle metodologie di W. Hörandner, prende in considerazione unicamente gli opuscoli portati alla luce dal Boissonade nei suoi *Anecdota Graeca* (Paris 1829-1833) e *Anecdota Nova* (Paris 1844), limitando inoltre la sua indagine alla sola clausola forte. Il risultato cui l'A. perviene è che 'Cumno (...) non si sia curato della clausola, al pari di altri autori (...) presso i quali le clausole forti "pari" oscillano fra il 40 e il 50%' (p. 150). Nel seguente, vengono messi a confronto il *De regno* ed il *De subiectionum officiis* di Tommaso Magistro nel tentativo di ricostruire il pensiero politico di quest'ultimo, alla luce dei precedenti ideologici e letterari propri della trattatistica congenere.

Conclude la raccolta uno scritto legato alla fortuna e ricezione dell'antico in età contemporanea ovvero alla 'riscrittura' dell'*Antigone* sofoclea ne *La tomba di Antigone* della filosofa e scrittrice spagnola, María Zambrano; un'opera che, come giustamente osserva l'A. (p. 175), piuttosto che riscrittura si pone come rivisitazione di un mito tragico quanto mai adatto a delineare una situazione di solitudine comune agli antichi e ai moderni.

Non è facile esprimere un giudizio d'insieme sul volume. Se da un lato, infatti, come abbiamo già rilevato, ci si trova dinanzi a contributi di indubbio interesse (si tratta, stranamente, degli studi più antichi, quelli, cioè, relativi all'epigramma e al concetto di *πολυπραγμοσύνη* in Plutarco, bene informati bibliograficamente e piuttosto critici), dall'altro le analisi condotte dall'A. – che registrano anche un evidente cambio di stile – restano sul generico, non apportando nulla di nuovo nel campo della ricerca sia nel caso di temi quanto mai dibattuti (si vedano i lavori su Aiace ed Andromaca) sia in quello di soggetti meno esplorati. Su tale versante, l'A. o si limita a fornire poco più che la parafrasi delle opere trattate (penso, ad es., al contributo su Temistio e Pacato o a quello su Tommaso Magistro) o, aspetto più grave, fornisce elementi del tutto errati. Mi limiterò, in linea con gli interessi della rivista, a pochi esempi scelti, tra quelli relativi alla letteratura tardoantica e bizantina, cominciando dall'intervento sulla clausola ritmica in Niceforo Cumno.

Non si capisce per quale motivo la studiosa abbia rinunciato a prendere in considerazione per la sua indagine anche gli opuscoli di più recente edizione o, comunque, non compresi nei *corpora* del Boissonade (per un punto sulle edizioni di Cumno, vedi E. Amato - I. Ramelli, 'Filosofia rhetoricans in Niceforo Cumno: l'inedito trattato *Sui corpi primi e semplici*', *MEG* 6, 2006, pp. 1-40: 1-2 e relativa bibliografia). Comunque sia, i risultati pubblicati dall'A. sono assolutamente errati, se non proprio, verrebbe da dire, inventati di sana pianta. Si veda, ad es., la tabella A di p. 145 relativa al numero delle ricorrenze delle clausole forti: neppure un totale di quelli riportati dalla studiosa corrisponde alla somma dei singoli addendi (a titolo di esempio, nella penultima colonna della Tabella A si ha:  $1 + 1 + 6 + 1 + 5 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 1 + 1 + 7 + 6 + 28 = 36$  (!); ed ancora nell'ultima:  $1 + 1 + 3 + 1 + 1 + 15 = 7$  (!); e così via); lo stesso dicasi per le percentuali comprese nella tabella B di p. 146, tutte gettate a casaccio. Tali gravissimi rilievi finiscono per inficiare totalmente il lavoro, da considerarsi del tutto inattendibile: a seguito di una personale indagine dell'utilizzo della clausola ritmica in Niceforo Cumno, risulta, infatti, che egli si sia curato di tale artificio al pari di autori quali Imerio, Giovanni Geometra, Anna Comnena, Michele Choniates, ponendosi così sulla scia del suo maestro, Gregorio di Cipro, benché con minore premura (vedi Amato - Ramelli, *art. cit.*, p. 15).

Nel caso, poi, del contributo su lingua e stile nella *Parafrasi* nonniana, è sconcertante rilevare come la maggior parte dei termini greci, indicati dall'A. come di uso esclusivamente nonniano, ricorrano al contrario nella lingua greca a partire dai secoli precedenti. Basti un solo esempio: *ἀτίνακτος* si trova, prima di Nonno, già in Opp., *Haliut.* 2, 8; 4, 415; *Cyneg.* 2, 336; *Greg. Naz.*, *PG* 35, 1237, 43; 1240, 20; 37, 623, 8; 764, 6; ecc. (ricorrenze anteriori a Nonno si registrano anche per i vocaboli *ἀκροφανής*, *ἀφώτιστος*, *ὁμόζυγος*, *ὕγροπος*). Quanto, infine, può essere indicativo, in linea col fine propostosi dalla studiosa (evidenziare, cioè, attraverso il sondaggio sull'aspetto linguistico e stilistico la

coesistenza nella *Parafrasi* di Nonno di un'anima pagana ed una cristiana), la presenza di figure retoriche, quali la litote, l'iperbole, l'*accumulatio*, l'anafora, ecc., presenti praticamente ovunque nella poesia greca ed in particolar modo nella produzione di età imperiale? (Un buon esempio in tal senso è fornito dal libro di E. Rebuffat, *ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΕΩΝ. Tecniche di composizione poetica negli Haliutica di Oppiano*, Firenze 2001, da leggere eventualmente con la recensione di E. Amato, in *Plekos* 5, 2003, pp. 153-168 [www.plekos.uni-muenchen.de/2003/rrebuffat.pdf]; vedi anche E. Amato, *Dionisio di Alessandria. Descrizione della Terra abitata*, Milano 2005, pp. 164-166).

Mi soffermo rapidamente ora sul saggio relativo al confronto tra i panegirici di Temistio e Pacato per l'imperatore Teodosio – piuttosto una sommaria parafrasi che non, come scrive l'A., un 'confronto analitico' (p. 98) tra i due scritti –, per segnalare almeno la confusione nella definizione dello scritto temistiano, considerato ora giustamente come un panegirico ora erroneamente uno *speculum principis* (p. 90). Com'è noto, di questo genere, dotato di una sua chiara fisionomia e di una propria topica, che ebbe i suoi modelli germinali nell'*Ad Nicoclem* di Isocrate e nei trattati *de regno* di età ellenistica ed imperiale (si pensi a Diotogene, Stenida, ps.-Ecfanto, Dione Crisostomo), il primo vero esempio è fornito solo nel VI secolo dalla *Scheda regia* di Agapeto (per la definizione del genere ed i caratteri che lo distanziano dal panegirico, vedi H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, München 1978, I, pp. 157-165; W. Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel. Agapetos, Theophylakt von Ochrid, Thomas Magister*, Stuttgart 1981, pp. 1-58; R. Romano, 'Retorica e cultura a Bisanzio: due *Fürstenspiegel* a confronto', *Vichiana* n.s. 14, 1985, pp. 299-316: 299-301; J. M. Schulte, *Speculum Regis: Studien zur Fürstenspiegel-Literatur in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Münster 2001, pp. 9-19 e 249-261; D. O'Meara - J. Schamp, *Miroirs de prince de l'Empire romain au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris - Fribourg 2006).

Non mancherà, ovviamente, rilievi minori, ma non per questo meno insidiosi: p. 13: Simonide imitatore o meglio riecheggiatore di Erodoto (!); p. 154: l'orazione *Ad Demonium* attribuita *tout court* ad Isocrate, senza alcun accenno all'antico dibattito sulla sua paternità; *ibid.*: l'invenzione di un nuovo trattatista *περὶ βασιλείας*, Ecfantide, scambiato forse per lo ps.-Ecfanto (!). Va, inoltre, segnalato, per quanto riguarda la bibliografia utilizzata, il curioso rimando (p. 89, n. \*) all'edizione temistiana di W. Dindorf (Leipzig 1832) in luogo di quella ormai canonica a cura di H. Schenkl, G. Downey e A. F. Norman (I-III, Leipzig 1965-1974) ed ancora, per Ipponatte, l'impiego (p. 13) della numerazione di E. Diehl (Leipzig 1952<sup>2</sup>) invece che quella di E. Degani (Stuttgart 1991<sup>2</sup>). I refusi, non assenti, restano nel complesso nei limiti della norma.

E. AMATO.

L. BOSSINA, *Teodoro restituito. Ricerche sulla catena dei Tre Padri e la sua tradizione* (*Studi e Ricerche*, 68), Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2008, xi + 216 pages. ISBN 978-88-6274-063-0.

The commentary of Theodoret of Cyrrihus (CPG 6203) on the *Song of Songs*, the only known Antiochene exegetical work on that book to have survived, has not reached us through direct tradition. In order to retrieve it, one is forced to turn to the *catenae*, more specifically to the so-called *catena Trium Patrum* (CPG C 81), also known as *catena* type B (according to the classification used by M. Faulhaber in his seminal work on the *catenae* of the Solomonic books: *Hohelied-, Proverbien- und Prediger-Catenen*, Wien, 1902, pp. 6-19). This *catena*'s tradition is rather complex, as it consists of two recensions, generally labelled B1 and B2. Theodoret's text can only be found in B2. B1 is in fact not a *catena*, but a running commentary that uses material taken from Gregory of Nyssa's sermons on the *Song* (CPG 3158) and from the commentary of Nilus of Ancyra (CPG 6051) and that bears the mark of Maximus the Confessor's exegesis (see below). Consequently, this text is called that 'of the Three Fathers'. It is not yet edited, except for its closing part (PG 87<sup>2</sup>, 1756-1780). The B2 *catena* has three sources, namely the text of the Three Fathers, the commentary of Theodoret and Michael Psellus' poetical exegesis of the *Song*. Of these three texts, only that of Psellus (which is also transmitted directly, in addition to its *catena* tradition) is available in a critical edition (*Michaelis Pselli Poemata*. Recensuit L. G. Westerink, Stuttgartiae - Lipsiae, 1992, poema 2). Theodoret's commentary (PG 81, 28-213) and B2's recension of the text of the Three Fathers (PG 122, 537-685) are not yet edited critically: those editions are in preparation by L. BOSSINA.

In the course of last decade, the author paved the way for his forthcoming editions by authoring a total of seven articles treating several aspects of the B2 *catena* and the various texts it contains. All of these articles (to which references can be found on p. ix of his volume) are now updated and gathered into the volume that is under discussion here - each article makes out one chapter. These seven chapters are arranged into three parts: *Ricostruire Teodoro* (pp. 1-97); *I Tre Padri e Michele Psello* (pp. 99-147); *La tradizione umanistica* (pp. 149-208). As one can deduce from the titles of these three parts, the restoration of Theodoret's text is but one of the book's many topics. In that sense, the volume's title (*Teodoro restituito*) is somewhat misleading, as it in fact is only applicable to the book's first part. Its subtitle (*Ricerche sulla catena dei Tre Padri e la sua tradizione*) is at least as important, but even that one does not fully capture the wide array of subjects that are treated by BOSSINA.

There can be no doubt about it: BOSSINA tackles these many topics with success. With every page, the reader feels (s)he is reading a book written by a very skilful scholar. Clearly feeling at home in various scholarly disciplines (textual criticism of patristic and Byzantine texts, intellectual history of the Counter

Reformation and of humanistic Europe, ecdocitics etc.), the author manages to retain an admirably high level of learnedness throughout the entire book. Consequently, he manages to truly advance scholarship: in every chapter he proposes many new insights and solves at least one question with which past scholarship has been struggling for some time.

The opening chapter (*Teodoro restituito. Storia di un equivoco lungo cinque secoli*, pp. 3-52) starts from the observation that some passages in Theodoret's text, as they are printed in the PG edition, are quite incomprehensible and have puzzled present-day interpretations. In a remarkable display of text critical skills, BOSSINA identifies the reason that has caused this misunderstanding: it is the transposition of some folios in the manuscript that stands at the top of the most numerous represented branch of B2's manuscript stemma (i.e., *Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 314* (s. XIV) = W). Three times, folios in W have been transposed: the exegesis offered by Theodoret and that of the text of the Three Fathers have been switched. In two of these cases (namely *ad Cant.* 3,2-4 and 8,14), this transposition has affected the entire subsequent manuscript tradition, which completely depends on W (whether directly or indirectly): this resulted in errors that eventually ended up in the PG editions (i.e., fragments of the Three Fathers being printed as part of Theodoret's text and vice versa). In the third case (namely *ad Cant.* 8,5), the error has been corrected in a later stage of the manuscript tradition of B2: M. Devaris, who in 1562-1563 provided corrections to the manuscript *Vaticanus Gr. 621* (= D), noticed the transposition and corrected the text. BOSSINA schematically but carefully expounds the manuscript and printed tradition of the B2 text between the years 1549 (Chr. Auer's copying of manuscript *Vaticanus Gr. 620* = A) and 1769 (J. L. Schulze's edition of Theodoret's text) and focuses on the deep impact Devaris' corrections had on this tradition. This enables the reader to evaluate BOSSINA's explanation of the problem, which is very convincing and settles the matter in a definitive way. He concludes the first chapter with a critical edition of Theodoret's commentary on *Cant.* 8,14, including the evidence of B2's most important manuscripts (Unfortunately, for *Cant.* 3,2-4, such an edition is not provided, but see pp. 25-26).

The only critique that can be adduced is the question why Devaris, who had the text of the Three Fathers for *Cant.* 6,9-8,14 in front of him (in the form of the sixteenth-century manuscript *Vaticanus Gr. 728* = K) and used this as a leverage to correct the transposition *ad Cant.* 8,5, did not do so for *Cant.* 8,14. BOSSINA himself formulates a hypothesis in order to answer this question (p. 32), but also recognizes that this incongruity is the single weaker point in his argumentation.

BOSSINA ties in with the topic of these three transpositions in the fourth chapter (*Testi ignoti (o mal noti) di Teodoro e dei Tre Padri*, pp. 123-128). Here he provides the correct B2 text of the Three Fathers for *Cant.* 3,2-4 and *Cant.* 8,14,



which suffered from the transpositions in W. He does not edit them critically, but provides the text of W, which he compared with two manuscripts from the B1 commentary. With respect to the last fragment (i.e., *ad Cant.* 8,14), the following comment can be made. The restoration of the text that was transmitted incorrectly is more useful for Theodoret's text (BOSSINA's chapter one) than for that of the Three Fathers (BOSSINA's chapter four), for the simple reason that the correct text of the Three Fathers can already be consulted in PG 87<sup>2</sup>, 1777C2-1780A14. After all, although transmitted incorrectly in the B2 catena, both fragments in question of the Three Fathers (namely *ad Cant.* 3,2-4 and 8,14) were copied correctly in their direct (i.e., B1) tradition. As said before, for *Cant.* 6,9-8,14, an (uncritical) edition of this B1 recension of the Three Fathers' text is available in PG 87<sup>2</sup>. Consequently, the correct text of the Three Fathers on *Cant.* 8,14 can be found there. Strangely enough, this is not mentioned by BOSSINA.

Later on in the fourth chapter, BOSSINA discusses two additional fragments that ended up incorrectly in the PG editions. *Ad Cant.* 1,2, the fragment in the text of the Three Fathers (printed in PG 122, 541B10-C15) in fact belongs to Theodoret. *Ad Cant.* 2,16-17, the scholion printed as part of Theodoret's text (PG 81, 112B4-C1) in fact belongs to that of the Three Fathers. These cases do not result from the transposition of folios in W, but from wrong attributions (The reader wonders why this information is only provided here, and not already in the first chapter, in which at least a reference to this discussion would have been welcome). BOSSINA does not comment upon Maria Barbàra's claim that two other fragments printed as part of the text of the Three Fathers and containing Hexaplaric readings (i.e., *ad Cant.* 1,13 [= PG 122, 561A6-C14] and *Cant.* 4,4 [= PG 122, 613B11-616B6]) in fact belong to Theodoret. Apparently, she believes the presence of Hexaplaric readings in the text of the Three Fathers to be impossible (see her edition of ORIGENE, *Commentario al Cantico dei Cantici*, Bologna, 2005, p. 116 n. 155) (The present reviewer suspects that Barbàra's claim is made too quickly, without taking into consideration what is implied in BOSSINA's third chapter, namely that not every single part of the commentary of the Three Fathers can be traced back to Nilus, Gregory or Maximus. See also BOSSINA's remark recorded in H.-U. Rosenbaum's edition of Nilus' commentary: *Nilus von Ancyra, Schriften. Band I: Kommentar zum Hohelied*, Berlin - New York, 2004, p. 226\*).

In his first chapter, BOSSINA drew a picture of most of the manuscript and printed tradition of the B2 catena in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. This he did in order to enable the reader to appreciate the consequences of the transpositions in W. In the second chapter, the topic of the manuscript and printed tradition is lingered over more extensively and in more detail (*Storia della tradizione del testo dal Concilio di Trento alla Guerra dei Trent'anni*, pp. 53-97). Again, the reader finds much joy in reading these pages, which articulate the findings of a scholar who clearly did not hold back in undertak-

ing thorough investigations and who managed to articulate them in a text that is written very well. Starting from manuscript W (first half of the fourteenth century), the author follows the path the B2 catena has taken up to F. du Duc's 1624 edition of B2's recension of the text of the Three Fathers and Schulze's 1769 edition of Theodoret. He does not mention all of the manuscripts (see below), but focuses on those that are used in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions and translations carried out by Zini, du Duc, Sirmond and Schulze. For each of those manuscripts, he provides a brief paleographical and codicological description, followed by an extensive picture of the intellectual framework and the historical background against which the manuscript was copied or printed. He concludes the chapter with a stemma that illustrates the source manuscripts of these editions and translations as well as their mutual relations. This stemma is of great advantage to present-day users of these editions/translations (or of their PG reprints), as it enables them to evaluate their value.

Instead of summarizing all of BOSSINA's interesting findings, let me single out three of the conclusions that most clearly advance present-day knowledge of the tradition of the B2 catena. (1) On the basis of an extensive study (pp. 62-73), the author convincingly proposes a hypothesis concerning the origins of *Vaticanus Reginensis Gr.* 7 (= R), a copy of W. R was dated by H. Stevenson to the end of the fifteenth century, but the author corrects this dating to the middle of the sixteenth century. Moreover, on the basis of careful paleographical analysis, he suggests that its copyist could have been Camillo Zanetti (whose father Bartolomeo copied another apograph of W). (2) BOSSINA identifies *Vaticanus Barberinianus Gr.* 567, copied by A. Darmarius in 1561 (= B), to be a copy of R, which itself, as has just been said, is a copy of W. Those variants in which B departs from W's text are revealed by the author to be alterations made by Darmarius and not supported by any manuscript evidence. In other words, B's value is rather limited. This observation is important, as it proves previous views on B2's manuscript tradition wrong: Faulhaber, who thought B to represent a singular and better text type, ascribed great authority to it (Faulhaber's view was silently endorsed by Barbàra, who chose this manuscript as her means of access to the B2 catena. See pp. 113-114 n. 152 of her edition). (3) Again stressing the importance of Devaris' role in the manuscript tradition (which he had already convincingly underlined in the first chapter), BOSSINA is the first to show that the Italian scholar, when adding his corrections to manuscript D, consulted a third manuscript of the B2 tradition (in addition to A and of course D), namely B.

After this second chapter, BOSSINA leaves the topic of the restoration of Theodoret's text behind him and directs attention to the B2 catena in itself and to its role as a transmitter of the texts of the Three Fathers and of Psellus. This is part two of the book, which opens with the third chapter: *La catena dei Tre*



Padri e il problema delle sue fonti (pp. 101-121). In this chapter, BOSSINA addresses the topic of the text of the Three Fathers (which is the *B1* commentary that is also transmitted in the *B2 catena*). He clearly states (against Faulhaber) that *B1* is not a *catena*, but the direct tradition of a new commentary created on the basis of Gregory, Nilus and Maximus. Its author probably also wrote the commentary of the Three Fathers on *Ecclesiastes* (CPG C 100) and Ps.-Procopius' commentary on *Proverbs* (CPG 7445). Tying in with conclusions reached by earlier scholars, BOSSINA stresses the difference in the author's use of Gregory and Nilus (namely as exegetical sources), on the one hand, and Maximus (namely as a theological source), on the other. Therefore BOSSINA considers the presence of the words ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἐννοιῶν in *B1*'s title to be authentic. These words precede the mention of Maximus, but cannot be found in *B2*'s version of this title. Interestingly, BOSSINA stresses that it is impossible (as well as useless) to single out excerpts of the various sources that were used by the author of the commentary of the Three Fathers. This author did more than compiling ear-

lier material: he was also capable of working autonomously and of writing independently from his sources. BOSSINA does not enter into the manuscript tradition of *B1*, but limits himself to observing that (and explaining why) this text has received far less attention than the *B2 catena*, which was copied far more often. Nor does he look into the relations between the text of the Three Fathers and other *catenae* on the *Song* (A couple of years before BOSSINA's volume, interesting thoughts on this matter were formulated by Rosenbaum. See pp. 225\*-228\* of his edition).

In this third chapter, the author again manages impressively to solve a problem that has puzzled previous scholars. *B1*'s title mentions the name of Cyril (without any geographical specification), in addition to those of Gregory, Nilus and Maximus. In *B2*'s version of the title, Cyril's name is missing. BOSSINA concludes that *B1* nor *B2* contains fragments of Cyril and that the presence of Cyril's name in *B1*'s title is spurious: it was absent from the original title. He is also the first to provide a convincing explanation of how this spurious addition entered *B1*'s title (see pp. 112-121), namely that it is due to the misinterpretation of a clarification of Nilus's name. This explanation is very acceptable and in the present reviewer's opinion settles the matter in a definitive way. One would had hoped for BOSSINA to provide further thoughts on the question how to explain that either version of the title of the Three Fathers' text contains one error as well as one exclusive correct element. BOSSINA argues convincingly that the specification ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἐννοιῶν in *B1*'s version is correct, as is the absence of the words καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου in *B2*'s title. But how does he link both conclusions? How does he see the relation between both titles? The fact that he does not address this question is understandable, as it would require a broader study in order to identify the layer of *B1*'s tradition that was used by the *B2* compiler – a study that BOSSINA does not undertake.

In the fifth chapter, the author steps away from the text of the Three Fathers and from the *B2 catena* and narrows the focus to the text of Psellus (*Psello distratto. Questioni irrisolte nei versi* in *Canticum*, pp. 129-147). This chapter's main contribution is three-fold. First, BOSSINA nuances S. Leanza's assessment of the originality in Psellus' text by pointing out additional influences of Gregory of Nyssa (pp. 141-143). Second, he provides interesting insights regarding the purpose of Psellus' text, which he identifies as a didactical one. He sees the text as a vehicle for promoting rhetorical study (pp. 143-147). Third, and most importantly, BOSSINA again manages to solve a riddle that previous scholars could not crack (pp. 129-141): he is the first to have found a satisfactory explanation for the absence of any exegesis of *Cant.* 1,1-4 in Psellus' text. BOSSINA argues that either Psellus accidentally skipped Gregory's first homily when leaving aside the latter's prologue or that Psellus' source manuscript of Gregory's text did not contain the prologue and the first homily. In the present reviewer's opinion, these suggestions are very convincing.

It is not entirely clear why BOSSINA feels the need to include the topic of the nature of Psellus' Septuagint text into the discussion. This certainly is an interesting question, but one that has little to do with the contents of the fifth chapter and one that deserves a study of its own. On pp. 130-132 and 135-136, BOSSINA argues for the necessity to further investigate this topic, which is completely disregarded by Westerink and which is of interest to scholars both of Psellus' text and of the Septuagint. The present reviewer agrees with this view and supports BOSSINA's suggestion (p. 135) that both the lemma text of Psellus' poem on the *Song* and his quotations of the *Song* offered in his other writings need to be looked into. In fact, the present reviewer already attempted a first step toward putting this view into practice (see *Byzantion* 77 (2007), pp. 42-63). On pp. 135-136, the author seems to imply that he himself will carry out further investigations into this area.

The book's third and last part consists of two chapters that elaborate on the humanistic reception of the *B2 catena* and Psellus' text. It opens with chapter six, on *Pier Francesco Zini traduttore* (pp. 151-198). In 1563, this scholar provided the first Latin translation of the complete *B2 catena* (i.e., containing the text of the Three Fathers, of Theodoret and of Psellus). In chapters one and three, BOSSINA already identified the position of this translation in the printed tradition of *B2*. In the sixth chapter, he provides a detailed overview of Zini's biography and scholarly activities. At the end of this chapter, he includes the Latin text of five of Zini's letters that accompany his translations.

The seventh and final chapter focuses on another humanist scholar who provided a Latin translation, but this time only of Psellus' text (1614): *André Schott e Michele Psello* (pp. 199-208). BOSSINA provides an interesting introduction to the genesis of Schott's translation, which is followed by a fascinating discovery. In fact, so the author, Schott only translated Psellus' text *ad Cant.* 1. This

was done on the basis of a manuscript from the direct tradition of Psellus' text. From *Cant.* 2,1 onwards, Schott copied Zini's translation (which does not rely on a manuscript of the direct tradition, but on one of the *B2 catena*). BOSSINA shows that even in his translation of Psellus' exegesis of the *Song's* first chapter, Schott in many instances silently adapts his own translation toward that of Zini, thus corrupting direct tradition with a *catena* text.

The survey provided above clearly articulates the present reviewer's judgment of this book: every page is of high quality. Several attention-grabbing discoveries of BOSSINA have already been highlighted. They are only a few of the many enriching insights presented in this book – various others could be added, such as the interesting response to Leanza's views on Psellus' text (pp. 133-135), the identification of Schott's plagiarism of Zini (pp. 204-206) etc. BOSSINA's focus on Zini and Schott and on the Greek source manuscripts they used, is particularly welcome, since previous studies of the tradition of Psellus' text (e.g. the preface to Westerink's edition) and of the *B2 catena* (e.g. that of Faulhaber) never paid any attention to both humanistic translations. BOSSINA is particularly well capable of tackling such matters, as he proves himself very experienced in both textual criticism and humanistic intellectual history. The best expression of these multi-disciplinary skills of BOSSINA's can be found in the second chapter, in which he approaches manuscripts from a paleographical and codicological point of view as well as appreciates their position within their chronological, intellectual and geographical framework. The very high quality of this volume sets high standards for the critical editions that are in preparation by BOSSINA and which many scholars should look forward to.

It is clear that BOSSINA provides a great many of innovative insights. A minor point of detraction is the fact that those insights are not always presented in a way that is very user-friendly. Sometimes the author complicates matters for the reader. For example, in his discussion of the three transpositions in *W* (chapters one and four), he never identifies the biblical verse which the passages that have suffered from the second transposition comment upon. This makes it hard for those readers who do not have access to manuscript *W* to follow the discussion, as it takes some time to figure out which passage BOSSINA is talking about. The reader would have also benefited from clearer references to manuscripts. For the manuscripts that occur most often in his discussions, the author provides a siglum. However, he does not always use that siglum, which makes it complicated for the reader to keep track of which siglum belongs to which manuscript. The author does provide an accurate index of all manuscripts (pp. 215-216), but that index would have benefited from an accompanying *conspectus siglorum*.

Another comment one could make is that it sometimes shows that the book was not conceived as a whole, but that it was assembled on the basis of separate articles. First, when cross-referring to other passages of the book, the

author never provides exact page numbers, but only refers to chapters. Second, most of the manuscripts (and all of the editions) that are discussed in the first chapter are arranged in a stemma at the end of chapter two (p. 97), but nowhere in the first chapter a reference to this stemma is provided. Similarly, on p. 107 n. 21, BOSSINA provides a list of manuscripts of the *B2 catena* (copied from Westerink), but he does not point out that many of these manuscripts have already received ample treatment in earlier chapters. This can be quite confusing to readers who only wish to consult one chapter. Third, the author sometimes repeats the same remarks, which is not necessary and could be avoided by a mere cross-reference (see e.g. pp. 28 ~ 105-106 ~ 132). Fourth, references to secondary and primary literature are not consistent: very often books that have already been mentioned several times are reintroduced by means of full bibliographical details, whereas a short abbreviated reference would suffice. Consequently, the book's seven chapters stand rather independently one from the other.

As the survey of the various chapters provided above shows, the range of topics that are addressed by BOSSINA is extremely wide. Obviously, this is one of the book's many strengths. It is not only scholars of Theodoret and of the *catenae* on the *Song of Songs* who will benefit from reading this volume, but also e.g. researchers of the history of textual scholarship in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. The only downside of this richness is the fact that the title is quite misleading (as has been mentioned above). Consequently, those scholars who expect this volume to hold all the answers concerning the restoration of Theodoret's text and the role of the *catena Trium Patrum* in that process (in other words, scholars who are expecting more or less a *praefatio* to BOSSINA's forthcoming editions), may be somewhat disappointed. To be sure, this is hardly a point of critique toward the author: nowhere does he claim to have written that kind of book. If the reconstruction of Theodoret's text had really been his main objective, he would undoubtedly have lingered longer over the fragments of Theodoret's commentary that occur in other *catenae* on the *Song*, namely in that of Polychronius (*CPG C 83*) and in the so-called *catena Cantabrigiensis* (*CPG C 85*; BOSSINA labels this the *catena Britannica*, cf. p. 6. On the fragments of Theodoret in this *catena*: see Barbàra's edition, p. 128 n. 179). He would also have provided additional information on *B1's* and *B2's* manuscript tradition: now he focuses on the most important manuscripts and on all of the printed editions, whereas some other codices are mentioned only very briefly (e.g. the important manuscript *C*: it is mentioned on p. 33 and 41 and its evidence is used for the edition of pp. 43-46, but later it does not occur any more) or not at all (cf. the claim BOSSINA makes on p. 106).

Aiming to offer a useful tool to those scholars who are interested in the manuscript tradition of the *B2 catena*, the final part of this review briefly lists the known manuscripts of that *catena* – many of them receive ample treatment

in BOSSINA's book, some others are mentioned in passing and a few are ignored. In other words, this list is partly conceived as an addition to but mostly as a summary of BOSSINA's book: in the light of the remarks articulated above concerning the occasionally difficult accessibility, scholars might benefit from a résumé of those conclusions reached by BOSSINA that bear on the manuscript tradition of the *catena Trium Patrum*. This is not intended as a point of critique on the author, but rather as a means to provide scholars of the *catenae* on the *Song* (a field of study that has received quite some attention in the past years) with a useful list of all the manuscript witnesses, in anticipation of further study by BOSSINA and of the publication of his edition (Three preliminary remarks: (a) in providing this list, the present reviewer relies on secondary literature, as he himself has not studied the *catena Trium Patrum*; (b) some – but not all – of the manuscript relations that are mentioned below are already fit into a stemma on BOSSINA's p. 97; (c) siglums that are provided are those of BOSSINA).

(1) BOSSINA's findings concerning the manuscripts of the B2 *catena* can be summarized as follows. The oldest manuscript is *Parisinus Coislinianus* 194 (s. xiii) = C. This is an anthology of Theodoret's text based upon an unknown manuscript that belongs to the tradition of the B2 *catena*. Although it is also rooted in the B2 tradition, it is the sole manuscript not to depend on W. In other words, C is one branch of the stemma. The second branch completely depends on the manuscript W = *Vindobonensis Theol. Gr.* 314, dated to the first half of the fourteenth century. All of the other B2 manuscripts mentioned by BOSSINA are directly or indirectly dependent on W, as he proves clearly in his second chapter (Earlier, Westerink had assigned a similar position to W, but without providing any evidence. See the comment voiced by S. Leanza in his article in U. Criscuolo - R. Maisano (edd.), *La poesia bizantina*, Napoli, 1995, p. 148 n. 20). Three manuscripts are identified by BOSSINA to be direct copies of W; in chronological order they are: (a) *Berolinensis Phillippicus* 1413 = Z, written by B. Zanetti in 1539-1542; (b) *Vaticanus Gr.* 620 = A, written by Chr. Auer in 1549; (c) *Vaticanus Reginensis Gr.* 7 = R, which BOSSINA believes to have been written by C. Zanetti in 1549-1560. (At least) two of those three direct copies of W have spawned a second generation of apographs: R was copied twice by A. Darmarius: into *Mutinensis Estensis Gr.* 171 (a. 1560) and *Vaticanus Barberinianus Gr.* 567 (a. 1561) = B. Into the latter manuscript, Darmarius has inserted many changes. Manuscript A was copied by F. Syropoulos in 1552-1562 in *Vaticanus Gr.* 621 (s. xvi) = D. In 1562-1563, M. Devaris added corrections and notes to D – manuscripts he had in front of him were A, B and the B1 manuscript *Vaticanus Gr.* 728 (s. xvi) = K.

These are the relations between the B2 manuscripts that BOSSINA draws out in detail. Of two other manuscripts, he indicates that they depend on W, but without specifying the precise nature of the dependence (direct copy or not?): *Vaticanus Rossianus Gr.* 625 (s. xv) and *Monacensis Gr.* 559 (s. xvi) = m (the latter is called a distant copy of W, see p. 95).

Of other manuscripts, BOSSINA only mentions the name, without providing any further information (see e.g. p. 107 n. 21). For a couple of them, some information had been provided earlier by Westerink (be it without the support of any arguments). The latter's insights can be summarized in six points. Firstly, the incomplete sixteenth-century *Oxonienis Bodleianus Auct. T.1.22* (Misc. 200) is a direct copy of W. Secondly, *Monacensis Gr.* 64 is a third copy of R, also written by Darmarius (precise year unknown). Thirdly, although he was unable to find and consult *Matritensis, Biblioteca del Palacio Real*, 20 (s. xvi), Westerink suggested that it is a fourth copy of R, as it is also written by Darmarius (In fact, this manuscript has received a new location: *Salmanticensis Bibliothecae Universitatis* 2716. See the list prepared by J.-M. Auwers: <http://sites.uclouvain.be/canticum/Mss3.html>). Fourthly, manuscript m is a copy of *Monac. Gr.* 64. Fifthly, *Matritensis Bibliothecae Nationalis* 4863 (a. 1563) is closely related to R. Sixthly, *Scorialensis Ψ.1.4* (a. 1573), a manuscript written by Turrianus, is a copy of *Matrit. Bibl. Nat.* 4863. None of these six claims are commented upon by BOSSINA.

Similarly, BOSSINA does not identify the place in the stemma of another B2 manuscript, which was pointed out by Leanza: *Vindobonensis Suppl. Gr.* 201 (s. xvi med.) (On p. 107 n. 21, BOSSINA's reference contains a small error: this manuscript is not number 16 in E. Gollob's catalogue, but number 5).

Three additional manuscripts that previous scholars correctly or incorrectly linked to the B2 *catena* and/or to Theodoret's text, are not mentioned by BOSSINA. First, A. Rahlfs listed two additional manuscripts that excerpt the text of Theodoret from the B2 *catena* (see his *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Berlin, 1914, p. 424 [and n. 1]). They are *Londinensis, British Library, Add.* 10070 (s. xvii) and *Mosquensis Bibliothecae Synodalis* 288 (*Vladimir* 44) (s. xv) (only chapter four of Theodoret's text with incomplete ending). Second, Barbàra pointed out (see her edition p. 130 n. 184) that *Patmiensis, Monasterii Sancti Iohannis Theologi* 209 (s. xiii) contains a passage from Theodoret's preface. This manuscript's early dating (if correct) may or may not suggest that this passage is not taken from a manuscript of the B2 *catena*, but rather of the *catena Cantabrigiensis*. Since none of these manuscripts are mentioned by BOSSINA, their value (and the correctness of the identifications provided by Rahlfs) is not clear.

(2) Scholars of the *catenae* on the *Song* might be interested in a clear overview of the codices upon which the PG editions of B2 rely. BOSSINA's detailed study of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions that are reprinted in PG certainly provides answers to such questions, but they are dispersed throughout his book. Perhaps other researchers could benefit from a summary of BOSSINA's findings (This survey ignores editions of Psellus' poem on the *Song*, since that text is now available in the critical edition prepared by Westerink).

The text of the Three Fathers from the B2 tradition can be found in PG 122, 537-685, which is a reprint of the edition prepared in 1624 by du Duc. The source manuscript of the latter edition is D (with Devaris' corrections).

Theodoret's text can be found in PG 81, 28-213, which is a reprint of the 1769 edition by Schulze. Schulze mainly copied the edition prepared by Sirmond in 1642, which takes its text from the same manuscript as du Duc's did (i.e., D with Devaris' corrections). In addition, Schulze compared Sirmond with manuscript m and with Zini's Latin translation, carried out in 1563 on the basis of D with Devaris' corrections. The Latin translation printed beside the Greek text in PG 81, 28-213 is that of Zini.

(3) A final list that may prove useful for researchers of the *catenae* on the *Song* is one of the B1 manuscripts that are mentioned by BOSSINA, since they are dispersed throughout the book. Manuscripts of B1 are the following: *Parisinus Gr. 152* (s. XII; the ending is mutilated; this manuscript is labelled the preferable witness by Rosenbaum, p. 224\*); *Vaticanus Ottobonianus Gr. 56* (s. XVI) (*Cant.* 6,9-8,14); K (*Cant.* 6,9-8,14); *Scorialensis R.I.3* (s. XVI); *Romanus Casanatensis 203* (s. XVI) (*Cant.* 6,9-8,14). The author does not comment upon the relations between these witnesses, but one can deduce information from the discussion of the manuscript tradition of the *catena Trium Patrum on Ecclesiastes* (ed. S. Lucà, Turnhout - Leuven, 1983, pp. XXXIX-LIII).

Two *codices deperditi* (not mentioned by BOSSINA) also seem to have contained B1: *Scorialensis H.III.18* (s. XV) and *Θ.I.6* (a. 1590) (see C. De Vocht, in *Byzantion* 59 (1989), pp. 264-266).

The only edition of B1 that is available is that of A. Mai *ad Cant.* 6,9-8,14, reprinted in PG 87<sup>2</sup>, 1756-1780. Faulhaber (pp. 19 and 28 n. 1) identified K to be the source manuscript.

R. CEULEMANS.

Gill PAGE, *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity before the Ottomans, 1200-1420*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, XIII + 330 pages. ISBN 978-05-21-87181-6.

This book aims at analysing the effect of the Frankish conquest and occupation on the Byzantine Romans' sense of their own identity between this event and the final conquest by the Ottomans, using as a tool the theory of ethnicity. This theory is expounded in the first chapter, after an introduction on the Frankish conquest of Greece. The first part of the second chapter, on Byzantine identities, is a historical exposition of the events leading up to the Fourth Crusade and the Frankish conquest. In the second part of this chapter the key terms that are used by the Byzantine Roman writers themselves to discuss their own identity and the identity of other groups (such as *ethnos*, *genos*, *Rhomaïos*, *barbaros*) are presented and analysed.

This chapter sets up the frame for the following chapters, in which the use of these terms, first by the Constantinopolitan historians, and then in the *Chronicle of the Morea* and some other vernacular texts, is analysed. Chapter 3 is entirely dedicated to Niketas Choniates, while both Chapter 4 (on the thir-

teenth century) and Chapter 5 (on the fourteenth century) are shared by pairs of historians, Akropolites and Pachymeres, and Gregoras and Kantakouzenos respectively. The earliest version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* is analysed in Chapter 6. Chapter 7, on the fifteenth century, focuses again on the Peloponnese, using Manuel Palaiologos' *Funeral Oration*, Mazaris' *Journey to Hades*, and also the later versions of the Greek *Chronicle of the Morea*. In Chapter 8 a general conclusion is proposed on 'Roman identity and the response to the Franks'.

The author leans rather heavily on the modern notion of 'ethnicity', a notion that was born in the 1950s in the English-speaking world, and became common in the 1960s. This notion has a clear connotation of being minority-related; it arose from the minority civil rights movements, and from decolonialism. One wonders, therefore, why this model was chosen, because the birth and the permanence of a Roman identity – which, however, goes back many centuries before the Frankish conquest – should be compared to, if anything, American majority identity and patriotism, not to ethnic pride movements. But it is the contention of the author that there was 'no single uniform sense of ethnic identity among the Romans (that is, the inhabitants of the territory under the rule of the emperor in Constantinople in the period preceding the conquest of 1204 and the descendants of those inhabitants)' (p. 5), and that 'the phenomenon of Frankish conquest and rule was the single most critical impetus for developments in the senses of ethnic identity among the Romans during this period' (p. 6). It seems to be the author's idea here that only by becoming subjected and oppressed, the Romans could develop an 'ethnic' identity.

These ideas inevitably lead the author to several fundamental internal contradictions, the first of which is to state at first that the Ancient Greeks did not have a word for ethnicity, as theirs was a dominant, majority culture, and ethnicity would have been to them an undesirable quality (p. 12), only to go on saying that 'the connotations of shared descent were so strong in *genos* that any use of this term in application to Byzantine Romans should be seen as potentially indicative of a sense of ethnic identity' (p. 42).

Regarding specifically the meaning of *ethnos*, Mrs PAGE is deceived by her statistical method into thinking that this word had 'derogatory overtones' (p. 42). The fact that *ethne*, in the plural, is consistently used with a derogatory meaning is only natural, as it can only mean 'the other nations', which, given the Roman feeling of superiority, were necessarily inferior. But the word itself has no negative connotation of being foreign, as is shown by the examples quoted by the author, where *ethnos* is applied in an entirely positive way to the Roman nation.

Another basic idea of the 'theory of ethnicity' is that 'investigations into ethnicity ought to focus on the boundaries, on the relationship of difference from others, rather than on the cultural matters that are most easily seen as



expressing ethnic identity' (p. 19). This is entirely true, but it is not of course a new idea. Saussure already knew that meanings are defined on the basis of their relationships to other meanings, and that substance (in this case the 'cultural matters expressing the identity') is far less important than form (the fact of the difference, the 'us' vs 'them' feeling). Precisely because the Romans did not have to wait for the Frankish conquest to be in close contact with 'others', there can be no doubt about their lasting consciousness of 'ethnic identity'. That this was not static (another of the author's basic tenets) is quite obvious. But the continuity of the main markers of this identity, viz. language, faith and education, is also undeniable.

Concerning the language of the Byzantine Romans, there is another contradiction. At first, Mrs PAGE goes out of her way to prove that when her Constantinopolitan authors call their language 'Hellenic', they probably mean only the educated language of the Roman elite (p. 127), only to concede quickly later on that 'it seems likely that they called their spoken language "Hellenic"' too (p. 129). However this may be, the author attaches much weight to the Byzantine diglossia. She seems to believe, e.g., that vernacular literature was by definition low-status and connected to non-elite viewpoints (p. 25). The fact, which she mentions in passing, that vernacular literature was probably first practised at the imperial court should, however, have made her wary of such easy generalisations. The *Chronicle of the Morea* presents a non-Constantinopolitan-elite viewpoint because it was written in a Frankish milieu, not because it was written in vernacular Greek.

Much is made of the linguistic basis of Constantinopolitan contempt for provincials: it is suggested that, to people from the capital, the language of provincials sounded so barbaric that, 'as far as Constantinopolitans were concerned, provincials were scarcely to be distinguished from foreigners' (p. 70). It seems to me, however, that, as elsewhere in this book, too little heed is taken of the literary and rhetorical strategies of the quoted authors. When Mazaris, e.g., expresses his fear that, under the influence of the dialect of the Peloponnesians, he too could become 'barbarised' in speech, this proves of course that the gulf between Constantinopolitan (often a former provincial himself) and provincial is not as wide as that, as the danger of contamination is real. This contempt should not be connected to the strategy of several of the Constantinopolitan authors of not calling provincial rebels 'Romans': this is just not the same as denying them Roman identity, as is suggested several times. Mrs PAGE is absolutely right when she notes that, even though Kantakouzenos prefers to call the rebels 'Peloponnesians' and not 'Romans', what he expects of them still shows his belief in their Roman status. But she never draws unequivocally the right conclusion from this. Statistical studies of expressions are certainly interesting, but it may be precisely what is left unspoken that tells us what is essential in a society!

It is obvious that, when the political power is not Roman anymore, the political Roman identity disappears with it, whereas the ethnic identity, which existed long before the Frankish conquest and was congruent with the political identity, is more visible – and more vulnerable – now that it has to stand on its own. The same is true for the orthodox Christian identity. There is, however, nothing to suggest that the Frankish conquest was largely responsible for this ethnic identity, as is done in this book.

Still, this book is a fine demonstration of how the selected authors cope in different ways with the new situation, where political and ethnic identity are divorced. It offers much interesting material for an analysis of their political agendas.

G. DE BOEL.

S. M. OBERHELMAN, *Dreambooks in Byzantium. Six Oneirocritica in Translation with Commentary and Introduction*, Aldershot et Burlington (VT), Ashgate Publishing, 2008, VIII + 251 pages. ISBN 978-0-7546-6084-2.

This book offers the first English translation of six of the seven surviving dreambooks or dream key manuals (*oneirocritica*) from the Byzantine period (the seventh is the tenth-century dreambook of Achmet, previously translated in S.M. Oberhelman, *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet: A Medieval Greek and Arabic Treatise on the Interpretation of Dreams*, Lubbock (TX), Texas Tech University Press, 1991). These books are collections of specific interpretative rules ('To dream of statues of men signifies friends and loved ones', 'to dream of silver or gold points to an impending situation', etc.), presented in verse, prose or both. In most such collections, these rules are ordered alphabetically, an exception being the last dreambook (ch. 9), which is structured thematically. The translation of these treatises is preceded by three introductory chapters full of useful references (pp. 1-58) and accompanied by a detailed commentary (in footnotes). It is followed by a bibliography containing editions, modern translations (primarily into German and Italian) and modern scholarship (pp. 219-232), and two indexes (one of dream symbols (pp. 233-247) and a general index (pp. 249-251)).

The first chapter (*Authors, Dates and Texts*, pp. 1-19) discusses each of the six manuals in what is supposed to be their chronological order, which is also the order in which their translations appear in the book (*The Dreambook of the Holy Prophet Daniel with the Help of Holy God*; *The Dreambook of Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople*; *The Dreambook of Astrampsychus*; *The Dreambook of Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople*; an anonymous *Additional Dreambook drawn from the Experience of the Wise*; and, finally, *The Dreambook of Manuel II Palaeologus*). In each case, the problematic issue of their dating is addressed (dates can only be approximated, but seem to range from the fourth or sixth c. (Daniel) to the fif-



teenth c. at the latest (Manuel). Their authorship is unknown (they are ascribed to prominent figures, such as prophets and patriarchs, arguably for reasons of authority) except, perhaps, in the case of the dreambook ascribed to emperor Manuel (pp. 15-17).

The second chapter (*The Art of Interpreting Dreams*, pp. 21-38) briefly deals with Artemidorus' and Achmet's treatises on dream interpretation (pp. 21-24) and offers a general discussion of the Byzantine treatises, covering their vocabulary and the hermeneutical dynamics underlying their interpretative keys. OBERHELMAN distinguishes five types of 'methodologies' used by Byzantine dreambook authors to attribute meaning to dreams (pp. 30-38): (1) the use of traditional material and conformity of the dream symbol with culture, (2) puns, wordplay and etymology, (3) antinomy (when the meaning of the dream is the opposite of its content), (4) analogy (metonymy), and (5) metaphor or hypothetico-deductive reasoning. In my view, the tropological distinction between (4) and (5) is problematic given the fact that analogy typically marks a metaphorical rather than a metonymical relationship (the latter of which is defined by contiguity rather than by similarity). In itself, the distinction between metaphor and metonymy goes back to ancient rhetorical theory, where both concepts are defined as tropes (see H. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric. A Foundation for Literary Study*, Leiden - Boston - Köln, Brill, 1998, ch. 558-564 and 565-571) and explicitly opposed to each other (see, for example, Cic. *Or.* 92: *res consequens vs similitudo*). OBERHELMAN himself admits that (5) 'is similar to analogy, but the correspondences are less literal and more metaphorical' (p. 36). It may be better to present (4) and (5) not as tropologically different categories, but as types that differ from each other in degree rather than quality.

In the third chapter (*The Cultural, Historical, and Social Background*, pp. 39-58), which, like the second, more than occasionally repeats material from the author's abovementioned book on the *oneirocriticon* of Achmet, the author explores ancient and Byzantine philosophical, medical and, most extensively, religious sources on dream interpretation, paying attention, among other things, to the interesting issue of Christian appropriation of pagan dream theory. It leaves out dreams in literature 'on the grounds that they are primarily plot devices' (p. 39). Even if this omission in itself is understandable for practical reasons, it remains somewhat arbitrary (Surely, the possible significance of dreams in literature extends to much more than 'plot devices'. Conversely, dreams in philosophical, medical and religious writings may in some cases be read less straightforwardly as 'devices' informed by a given rhetorical, ideological or other agenda.)

The translation and commentary constitute the most substantial part of the book (pp. 59-218). The translation is clear and accessible and for the first time makes this corpus of texts available to a wide audience. As OBERHELMAN points

out, only two of the translated dreambooks can be found in modern editions, whereas the other treatises can only be found 'in very old and not widely distributed periodicals' (p. viii; the bibliography on pp. 219-220 lists these). Of course, this situation may result from the notoriously complicated textual tradition of these texts. Since contents have been taken from other dreambooks and lines of influence have been irretrievably confused, it is 'difficult, if not impossible, to recover the original texts' (p. 17). Nevertheless (or perhaps I should say: precisely for this reason), it is regrettable that the translation is not accompanied by its Greek original, especially since the commentary regularly draws upon details in the Greek texts.

The commentary is both detailed and wide-ranging, hosting numerous types of explanations and comments. Not only does it explain or clarify interpretative connections between the content of dreams and their meaning, but it also explores thematic connections with other dreambooks, discussing correspondences and significant deviations in the interpretation of certain dreams. Moreover, it also discusses philological issues and comments on Byzantine cultural topics that can be traced in the texts.

To conclude: this is a rich and intriguing book which offers a clear translation and an accessible introduction to a largely neglected corpus of texts. It will be of interest to newcomers in the field and specialists in Byzantine and cultural studies.

K. DE TEMMERMAN.

A. KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature (850-1000). The Time of Order and Encyclopedism*, éd. par Christina ANGELIDI (Institute for Byzantine Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Research Series, 4), Athènes 2006, 365 pages. ISBN 960-371-031-8; ISSN 1108-3840.

Ce volume fait suite à un premier volume de la *Littérature byzantine*, qui traitait la période 650 à 850. D'une certaine manière il fait aussi suite aux deux chapitres du premier volume, qui avaient respectivement comme sujets 'La littérature de la fin du VII<sup>e</sup> s. et la première moitié du VIII<sup>e</sup> s.' et 'La prédominance de la culture monastique (ca. 775 - ca. 850)'. Signalons en outre que ces deux volumes résultent de la coopération entre A. KAZHDAN et Christina ANGELIDI et qu'ils sont édités par l'*Institut des Études Byzantines* (IBR/NHRF).

Dans l'avant-propos Mme ANGELIDI souligne que KAZHDAN avait l'intention d'explorer les moyens littéraires qui ont permis le développement d'une littérature individualisée. L'objectif du second volume consiste dans l'examen des modes littéraires afin d'identifier les éléments qui personnalisent l'écriture littéraire.

Venons alors à l'articulation du volume et dont l'introduction (pp. 1-5) esquisse le cadre historique de la période (changements politiques, économi-

ques et culturels) dont le point culminant se situe entre Photius et Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. La société byzantine reste la préoccupation majeure de la recherche de KAZHDAN, dont il passe en revue les traits significatifs : toujours centralisée, elle favorisait l'accession à l'aristocratie, qui à son tour donnait accès aux titres et aux fonctions civiles ou militaires ; théoriquement, elle était toujours ouverte virtuellement à ceux qui pouvaient s'élever dans la hiérarchie grâce à leurs qualités, au service civil ou militaire, à leur sagesse ou aptitude. Ce système assurait la sauvegarde de la structure sociale et de l'ordre social tel qu'il se reflète dans une série de traités parus entre 842 et 975 et qui visaient l'ordre civil, militaire et ecclésiastique. Ce même esprit de consignation préside aux traités accompagnés d'une systématisation des cérémonies du palais, rédigés surtout sous le règne de Constantin VII, dans l'entourage duquel fut aussi composée une liste contenant de courtes descriptions du système des thèmes de l'administration provinciale. Dans le même ordre d'idée va la codification de la législation ayant pour but de fixer les obligations fiscales. Une tendance analogue apparaît dans la systématisation du rituel religieux byzantin : uniformisation architecturale et iconographique, standardisation du calendrier liturgique (*Synaxaire de Constantinople*), formation d'un *Ménologe* complète et systématique par Syméon Métaphraste. En même temps, sans jamais quitter l'étude de la tradition biblique, les Byzantins se tournaient vers les textes classiques et revendiquaient le rôle des héritiers du passé athénien et romain. Un esprit comparable animait les érudits qui recopiaient en écriture minuscule des œuvres classiques en y ajoutant de scholies philologiques. Ils s'adonnaient en outre à la lexicographie, dont la *Souda* est le résultat le plus connu, et à la formation des bibliothèques qui contenaient, outre des ouvrages théologiques, des auteurs grecs anciens. Toutes ces activités intellectuelles renforçaient les tendances encyclopédiques et amplifiaient la qualité des méthodes pédagogiques et d'enseignement des lettres classiques.

L'introduction mise à part, le volume est articulé en quinze chapitres. Le premier de ceux-ci traite de Photius et de l'héritage classique (pp. 7-41). Il commence par la biographie de Photius avant d'entamer les questions relatives à la datation et de l'analyse de son *opus magnum*, la *Bibliothèque*, une compilation systématique et cohérente dont les premières entrées sont courtes, tandis qu'en suite elle contient même des extraits des livres dépouillés. Les références internes et la cohésion de l'ouvrage montrent l'importance accordée par l'auteur aux lettres classiques et, en même temps, à la littérature patristique, mais aussi scientifique (géographie, médecine, agriculture, lexiques et ouvrages de grammaire). Photius repère et évalue dans les textes quelques caractéristiques communes, comme la *phrase* et son composant le *mot (lexis)*, et *synthèse*, *glossa* ou *caractère*. La *Bibliothèque*, à l'instar de la correspondance de Photius, est un témoignage sur la littérature ancienne, mais montre aussi la prédilection de Photius pour les biographies composées d'éléments contradic-

toires concernant la vie des auteurs ou leurs œuvres. Photius juge la qualité des auteurs anciens à l'aune de l'harmonie et de la clarté. Les lettres et les sermons liés aux sujets ecclésiastiques ou politiques se caractérisent par un style personnel et abstrait, l'*anaphora*, qui apprécie les oppositions, les jeux de mots et l'assonance. Il s'est, en outre, soucié des romans dramatiques de l'Antiquité. Sa volumineuse correspondance diffère de celle de Théodore Studite parce qu'elle dépasse les limites de la lettre personnelle et devient quelquefois une dissertation théologique ou politique. Ses correspondants sont des collègues plutôt que des disciples, mais c'est la génération suivante qui bénéficiera de la littérature photienne.

La chronique de Georges le Moine, caractérisée comme une narration des faits historiques dans un esprit monastique, est le sujet du second chapitre (pp. 43-52). L'enseignement dogmatique et moral ou les petites historiettes édifiantes insérées dans la narration historiographique sont des priorités proposées par la chronique, qui s'opposent aux rédactions annalistiques de Georges le Syncelle et de Théophane le Confesseur. La production littéraire de la génération suivant Photius fait l'objet du chapitre suivant (pp. 52-90). Des auteurs tels que l'empereur Léon VI, le patriarche Nicolas le Mystique, le métropolitain de Césarée Aréthas et le haut fonctionnaire Léon Choïrosphactès, de l'École de Photius, formaient un groupe dont le point en commun résidait dans le fait de combiner des éléments à la fois traditionnels et novateurs. Léon VI est l'exemple typique de cette effervescence intellectuelle ; son traité militaire et la codification de lois mis à part, il a composé des pièces en vers et des discours panégyriques. Il a essayé de donner aux homélies une plus grande subtilité et d'effacer les limites entre l'hymnographie et l'hagiographie tandis qu'il a aussi servi les lettres classiques. Nicolas le Mystique a poussé à fond la littérature épistolaire ; son style 'clair et direct' ainsi que sa tendance à l'abstraction, a produit des textes où alternent 'l'expression de l'émotion' et les exemples empruntés au passé. Malgré le caractère pratique de sa correspondance et malgré l'emploi d'une langue ordinaire, ses lettres sont des pièces littéraires, et cela sans tenir compte de leur valeur comme sources historiques. L'érudit Aréthas, connu pour la possession de manuscrits d'Euclide, Platon, Aristote, Lucien, Aristide, mais aussi d'auteurs chrétiens, préférait composer les règles consacrées à la rhétorique, tout en optant pour un style impersonnel, style qui est plus personnalisé dans ses œuvres apologétiques ou dans ses traités courts. Si Nicolas le Mystique, disciple de Photius, aimait l'abstraction mais dans un style clair et simple, Aréthas préférait le flou rhétorique, les fioritures textuelles, les proverbes, les citations, les allusions et les vers poétiques.

Vers 900 font leur apparition des érudits éponymes ou anonymes, dont les œuvres (panégyriques, lettres et discours) font l'objet du chapitre intitulé 'Éloquence autour de 900 : l'école de Photius' (pp. 84-90), tandis que le chapitre sui-

vant (pp. 91-102) concerne Nicétas David le Paphlagonien, surnommé le Philosophe, élève doué d'Aréthas. Outre ses lettres, Nicétas a laissé des traités théologiques, des commentaires sur Grégoire de Naziance, des sermons sur des personnages bibliques ou sur les fondateurs du christianisme, dont ceux sur les saints militaires constituent l'avant-garde d'un genre littéraire qui connaîtra son essor durant la seconde moitié du <sup>x</sup><sup>e</sup> s. Par contre la *Vie du patriarche Ignace* présente le conflit entre Photius et Ignace sur un ton plutôt personnel qu'idéologique.

La *Vie anonyme du patriarche Euthyme* fait l'objet du chapitre suivant (pp. 103-111). Son biographe quitte le terrain traditionnel de l'hagiographie pour se centrer sur les activités de l'entourage impérial et surtout sur la question des mariages de Léon VI. La nouveauté dans cette pièce consiste dans le bouleversement du schéma traditionnel du héros et de l'antihéros et dans l'introduction d'un modèle littéraire basé sur trois adversaires du saint.

La partie suivante est consacrée aux intellectuels d'origine provinciale (pp. 113-131). C'est le cas des œuvres de Pierre d'Argos, des poèmes religieux et les éloges d'Arsène de Corfou, des textes hagiographiques de Basile, disciple de S. Euthyme le Jeune, de la *Translatio* des reliques de Théodora de Thessalonique, de la *Vie de Constantin le Juif*, pièces représentatives de la divergence stylistique entre la capitale et la province. Seule exception à cette règle, le texte de Jean Caméniatès sur *La Prise de Thessalonique*, qui, s'il n'est pas d'une époque plus tardive, par la vivacité de la description donne à penser à un précurseur de Michel Psellos.

Les œuvres de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète et des *literati* de sa cour (pp. 132-183), comprennent des traités impériaux ou les discours hagiographiques, et surtout la biographie de Basile I<sup>er</sup>, mais aussi la *Continuation de Théophane* et le *Livre des Rois*. Ces trois synthèses historiques traduisent l'importance politique de la dynastie macédonienne et surpassent la méthode historiographique de l'époque précédente. Sur le sillon de la *Bibliothèque* de Photius, les collaborateurs de Constantin ont produit une encyclopédie immense, avec des extraits des auteurs anciens dans cinquante-trois catégories dont seulement quelques collections de fragments sont conservées. La nostalgie du passé caractérise aussi les compositions dites impériales (*De thematibus*, *De administrando imperio*, *De ceremoniis*). La biographie de Basile I<sup>er</sup> révèle une époque nouvelle pour le panégyrique impérial. Elle réfute l'esprit de la chronographie annalistique de Théophane et la disposition à la dénonciation exprimée par le pamphlet de Nicétas David le Paphlagonien ; elle focalise l'intérêt sur l'image du protagoniste. La narration historique du règne de Basile I<sup>er</sup> constitue le cinquième livre de la *Continuation de Théophane* et représente un type nouveau de chronographie plutôt centré sur le protagoniste que sur un flot d'informations. L'œuvre de Génésios se rapproche de celle du Continuateur pour ce qui est les visées politiques, mais elle en diffère par le doigté, le Continuateur étant meil-

leur narrateur. Cette nouvelle chronographie a été la principale réalisation de la littérature byzantine dans la seconde moitié du <sup>x</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle. Dans ce climat, les érudits de la cour ont trouvé un sol propice à la culture de la rhétorique dans plusieurs domaines. Théodore Daphnopatès est un orateur éloquent, connu pour son épistolographie. Son style distingué se caractérise par les prologues et épilogues imposants et son écriture riche de paronomases, synonymes, assonances. Constantin le Rhodien, auteur d'une *Ekphrasis* en vers iambiques dédiée à Constantinople et plus particulièrement aux Saints-Apôtres, centre son intérêt sur l'architecture et les matériaux précieux des édifices constantinopolitains. Au-delà des textes officiels transmis par des manuscrits uniques, l'œuvre historique qui porte le nom de Syméon le Logothète est connue par plusieurs manuscrits et une tradition plus que complexe : outre les deux familles de manuscrits qui se distinguent, dans les grandes lignes, en la collection de Léon le Grammairien et celle de la *Continuation* de Georges le Moine, il en existe d'autres rédactions. L'analyse des divergences dans la narration des événements et les descriptions du portrait des protagonistes révèle des différences de position politique. Cette analyse est suivie d'observations sur le style de Syméon le Logothète, qui est étranger à la technique rhétorique et à l'art du portrait, mais fourmille de verbes et d'adverbes qui traduisent des émotions vives. Le septième chapitre du livre s'achève avec les épistoliers contemporains de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète. Théodore de Cyzique, Alexandre de Nicée, Théodore de Nicée et le Professeur Anonyme, un *littérateur* professionnel qui, comme il est souligné, n'est ni moine, ni ecclésiastique, mais est entouré de collègues et de correspondants qui n'appartiennent pas aux échelons élevés de la société (à l'exception de l'impératrice Sophie, du logothète Théoktistos et du sacellaire Léon).

Le chapitre suivant est consacré aux textes hagiographiques produits à Constantinople (pp. 185-209). Les auteurs des biographies de S. Basile le Jeune, de S. André Salos, de S. Niphon ou d'autres narrations sur les saints de périodes anciennes, comme Ste Anastasia, Michel le Syncelle et les quarante-deux martyrs d'Amorion, contribuent au développement de l'appréciation de la qualité du passé. Loin des sermons composés en faveur de la dynastie macédonienne à la cour de Constantin VII, ces textes offrent la vision d'un futur imaginaire sur terre et au ciel. Au point de vue social, à l'exception du stratège Callinique, tous ces textes restent très proches des citoyens de la capitale et non de la cour, et au point de vue politique, ils se rapprochent plutôt de la *Chronique* de Syméon le Logothète que de la *Continuation* de Théophane. Les auteurs et les lecteurs s'intéressent à la réputation posthume des pécheurs et des justes. La composition en épisodes non linéaires donne à penser à la *Vie d'Euthyme*. Dans certains cas, les auteurs donnent le cadre de la vie quotidienne et esquissent la complexité de la nature humaine, traits communs à l'historiographie et l'épistolographie de l'époque.

Le neuvième chapitre (pp. 211-229) concerne la *Vie de Paul de Latros* et quelques saints provinciaux. La *Vie de Paul*, peut-être due à Syméon Métaphraste, est considérée comme une pièce littéraire unique, dotée d'une cohésion interne, composée suivant les principes de l'École de Bithynie. Les protagonistes, dans cette *Vie* comme dans celles de S. Démétrianos et de S. Blaise, sont des villageois ; Constantinople y est une sorte de décor. Les héros sont des véritables hommes, des personnages qui bougent et essaient de s'enfuir dans le désert ou dans les montagnes. Dans ce même chapitre sont vus des textes mineurs (épigrammes et lettres) déjà rénovés dès le IX<sup>e</sup> s. La petite nouvelle, qui dans le passé était insérée dans la chronique de Georges le Moine, est de nouveau de mise en valeur avec Paul de Monemvasie, auteur qui selon le biographe de Paul de Latros avait une prédilection pour les faits surnaturels, qui fait penser à l'auteur anonyme des *Miracles de S. Artémius* pour ce qui est de son aisance à utiliser des mots vernaculaires et des termes techniques.

Le *Ménologe* de Syméon Métaphraste est analysé dans le chapitre dix (pp. 231-247). Cette compilation est contemporaine des systématisations similaires de calendriers liturgiques connues sous les noms de *Synaxaire de Constantinople* et *Ménologe de Basile II*. Le *Ménologe* de Syméon peut être placé dans le cadre de l'essor littéraire du X<sup>e</sup> s. Le remplacement des vieilles compilations hagiographiques par cette œuvre de grande ampleur est un exploit jamais vu. Cette compilation est un miroir des vues communes et des tendances concernant l'enchantement que suscite Constantinople, l'admiration envers le pouvoir militaire de l'empire romain païen, les devoirs de l'empereur envers Dieu et les saints, l'obédience et l'attrait pour le romanesque.

Le chapitre onze (pp. 249-272) est consacré à Jean Géomètre et à la poésie politique. Les épigrammes de cet aristocrate, qui sont liés aux événements de son temps, inaugurent un genre nouveau de poésie politique qui contribue à l'essor de la littérature byzantine. L'A. note qu'il faut dissocier la 'poésie politique', qui est un genre littéraire, de 'vers politiques', qui concernent la structure du rythme et non le contenu du poème. Outre ses poèmes consacrés aux empereurs et aux événements politiques, la poésie de Géomètre comprend des épigrammes sur des personnes et des objets. Les philosophes anciens y sont mentionnés plus fréquemment que les saints. La vision de Géomètre met en accord la vaillance militaire et la culture spirituelle. Il est intéressé par une pléiade de sujets bibliques et ecclésiastiques, mais ses épigrammes qui se réfèrent aux sujets militaires ou à la connaissance profane sont plus nombreuses, réalité qui le relie à l'encyclopédisme du X<sup>e</sup> s.

'L'historiographie chevaleresque de Léon le Diacre et ses contemporains', tel est le titre du chapitre douze (pp. 273-294). Deux chroniques mentionnées par les historiens postérieurs, comme Jean Skylitzès, montrent l'intérêt pour les membres de l'aristocratie militaire et leurs exploits, tels que Jean Kourkouas et les membres de la famille des Phocas. La bravoure de Nicéphore Phocas est

aussi le noyau de la composition en vers iambiques intitulée *La prise de la Crète*, due à Théodose le Diacre. Dans ce long poème, les références à Georges de Pisidie sont abondantes et les auteurs anciens comme Homère, Euripide, Aristophane et autres sont souvent mentionnés. L'œuvre de Théodose se caractérise par l'abstraction et par des banalités rhétoriques, tandis que ses héros ressemblent à ceux de Jean Géomètre, qui, outre les qualités des guerriers, ont aussi les mérites de l'éloquence. Léon le Diacre, fameux pour son œuvre historique, est aussi l'auteur de l'éloge adressé à Basile II. Les emprunts à la mythologie et à l'histoire ancienne avaient pour but d'exalter la personnalité de l'empereur et de la comparer aux rois et aux philosophes anciens. Cette sagesse encyclopédique est complétée par les descriptions précises des expéditions ou des affrontements militaires, une innovation pour un ouvrage historique. Ses héros sont aussi Nicéphore Phocas et Jean Tzimiskès, de même que l'adversaire de Byzance, le prince Sviatoslav. Léon le Diacre utilise l'héritage ancien non pas pour prouver que les Byzantins avaient surpassé leurs ancêtres, comparaison faite aussi par Théodose le Diacre, mais pour indiquer que les Byzantins partageaient un milieu naturel, géographique et culturel commun avec leurs ancêtres. Le modèle du guerrier représenté par Nicéphore Phocas n'empêche pas de le proclamer saint, comme en témoignent deux éloges dédiés à sa mémoire. Les idéaux liés à l'époque sont largement reflétés dans l'épistolographie de deux hauts dignitaires : Nicéphore Ouranos et Léon de Synnade. Le premier s'intéressait à la théorie militaire, tandis que Léon de Synnade préférait exterminer ses adversaires par une ironie là où Photius utilisait la dérision brutale.

Sous le titre 'Le patriote ou la résurrection de Lucien de Samosate', le treizième chapitre (pp. 295-302) examine les œuvres de ce sophiste ancien et auteur satirique du II<sup>e</sup> s. par les érudits byzantins qui lurent, copièrent et annotèrent son œuvre. Ce retour en arrière est évident dans l'imitation du dialogue intitulé *Philopatris*. Il est étudié dans le chapitre suivant (pp. 303-309), qui présente Gabriel l'Hymnographe, qui vécut durant la seconde moitié du X<sup>e</sup> s., auteur de canons, de tropaires et de chants. Gabriel essaie de combiner l'hymnographie métrique avec la prose hagiographique pour faire revivre le genre qui s'était distingué par son intensité sentimentale dans la poésie de saint André de Crète.

Le chapitre final (pp. 311-336) récapitule les sous-unités du livre et rappelle les traits majeurs de l'époque, l'éducation et la production de livres, les auteurs, l'Antiquité et le déclin des genres traditionnels. Ce dernier chapitre évalue la tendance, qui commence à s'accroître, à la création d'ouvrages de compilation ou de dictionnaires et à la production de manuscrits.

Entre les années 850 et 1000, examinées dans le volume, souvent qualifiées de Renaissance, les *litterati* sont des hauts dignitaires, des maîtres ou des lettrés professionnels, mais aussi des représentants du haut clergé, tandis que, contrairement à l'époque précédente, les moines ne constituent qu'une mino-



rité des auteurs lettrés. Alors que les genres littéraires demeurent inchangés, l'A. de ce volume constate une personnalisation dans l'expression et cela aussi bien dans les traités que dans les Vies des saints ou dans les exercices de rhétorique. En outre, ce qui caractérise cette littérature c'est notamment la variété des manières de rendre une thématique, surtout celle du héros guerrier, qui commence à devenir un sujet de choix pour tous les genres de textes. Finalement les moyens expressifs, tels que l'ironie et la recherche dans le domaine linguistique, sont aussi des éléments littéraires nouveaux. Le mérite du travail consiste dans le fait d'avoir tiré au clair et avoir mis en valeur toutes ces nouveautés de la littérature méso-byzantine. Signalons que le volume est assorti d'un index analytique (pp. 339-365) des personnes et des lieux, et des termes littéraires qui permet l'accès facile à son contenu.

Maria LEONTSINI.

Ilaria DOMENICI, *Giovanni Lido. Sui segni celesti (Le porpore, 29)*; trad. par Erika MADERNA, Milan, Medusa, 2007, 159 pages. ISBN 978-88-7698-115-9.

Jean le Lydien commencerait-il à devenir un auteur à succès ? Toujours est-il que deux savantes italiennes se sont donné pour tâche d'expliquer et de traduire en une langue vernaculaire le deuxième des traités laissés par l'écrivain contemporain de Justinien. L'entreprise était méritoire, car Jean n'a jamais passé pour un grand styliste (voir Photios, *Bibl., cod.* 180, 125 b 7-8) et le sujet lui-même était fort technique et rebutant. Nulle part, les deux auteurs ne font état de préoccupations éditoriales, en sorte qu'elles se contentent, si l'on peut écrire, de traduire le texte procuré par C. Wachsmuth (Leipzig, 1897). La source principale, le *Caseolinus* (BN Suppl. Gr. 257) est en fort mauvais état, ce qui explique des lacunes dûment signalées par la typographie (p. 38). À l'occasion, ces dernières sont considérables, et il faut recourir à la tradition indirecte pour se faire une idée du développement qui a disparu. Par exemple p. 5 C. Wachsmuth insère, après le passage traduit par Mme MADERNA (p. 48), le bref résumé d'un développement sur les animaux d'Égypte qu'a conservé Théophylacte Simocatta (*Hist.*, VII, 16, 12) : *περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρωπομορφῶν καὶ Νειλῶν ζῶων καὶ τοῖς πάλαι ἰστορηται. Τίνος δὲ σημαντικὸν ἢ τούτων ἐνδῆμια καθέστηκεν, εἰπεῖν ἐθάρησεν ὁ Λυδός, τῶν ἄλλων λίαν νεώτερος καθεστώς, ὃς κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐγνωρίζετο Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.* Même s'il ne méritait pas nécessairement les honneurs de la traduction, il eût dû faire l'objet d'une note. Hormis les longs et précieux chapitres sur la divination à Rome, le reste du livre est un ensemble de documents dont l'unité n'est pas la qualité maîtresse. Pour plusieurs d'entre eux, la discrétion de nos collègues italiennes a des conséquences importantes. On me permettra quelques compléments d'information que j'emprunte à un de mes travaux, que citent Mesdames DOMENICI et MADERNA (M. Dubuisson -

J. Schamp, *Jean le Lydien. Des magistratures de l'État romain*, I, Paris, 2006, pp. cxix-cxii). Dans les ch. 16 et 16 a Wachsmuth (*Observations générales sur la lune*, p. 69 MADERNA), on trouve simplement entre les deux morceaux l'indication d'une lacune. Le passage n'est fourni que par un seul manuscrit ; le *Caseolinus*, après une lacune, portait la suite du texte. Or, C.O. Zuretti (C.A.G. XI, 1) a imprimé le texte du *Scorialensis* I. R. 14, où a trouvé place le texte manquant : Οὕτω μᾶλλον ἀκηκόασιν ὡς ὁ πλανώμενος οὐρανὸς διείληψε σφαίρας ἑπτὰ καὶ μέτροις δημιουργικοῖς συμπληροῦται τοῖς τῆς ἑβδομάδος καὶ πλήθους μετέχει καὶ γεννᾷ πλήθος, πολυειδῶς δὲ κινῆται καὶ τὴν ἐναντίωσιν ἔχει εἰς τὸ ἐν συνερχομένην, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἔδειξε. Φησὶ γάρ· πολλὰς φορὰς – ἵνα τοῖς ἐκείνου χρῆσώμεθα ῥήμασιν – ἀνισάζει ἢ φύσις καὶ ποιεῖ τινα τάξιν, τῇ μὲν μιᾷ <φορᾷ> πολλὰ ἀποδοῦσα σώματα, τῷ δὲ ἐνὶ οὐρατῆρι πολλὰς φορὰς. Ἡ γὰρ κίνησις αὐτῶν ἀντιφέρεται τῇ ἀπλανεῖ· γεννητικὴ γὰρ ἂν εἴη οὕτως καὶ ποιητικὴ καὶ γόνιμος· αἰεὶ δὲ ἀντιφέρεται ἀειγενεσίαν τῷ παντὶ παρέχουσα. La jointure est parfaite. On lira avec beaucoup de profit la belle introduction d'Ilaria DOMENICI. Elle montre que l'astrologie de Jean se fonde sur l'ars. Toutefois, on hésitera à affirmer avec elle (p. 9) que la fermeture de l'école néoplatonicienne d'Athènes est due au refus des philosophes de se convertir au christianisme et que (p. 11) la condamnation d'Origène à Constantinople en 553 visait ceux qui voyaient dans le ciel et dans les astres des forces dotées d'âme et de raison. Que le trinôme Étrurie-Rome-Constantinople soit au centre des recherches de Jean en matière d'astrologie tient à des préoccupations idéologiques, montrer la prodigieuse ancienneté de l'Empire : ainsi s'explique, par exemple, le rapprochement entre *Tusci* et *θυσιάζειν* (p. 15) ; dans le même sens, Jean écrit dans *Mag.* (introduction, 1) ἐκ τῆς θυσοσκοπίας Θεούσκους. Il ne s'est pas soucié d'hépatoscopie ni de procurer le moyen de prévoir le destin individuel (γενεθλιακόν), mais d'astrologie politique et universelle, comme celui qu'il proclamait un dieu en la matière, Ptolémée. Donné en grec sous forme d'appendice, le mythe de Tagès, l'enfant né vieux, méritait une tentative d'élucidation. Hésiode aussi (*Trav.*, 181) signalait des enfants nés *πολιοκρόταφοι*, que l'on rapprochera *mutatis mutandis* des *νεογενῆ σώματα πολλὰ φύντα* de Platon (*Polit.*, 273 e 10), mais le parallèle des *Lois* (IV, 712 b) est particulièrement éclairant. Tout indique que l'on doit déceler dans cette histoire un mythe de fondation : celle de Rome recourait aussi à une charrue. On ne s'étonnera pas que les documents prétendument traduits pèchent à l'occasion par anachronisme, comme pour Nigidius Figulus ou Cornelius Labeo, quand ce n'est pas Jean lui-même qui intervient : prophétie *post eventum*. Élève des néoplatoniciens, Jean voit en Tagès le substitut d'Hermès chtonien. Le message ainsi transmis avait revêtu la forme d'un dialogue, de surcroît en vers : c'était, une fois encore, une indication sur la provenance : comment ne pas penser aux fameux *Oracles chaldaïques* ? Les notes s'efforcent de ne rien laisser dans l'ombre, même si l'identification des sources



ou des auteurs reste souvent impossible. Certains détails prêtent à discussion. Par exemple, Jean évoque Fonteius et Capiton (p. 14). DOMENICI y voit, non pas deux personnages distincts, mais un seul et même homme, C. Fonteius Capito, *pontifex maximus* et *consul suffectus* en 33 aCn. Elle ne tient pas compte des remarques très critiques de M. Dubuisson dans M. Dubuisson - J. Schamp, *op. cit.*, I, Paris, 2006, pp. CLXIII-CLVII. On déplorera seulement que l'accentuation des mots grecs soit parfois fantaisiste. Quant à la traduction, elle se lit avec agrément, malgré l'aridité de la matière. L'ouvrage, malheureusement, est dépourvu de bibliographie et d'index, ce qui le rend peu utilisable pour le profane, d'autant plus que les notes sont placées à la fin soit de l'introduction soit de la traduction. Néanmoins, le lecteur curieux sera richement payé de sa peine. Puisse ce bon livre contribuer à faire lever une vocation d'éditeur. Malgré ses grandes qualités, l'édition de C. Wachsmuth a tout de même pris quelques rides.

J. SCHAMP.

C. A. KUEHN et J. D. BAGGARLY, *Anastasius of Sinai. Hexaemeron*. Avant-propos par J. A. MUNITIZ (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 278), Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2007, LXXXII + 495 pages. ISBN 978-88-7210-357-6.

Suivant une habitude trop répandue à l'époque, Gentien Hervet s'était contenté de traduire en 1579 l'*Hexaéméron* courant sous le nom d'Anastase le Sinaïte. En principe, de nos jours, l'édition *princeps* eût dû revêtir une autre couverture, celle qui avait déjà servi notamment pour la *Viae dux* (CPG 7745) et les *Quaestiones et responsiones* (CPG 7746), produits de la plume respectivement de K.-H. Uthemann et de M. Richard et J. Munitiz. On ne sait pourquoi, tournant le dos à la série du *Corpus Christianorum* de Turnhout, le livre de MM. KUEHN et BAGGARLY a choisi Rome pour refuge. Les éditeurs envisagent-ils de confier à la collection du CCSG 'our more comprehensive edition of the *Hexaemeron*, currently in preparation' (p. LX) ? Réapparu dans la foulée du concile de Trente, le recueil de douze discours ne laisse pas d'être passablement suspect. M. Richard s'était déjà étonné qu'aucun manuscrit ne remontât au-delà du xv<sup>e</sup> s. De surcroît, dans la plupart des témoins, la dernière pièce a disparu et, même quand elle est présente, la censure s'est exercée sur les dernières lignes, non sans maladresse apparemment, sauf dans un seul cas (N, *Oxonienis Collegii Novi* 139, qui a donné lieu à quelques copies fort récentes). On pouvait donc à bon droit se poser la question de l'authenticité du tout. Dans plusieurs contributions, BAGGARLY l'avait niée, en signalant en particulier que l'auteur avait mis à profit le *De omnifaria doctrina* de Michel Psellos. De nouvelles observations sur les rencontres textuelles conduisirent bientôt le savant américain à dater l'œuvre prêtée à Anastase des années de peu antérieures à 1156. En revanche, K.-H. Uthemann, qui toutefois ne se prononce pas formellement, serait moins enclin

à mutiler le *Nachlass* du Sinaïte. Manifestement, toute la clarté n'est pas encore faite dans cette matière difficile et controversée, et, en dernière analyse, les éditeurs ne se flattent pas d'y avoir réussi. L'établissement du texte repose sur trente-cinq manuscrits. Ils sont décrits, avec une très grande minutie, dans la seconde partie de l'introduction, au terme de laquelle on découvrira un *stemma* parfaitement clair (pp. LXII-LXIII). Dans l'intervalle, les relations entre les familles de manuscrits sont établies au terme d'une analyse serrée de variantes significatives. Donnée comme 'select', la bibliographie est étendue et très riche (pp. LXVII-LXXXII). Le terrain ainsi déblayé, les éditeurs munissent les pages de grec d'un apparat critique succinct, normalement négatif. La version anglaise s'orne des références scripturaires indispensables ; pratiquement, sauf de loin en loin (ainsi, en II, 4, p. 53, à propos de l'aphthartodocétisme ; IV, 3, p. 109, à propos de l'emploi des mots ἀδελφή et ἀδελφιδούς ou ἀδελφιδός), les notes sont absentes. Le lecteur ne reçoit pour outil de travail qu'un modeste 'index nominum selectorum' (pp. 489-495). Anastase affectionne les périodes chargées d'un vocabulaire recherché. Par conséquent, on doit être reconnaissant à MM. KUEHN et BAGGARLY d'avoir essayé d'en produire une traduction. Elle rend bien le sens, certes, mais, dans la mesure où en peut juger un lecteur non-anglophone, elle ne s'efforce point de faire sentir la respiration et le rythme des phrases. L'ampleur du traité et aussi, peut-on craindre, la politique de la maison d'édition ont sans doute imposé maints sacrifices. C'est, en particulier, ce que l'on doit déplorer pour le livre I, exceptionnellement riche, comme de juste, en allusions philosophiques. En I, 3 (p. 46) Ὁρφεὺς δὲ τὴν μονάδα Ἀνεία καλεῖ, τούτέστιν ἄμερῃ devient bizarrement 'and Orpheus calls Aguius the Monad : that is, undivided'. L'apparat critique [ἀνεία] MNP Ἀγυιέα *legendum est secundum Cumont* est trop laconique pour être de quelque utilité. Donnée comme une épiclese grecque Ἀνεία est repris à F. Cumont (*Lydus et Anastase le Sinaïte*, dans *BZ* 30 (1929-1930), p. 33) qui cite Jean le Lydien (*Mois*, II, 6, p. 23,1 Wunsch), où l'on a cependant Ἀγυιέα et le recueil d'O. Kern (fr. 309). D'autre part, dans sa *Théologie arithmétique*, Nicomaque de Gérasa avait déjà montré que l'ennéade était Ἀγυιέα (Photios, *Bibl., cod.* 187, 145 a 1). La faute résulte probablement de l'intrusion d'une glose marginale ou interlinéaire. Μονάδα a été expliqué sous la forme α' ἔνα écrit après confusion νεία, et l'agglomérat a expulsé l'épiclese originale. Quoi qu'il en soit, une correction s'impose. Dussent-elles sonner comme le rappel d'études déjà publiées, le lecteur aurait été heureux de lire des pages plus développées sur les sources mises en œuvre par Anastase ou sur la tradition indirecte. Nul ne se targue d'aborder aisément un texte comme celui-ci. En I, 4, 1 (p. 12, 204-205), Anastase écrit : Ἡμεῖς δὲ φαμεν ἀρχὴ τῶν πάντων ὑπεράρχιος πρώτη μὲν ὑπάρχη Θεός. Le substantif attribut aristotélicien ὑπάρχη s'imprime habituellement sous la forme ὑπαρχή, mais la *iunctura* ὑπεράρχιος ... ὑπαρχή ne figure pas ailleurs. On est tenté d'évoquer tel passage du ps.-Denys l'Aréopagite (*De la hiérarchie céleste*,

p. 32, 11-12) qui roule sur la monade πάσης οὐσίας ὑπεράρχιος ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία καὶ πάντων ὑπερουσίως ἀσχέτω συνοχῆ περιδεδοραμένη. On voit bien ce que pourrait offrir un *index verborum*. Pour avoir tiré de l'ombre une œuvre capitale, MM. KUEHN et BAGGARLY ont droit à la gratitude. Les chercheurs en connaissent déjà telle partie, notamment les témoignages sur Papias de Hiérapolis (I, 6, 1, p. 18, 321-322 ; VII b, 5, 5, p. 256, 470-471), voir, par exemple, B. D. Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers. Epistle of Barnabas. Papias and Quadratus. Epistle to Diognetus. The Shepherd of Hermas*, Cambridge (MA) - Londres, 2003, pp. 110-113. L'un d'eux prête à ambiguïté. On lit en effet (I, 6, 1, p. 18, 322) Παπίου τοῦ πάνυ τοῦ Ἱεραπολίτου τοῦ τῷ ἐπιστηθίῳ φοιτήσαντος. Naturellement, Jean était le disciple bien aimé (cf. Jn 13, 23). Faut-il pour autant entendre que Papias le fréquenta assidûment ('close companion' Ehrmann) ? À mon sens, φοιτῶ a ici le sens courant de 'fut le disciple', en sorte que la locution de KUEHN -BAGGARLY 'who visited St. John' demeure un peu vague. Cette fois encore, une référence aux éditions usuelles des Pères Apostoliques aurait rendu service. On remarquera au passage que l'épithète ἐπιστηθίος n'est pas rendue. Malgré ce que je viens d'en écrire, la présente édition sera bien accueillie. Avant d'être vraiment exploitable à des fins scientifiques, le texte d'Anastase réclame encore beaucoup de travail d'exégèse et de vocabulaire. On doit espérer qu'en préparant l'édition *maior* qu'ils promettent les éditeurs réussiront à combler les attentes légitimes des lecteurs les plus attentifs.

J. SCHAMP.

J. ROUGÉ (†), R. DELMAIRE et al., *Les lois religieuses des empereurs romains de Constantin à Théodose II (312-438)*. II. *Code Théodosien I-XV, Code Justinien, Constitutions sirmondiennes*. Texte latin par T. Mommsen (†), P. Meyer (†) et P. Krueger (†). Introduction, traduction et notes (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 531), Paris, Les éditions du Cerf, 2009, 592 pages. ISBN 978-2-204-08820-6 ; ISSN 0750-1978.

Les lois religieuses promulguées par les empereurs des IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> s. forment le pendant et le complément indispensable des textes chrétiens et para-chrétiens de l'époque. Elles ont été réunies dans le livre seizième et dernier du *Code Théodosien* (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 497 ; voir déjà AC 76 (2007), pp. 362-364), mais il s'en faut qu'elles y figurent toutes. Ainsi s'explique la bipartition du projet. Le deuxième volume contient le reste, épars dans *CTh* I-XV, sans compter seize lois publiées dans le *Code Justinien*, mais omises dans le recueil de 438, et les *Constitutions sirmondiennes*, pour lesquelles s'est longtemps posé un problème d'authenticité. L'ensemble aurait pu être grossi encore, mais cela eût été sans bénéfice réel. À juste titre, les maîtres d'œuvre ont décidé d'exclure les lois roulant sur les empereurs quand ils sont munis de titres comme *divus*, *divinus*, *divalis*, *aeternus*, *caelestis*, etc., sur l'adoration de la pourpre ou sur les crimes de sacrilège commis par ceux qui ne respectent pas les décisions. Bien que l'édi-

tion n'ait aucunement l'intention d'être critique, le fait de traduire a obligé dans certains cas à s'interroger sur l'exactitude du texte reçu jusqu'ici et même à le modifier. L'annotation est riche et étoffée, munie d'une bibliographie extrêmement riche et précieuse. Quand la compréhension du texte était particulièrement malaisée, les notes n'ont pas pu être cantonnées au bas des pages. Les éditeurs ont, comme dans le volume I, choisi le système des annexes, trois dans le cas qui nous occupe (mais voir plus bas). La présence des *Constitutions sirmondiennes* dans l'ouvrage montre assez que M. Olivier Huck, qui a signé la partie correspondante, croit à leur authenticité, et il apporte d'excellents arguments. L'un d'entre eux est particulièrement significatif. Deux textes, *CTh* I, 1, 5 et I, 1, 6, n'ont été retrouvés qu'au début du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle. Or, ils mettent en place un schéma qu'un faussaire n'aurait évidemment pu connaître, celui que l'on trouve aussi dans les *Constitutions sirmondiennes*. Chemin faisant, il décrit la formation de l'ensemble de 18 textes, dont les deux derniers sont plus tardifs. La collection s'est donc formée par agglutination progressive, 7 pièces, puis 16 et enfin 18. Celle qui est publiée ici en renferme 16. Elle a dû se former peu après le concile de Mâcon I (581-583) et avant celui de Mâcon II (585), car, dans les manuscrits, les *Constitutions* viennent à l'appui des canons de Mâcon I. Écrites parallèlement aux documents entrant dans *CTh*, elles jettent sur le mode de rédaction de l'ensemble une lumière utile. Naturellement, elles ont des passages communs avec *CTh*, marqués ici en italiques. Dans la traduction, il arrive que certaines locutions françaises heurtent par leur rudesse. Par exemple, p. 211 'cru bon se réfugier' (voir aussi par exemple p. 241). On corrigera aussi certaines données de la n. 1 de la p. 228, où il est question des jeux olympiques d'Antioche. L'alytarque était chargé de les organiser, ce qui lui valut le privilège spécial de planter plusieurs cyprès, mais d'en couper un seul (*CTh* X, 1, 12 du 17 juin 379). Comme le rappelle l'annotateur, les données sont décrites par Jean Malalas ; toutefois, les renseignements les plus intéressants sur les organisateurs figurent, non pas comme indiqué, p. 248 B. (X, 27 = p. 188 Thurn), mais pp. 286-287 (XII, 7-9 = p. 217 Thurn). Le texte de loi mentionne un *grammateus* et un *amphitaleus*. Ce dernier mot n'existe pas en grec, mais bien Ἀμφιθαλής, imprimé avec une majuscule parce que le titre renvoie à une épiclèse d'Hermès. On corrigera donc la transcription dans la note. Quel est le véritable objet de XV, 7, 12 ? Apparemment de proscrire une publicité malencontreuse, par exemple celle qui ferait voisiner des représentations des souverains et de personnes liées au monde du spectacle, pantomimes, cochers et *histriones*. Le reste est un complément (*his illud adicimus*) qui interdit aux mimes et aux femmes de mauvaise vie de revêtir l'habit des vierges consacrées, en ajoutant : *et ut nulla femina nec puer thymelici consortio inbuantur, si Christianae religionis esse cognoscitur*. La traduction devient 'De plus, qu'aucune femme, aucun jeune garçon ne soit imprégné par l'association à un acteur s'il est avéré qu'ils appartiennent à la religion chrétienne'. La clarté n'en est pas la qualité maîtresse. Je ne suis pas

sûr en effet que la n. 6 de la p. 393 'c'est-à-dire placé auprès d'un acteur pour apprendre le métier' soit de la meilleure encre. L'essentiel est en l'espèce que le monde du spectacle ne vienne pas corrompre les cœurs gagnés au christianisme. Le législateur met en garde contre un phénomène social fort répandu aujourd'hui, celui des 'groupies'. Je traduirais donc : *et qu'aucune femme ou qu'aucun jeune garçon en partageant la société d'un homme de théâtre ne subisse son imprégnation s'il est avéré qu'ils appartiennent à la religion chrétienne*. La relecture des épreuves a laissé échapper quelques fautes de typographie. P. 215 on lira 'sur-le-champ' au lieu de 'sur le champ' ; p. 231 'il sera ajouté' pour 'il sera ajoutée'. P. 496, à propos de *Sirm* 7, dont le destinataire était Eutropius praefectus praetorii, il aurait été judicieux de signaler aussi J. Hellegouarc'h, *Eutrope. Abrégé d'histoire romaine*, Paris, 1999, pp. vii-xi (C.U.F.). P. 551 (à propos de l'annexe III : explication de la loi X, 20, 6). Les éditeurs ont été si bien trahis qu'on chercherait en vain la loi en question. En effet, il s'agit de XI, 20, 6 (voir pp. 260-267). La même coquille dépare la table des matières p. 592. Au demeurant, le commentaire est détaillé et précis. À propos des impôts *refusa* (ῥεφοῦσα), inconnus en dehors de cette loi et de *Nov. Theod.* V, 3, on n'imaginera pas a priori qu'ils sont encore attestés à l'époque de Justinien. En particulier, on se méfiera du témoignage de Jean le Lydien (*Mag.*, III, 70, 1), qui a parfois la cuistrerie lyrique pour ne pas écrire hugolienne. Il veut montrer les débordements de son ennemi Jean de Cappadoce en se livrant à une prodigieuse énumération d'impôts de toute provenance, car 'on n'échappe pas à l'impression (qu'il) a accumulé des noms d'impôts qu'il a découverts dans des documents officiels, sans se préoccuper de savoir s'ils n'étaient pas, au moins dans certains cas, abrogés depuis longtemps'. En outre, on gagnera à relire le commentaire de J. Schamp, dans M. Dubuisson - J. Schamp, *Jean le Lydien. Des magistratures de l'État romain*, Paris, 2006, pp. ccxxx-ccxxxii (C.U.F.), qui exploite les données de J. Caimi, *Ioannis Lydi de magistratibus III* 70, dans *Miscellanea Agostino Pertusi*, I, p. 317-361. Comme son prédécesseur, le volume est muni d'appendices fort pratiques : empereurs de 313 à 438, glossaire, *index nominum*, index géographique et index thématique. Les notes qu'on a lues plus haut n'avaient pour but que de rendre service. Comme son prédécesseur, le présent volume mérite tout le succès possible : c'est un bien beau livre qui lui aussi honore la science française.

J. SCHAMP.

## NOTICES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

*A Companion to Late Antiquity (Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World)*, éd. par Ph. ROUSSEAU avec l'assistance de Jutta RAITHEL, Malden (MA) et Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, 2009, xxiv + 709 pages. ISBN 978-1-4051-1980-1.

This book is an interesting collection of expert essays, rather than a general introduction to the thriving field of late antique studies. As the editor himself admits in his preface, he has started from a specific understanding of the term 'Companion', seeing that other compendiums had been produced on the topic by other publishers. Instead of composing another broad survey, ROUSSEAU has asked a fine selection of (mostly relatively young) scholars to write a chapter on a subject of their choice within their own expertise. This has resulted in a representative sample of state-of-the-art research in various domains, grouped under five headings and preceded by a methodological essay : Wendy MAYER's 'Approaching Late Antiquity [LA]'. It makes little sense to enumerate all 39 authors and their titles ; several are only tangentially relevant to Byzantine studies. The five headings are : 'The View from the Future' (6 articles on the reception history - memory, interpretation, scholarship - of Late Antiquity [LA], including one by Stratis PAPAIOANNOU on 'The Byzantine LA') ; 'Land and People' (9 chapters on the geography and geopolitics of the Late Roman Empire, and on the human presence and traces : settlement and mobility, spread of information, archaeology and epigraphy, gender and family relationships, the dead) ; 'Image and Word' (9 contributions on literature, literacy, language and art, necessarily a mere selection (in the field of linguistics, for instance, Latin and Coptic are given separate discussions, Greek is not), but altogether drawing a fair image of the rhetorical and theatrical society that produced those texts and artefacts) ; 'Empire, Kingdom, and beyond' (8 articles, mainly on 'Romans and Barbarians' and shifting frontiers, with special attention to the Eastern neighbours up to the rise of Islam) ; 'The Sacred' (7 chapters, expressly not equating LA with 'Christian antiquity').

All five parts start with a helpful editorial introduction, and as a rule, all individual chapters end with a 'bibliographical note' that may serve as a first orientation in the broader field. The bibliography, consisting only of works cited by the contributors, fills exactly 100 pages. Despite the efforts to situate

the specialist articles within the discipline at large, this volume as a whole is not a work of reference (nor was it meant to be one). On the other hand, it has more innovative and original material to offer than a traditional Companion.

K. DEMOEN.

Eirini AFENTOULIDOU-LEITGEB, *Die Hymnen des Theoktistos Studites auf Athanasios I. von Konstantinopel. Einleitung, Edition, Kommentar (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, 27)*, Vienne, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008, 245 pages + 7 planches hors texte. ISBN 978-3-7001-6043-4.

Comme le sous-titre de ce livre l'indique, il est divisé en trois parties. La première qui est aussi la plus longue (pp. 25-150), est consacrée aux biographies des deux personnalités qui font l'objet de cette étude, à savoir l'hymnographe Théoctiste le Studite et le patriarche Athanase I<sup>er</sup> de Constantinople, tous les deux ayant vécu durant la seconde moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> s. et le début du XIV<sup>e</sup> s. Pour le premier, les seules informations biographiques sont puisées dans ses œuvres, puisque nous ne disposons d'aucune biographie de lui. La production littéraire de Théoctiste est surtout hymnographique. Mais en outre il était particulièrement attaché au patriarche Athanase I<sup>er</sup> duquel il a composé une biographie, un synaxaire, un discours à l'occasion de la translation des restes du patriarche, un éloge et onze canons, l'objet d'édition de ce volume. Par contre, la biographie du patriarche Athanase I<sup>er</sup> est assez connue. Né à Constantinople vers 1230/1235, il est élu patriarche de la capitale byzantine en 1289. Il est déposé en 1293 pour être réinstauré dans ses fonctions en 1303 jusqu'en 1309, quand il se retira, victime des luttes entre Unionistes et Antiunionistes. Il est mort après 1310 et avant 1323. Lui aussi a à son actif des œuvres hymnographiques et dogmatiques. Canonisé par l'église byzantine, on célèbre sa mémoire le 24 octobre et la mémoire de la translation de ses reliques le 23 août. Il est alors naturel que des pièces liturgiques, comme des prières, des acolouthies et des hymnes soient composées en son honneur. Dans ce sillon entrent aussi les hymnes composés par Théoctiste. L'A. fait, avant l'édition, une étude concernant notamment l'usage liturgique des canons en question et un approfondissement historique afin de dépister des éléments biographiques contenus dans ces hymnes qui peuvent davantage éclairer la personnalité d'Athanase. Suit l'analyse technique et métrique des hymnes, ainsi qu'un exposé sur la forme, la langue et les principes qui ont primé pour la composition poétique. La partie esthétique est moins mise en exergue. La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage (pp. 151-227) est consacrée à l'édition critique des hymnes, à partir d'un seul manuscrit, le codex *Chalc. S. Trin.* 64 (57) de ca. 1313-1330. Le manuscrit, outre les hymnes jusqu'alors inédits (ff. 200<sup>v</sup>-241<sup>v</sup>), contient d'autres pièces liturgiques et hagiographiques déjà éditées. L'édition est assortie d'une brève section des commentaires historiques (pp. 229-232) et complétée par des index et un glossaire des termes hymnologiques et liturgiques.

La qualité de l'édition est hors doute. Malgré le fait que les textes sont transmis par un seul témoin, l'A. s'en tire admirablement. Aussi intéressante est la première partie dont l'importance consiste dans le fait qu'une biographie fiable de Théoctiste est ainsi acquise. Donc un volume bien fait dans la bonne tradition du byzantinisme autrichien.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Pauline ALLEN, *Sophronius of Jerusalem and Seventh-Century Heresy. The Synodical Letter and Other Documents. Introduction, Texts, Translations, and Commentary (Oxford Early Christian Texts)*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009, XIII + 245 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-954693-0.

This volume consists of three parts, the second of which is the most central one: it offers an annotated translation of Sophronius of Jerusalem's *Synodical Letter* (CPG 7635). The first and third part are basically directed toward enabling the reader to interpret this seventh-century document correctly. They respectively are a survey of the historical framework, also serving as an introduction to Sophronius' document, and a translation (again accompanied by footnotes, but less extensively than the *Synodical Letter* itself) of a selection of nine documents grouped into 'a mono-energist dossier'.

The opening part provides a very readable introduction to the post-Chalcedonian background against which Sophronius wrote his *Synodical Letter*. In an impressive way, Pauline ALLEN manages to draw a brief but nuanced picture of complex topics such as Chalcedon and mono-energism. It is followed by an overview of the genre and function of the synodical letter, and of the contents and style of Sophronius' *Letter* in particular.

The translation itself is a very good one: the reader enjoys reading the English text. Yet at the same time it conveys the contents of the Greek original very well. Transforming Sophronius' Greek style into a readable text without sacrificing its precise thought is not easy: ALLEN's successful tackling of this problem deserves praise.

In the third and last part, the following texts have been translated: Cyrus of Alexandria's First Letter to Sergius of Constantinople (CPG 7610); Sergius' First Letter to Cyrus (CPG 7604); the Pact of Union between Cyrus and the Theodosian Party (CPG 7613); Cyrus' Second Letter to Sergius (CPG 7611); Sergius' Second Letter to Cyrus (CPG 7605); Sergius' Letter to pope Honorius (CPG 7606); Honorius' First and Second Letter to Sergius (CPG 9375 and 9377); the emperor Heraclius' *Ecthesis* (CPG 7607).

R. CEULEMANS.

*Archaeology and History in Roman, Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece. Studies on Method and Meaning in Honor of Timothy E. Gregory*, éd. par W. R. CARAHER, Linda



JONES HALL et R. S. MOORE, Aldershot et Burlington (VT), Ashgate Publishing, 2008, xx + 351 pages. ISBN 978-0-7546-6442-0.

Certaines études incluses dans ce volume collectif concernent la période byzantine. Il s'agit d'abord d'un article d'A. KALDELLIS, *Lesbos in Late Antiquity: Live Evidence and New Models for Religious Change* (pp. 155-167), pour qui l'absence des informations textuelles au sujet de l'île de Lesbos byzantine est en partie compensée par la présence des nombreux vestiges archéologiques : plus de 60 églises encore visibles sur l'île. Cela peut être expliqué, selon l'A., par la persistance du paganisme et par la présence des chrétiens orthodoxes et hérétiques, facteurs qui ont favorisé la construction de lieux de culte. Ensuite, F. YEGÜL, *Baths of Constantinople: An Urban Symbol in a Changing World* (pp. 169-195), note que les bains faisaient partie non seulement de la civilisation romaine, mais aussi byzantine et ensuite ottomane. Les Byzantins n'ont pas continué la construction de thermes, comme les empereurs romains ; ils ont opté pour les bains plus petits incorporés dans le tissu urbain. Surtout après la période justinienne, les bains faisaient partie des complexes plus larges qui abritaient aussi des églises, des monastères ou des bâtiments publics. Ils devenaient ainsi des centres de la vie sociale dans le cadre des quartiers urbains. Après ces observations, l'A. étudie les plus importants des bains de la capitale byzantine ainsi que leur architecture. W. S. CARAHER, *Constructing Memories: Hagiography, Church Architecture, and the Religious Landscape of Middle Byzantine Greece: The Case of St. Theodore of Kythera* (pp. 267-280), partant de la *Vie de S. Théodore de Cythère*, retrace l'histoire de l'île depuis la fin de l'Antiquité jusqu'au IX<sup>e</sup> s. afin de localiser les constructions que ce texte mentionne. En outre, il essaie de déterminer si certaines de ces constructions ne peuvent pas être mises en relation avec les églises encore visibles sur l'île qui datent de la période de la rédaction du texte. J. L. RIFE, *Leo's Peloponnesian Fire-Tower and the Byzantine Watch-Tower on Acrocorinth* (pp. 281-306), signale que lors des excavations de 1926 sur l'Acrocorinthe, fut découverte une pierre, réutilisée par les Vénitiens, qui portait une inscription byzantine disant qu'une tour était construite par l'empereur Léon VI afin de signaler une éventuelle attaque arabe. L'A. saisit l'occasion pour faire une petite étude sur les tours de feu utilisées par les Byzantins, comme dans l'Antiquité, pour transmettre à la tour suivante des messages en utilisant une série de signaux lumineux.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Immacolata AULISA, *Giudei e Cristiani nell'agiografia dell'Alto Medioevo (Quaderni di 'Vetera Christianorum', 32)*, Bari, Edipuglia, 2009, 409 pages + 8 planches en couleurs. ISBN 978-88-7228-573-2.

Signalons dès le départ que ce très intéressant volume concerne surtout le monde occidental ; Byzance (considérée comme étant 'l'Orient') n'est qu'occa-

sionnellement citée, remarque toutefois qui n'a rien à faire avec la qualité indiscutable du travail. Comme l'A. le note, à l'opposé de l'Orient et de sa richesse linguistique, l'Occident paraît pauvre du fait que l'hagiographie ne pouvait être rédigée qu'en latin. Certes, plusieurs textes hagiographiques orientaux sont traduits en latin, mais il s'agit presque exclusivement des passions de la période paléochrétienne ; de ce fait la tradition hagiographique antijuive orientale reste pratiquement inconnue de l'Occident.

La littérature antijuive est très ancienne ; elle date déjà de la période pré-constantiniennne, quand l'opposition entre christianisme et judaïsme était forte. Cette littérature est adoptée par les hagiographes qui prennent pour cible le judaïsme en tant que religion mais aussi les Juifs en tant que minorité dans le cadre socioéconomique du Moyen Âge. Pour le faire, ils font appel aux lieux communs qui reflétaient l'idéologie cléricale, mais aussi les opinions généralisées du peuple. Ainsi les Juifs sont des infidèles, des cœurs durs, qui n'ont rien compris des Écritures, des responsables de la crucifixion, qui nient la divinité du Christ et sa conception immaculée. Très attachés à une tradition religieuse, ils n'arrivent pas à se débarrasser de leurs concepts sclérosés, tandis que leur avidité jamais rassasiée est pour l'hagiographie hors de doute. Ces lieux communs n'avaient donc pas une base théologique, puisque l'opposition au judaïsme n'avait pas un caractère doctrinal. Un autre lieu commun, qui remonte à l'époque paléochrétienne, est celui du Juif dénonçant les chrétiens aux persécuteurs, qui participe activement à la répression du christianisme.

L'arme majeure des hagiographes contre les Juifs reste le miracle. Le Juif ne peut ni comprendre ni rejeter le miracle qui parfois devient le moteur de la conversion des Juifs au christianisme. Dans ce même cadre se situent les débats entre les saints et les Juifs, qui naturellement tournent au triomphe des saints tandis que les Juifs sont parfois convaincus de la vérité chrétienne, et se convertissent ; par contre toute tentative de prosélytisme de la part des Juifs s'avère vaine. Au niveau du quotidien, puisque les Juifs depuis la période carolingienne s'adonnaient au commerce, ils sont présentés par les hagiographes comme des riches, qui utilisaient leurs richesses pour corrompre les autorités. Ainsi, grâce à l'argent, ils étaient en mesure de rendre la vie difficile aux chrétiens. Toutefois, dans des textes d'origine orientale, parfois les Juifs sont présentés comme des gens honnêtes, qui souvent pratiquaient la médecine et qui faisaient bénéficier tous, Juifs et chrétiens, de leur science. Un dernier lieu commun est celui du Juif hérétique ou pratiquant la magie en complicité avec les forces du Mal. Le Juif hérétique est beaucoup plus courant dans la partie orientale de la chrétienté, car dans cette partie du monde le judaïsme est mis en relation avec l'iconoclasme. Cela permettait aux hagiographes de mettre les Juifs au même niveau que les Arabes, considérés comme étant les ennemis jurés de l'empire d'Orient. Quant au Juif pratiquant la magie, il s'agit d'un concept populaire très répandu. L'efficacité du magicien juif est due à sa collabo-



ration avec les forces sataniques et diaboliques, car le Juif était pour plusieurs hagiographes l'incarnation du Mal. Finalement, l'A. examine certains cas de Juifs repris par l'art chrétien. Il s'agit surtout des manuscrits enluminés transmettant les vies de saints qui contiennent des épisodes impliquant des Juifs. La seule représentation monumentale semble être celle du Christ crucifié flanqué par l'Église, qui cueille dans un calice le sang du Christ, et par la Synagogue, dont les yeux sont bandés par le diable pour ne pas voir la vérité.

Avant de mettre un point final à cette présentation, notons qu'il s'agit d'un volume d'une grande richesse, dont la lecture procure un vrai plaisir, tandis que sa bibliographie abondante indique qu'il s'agit d'un sujet énorme, même si l'Orient est, comme on l'a dit, laissé de côté.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

M. BACCI, *San Nicola, Il grande taumaturgo*, Bari, Editori Laterza, 2009, xii + 258 pages + 8 planches en couleurs. ISBN 978-88-420-8831-8.

Est incroyable ce qui peut arriver à un saint si la publicité commerciale s'y applique : c'est le cas de Saint Nicolas ou Santa Claus. La publicité lui a trouvé une histoire, un pays natal, même une nationalité turque, sans compter les autres mésaventures dont il fut la victime. L'A. de ce livre a le grand mérite d'essayer, sans doute en vain, de rétablir la vérité historique. En réalité, rien n'est vraiment connu de S. Nicolas. Selon la *Suida*, il était originaire de Myra en Lycie et il a vécu à l'époque constantinienne. Dans un premier chapitre, intitulé *L'homme*, l'A. cherche l'origine des informations de la *Suida*. Une partie est due à un certain Michel Archimandrite, biographe de S. Nicolas, qui a vécu entre le VIII<sup>e</sup> et le IX<sup>e</sup> s. et au sujet duquel nous ne savons rien. Lui à son tour a puisé dans des légendes ou des sources perdues. Une autre partie provient de la biographie de S. Nicolas due à Méthode, nommé patriarche de Constantinople en 843. Dans un second chapitre portant le titre *Le lieu sacré*, l'A. veut prouver qu'il existe bien une récupération de Nicolas le Sionite, dont la biographie est rédigée durant la seconde moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> s., par Myra, grand port, centre régional et métropole de la Lycie. Ensuite, lors des guerres arabo-byzantines, S. Nicolas est mis en rapport avec la mer, vu l'importance de Myra, base de la flotte byzantine du thème de Cibyrhées. C'est durant la période entre le VIII<sup>e</sup> et le IX<sup>e</sup> s. que S. Nicolas est devenu un des grands saints de l'Église orientale ; un nombre impressionnant de miracles en relation avec les activités maritimes lui ont été attribués. Ainsi le saint acquiert une nouvelle identité : celle du saint protecteur des marins. Dans ce contexte il faut aussi placer la rédaction des deux biographies du saint, ainsi que le développement de son culte. Une tombe est attestée à Myra où fut construite une grande cathédrale dédiée à son culte. En même temps ont fait leur apparition les icônes du saint, et l'A. analyse le processus de la formation d'un type iconographique à partir de rien. L'A. consacre

deux chapitres à l'étude iconographique de S. Nicolas, car son évolution constitue la source la plus fiable de la diffusion de son culte, mais aussi l'indice le plus sûr des légendes créées autour de ses actions miraculeuses. Il est hors doute que S. Nicolas est devenu 'le saint mondial', déjà avant d'être récupéré par les engrenages de la publicité. Notamment en Russie il est devenu le 'Dieu roux', tandis que dans le monde grec, particulièrement tourné vers la mer, il garde une place de prédilection dans le calendrier liturgique et surtout dans la conscience populaire. En 1087, des marins de Bari ont emporté les reliques de S. Nicolas de Myra, dévastées par les incursions, pour les déposer dans leur ville, où une grande cathédrale est construite en son honneur ; ainsi Bari est devenu le second Myra. À partir de sa nouvelle patrie, le culte de S. Nicolas a connu une diffusion extraordinaire dans le monde catholique durant la période tardomédiévale comme protecteur des enfants et ensuite dans l'Occident indépendamment de son affiliation ecclésiastique. Sa commercialisation n'est qu'une étape suivante.

Un livre d'une grande richesse. L'esprit critique très pénétrant de son A. lui a permis d'éviter les banalisations et de présenter une étude scientifique accessible aussi au public large. Une remarque technique toutefois s'impose : le système des notes placées à la fin du volume est peut-être convenable pour l'imprimeur, mais très inconfortable pour le lecteur. Par contre, les index bien structurés rendent facile la consultation du volume, tandis que la bibliographie très complète permet aux chercheurs une plus ample information sur le sujet.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Pauline BRINGEL, *Sophronie de Jérusalem. Panégyrique des saints Cyr et Jean. Réédition et traduction d'après de nouveaux manuscrits (Patrologia Orientalis, tome 51.1, n° 226)*, Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2008, 79 pages. ISBN 978-2-503-53176-2.

Sophronius of Jerusalem's *Panegyric of Saints Cyrus and John* (CPG 7645 ; BHG 476) is, in contrast with his other work, not well-known among Byzantinists : previously we had to rely on Mai's 1840 edition (repeated in PG 87, 3379-3421), which is based on a single Vatican manuscript, and a modern translation was lacking. BRINGEL's work intends to fill this lacuna : she presents a re-edition taking into account three additional Greek manuscripts, accompanied by a French translation.

In the introduction BRINGEL briefly discusses Sophronius' main sources, the composition and style of his work (including the relationship with Sophronius' *Miracles of Saints Cyrus and John* (CPG 7647 ; BHG 477-479), which 'justify' the *Panegyric*), and the manuscript tradition. The actual edition is the result of thorough philological work. Among other things, BRINGEL makes use of a Latin translation (preserved in a manuscript dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> c.) in establishing the Greek text (see for example pp. 24-25). The edition is also provided with

clarifying notes with regard to manuscript readings, content, interpretation, language and historical background (with reference to secondary literature). The French translation faithfully renders Sophronius 'elevated' style, while still preserving its readability.

BRINGEL'S work is a welcome addition to Mai's *editio princeps*, and will certainly contribute to a better understanding and appreciation of Sophronius' writings.

K. BENTEIN.

*Byzantine Theologians. The Systematization of their own Doctrine and their Perception of Foreign Doctrines (Quaderni di 'Néa Pólym', 3)*, éd. par A. RIGO et P. ERMILOV, Rome, Università degli Studi di Roma 'Tor Vergata', 2009, vi + 203 pages.

Cet ouvrage collectif contient les communications présentées lors de la 'XIX<sup>e</sup> Annual Conference of Saint Tikhon's Orthodox University', à Moscou, le 10 octobre 2008. Elle témoigne de la collaboration entre les universités d'Europe occidentale et celle de Moscou, bien que, parmi les auteurs des onze articles imprimés ici, seul le co-éditeur ERMILOV semble être actif en pays slave. Le titre de l'ouvrage, quant à lui, pourrait amener à croire que sa portée est plus ample qu'elle ne l'est réellement, vu qu'il n'est pas question ici – loin de là – de tous les auteurs byzantins qui ont apporté quelque chose à la systématisation de leur théologie. Le volume commence par une préface où les éditeurs citent H. G. Beck : 'the history of Byzantine dogmas is in the first place the history of Byzantine polemics'. Ils ajoutent que 'from his point of view dogmatic thought in Byzantium emerges within polemical discourse ("die systematische Gesamtdarstellung der Theologie") such as the "panoplies" of the Comnenian age'. L'ouvrage qu'ils éditent s'occupe, par contre, de la théologie systématique et dogmatique byzantine, en prenant comme point de départ non les panoplies du XII<sup>e</sup> s., mais le *De fide orthodoxa* de Jean Damascène (VIII<sup>e</sup> s.). VASSA KONTOUMA-CONTICELLO s'occupe de la 'systématisation' dans la théologie byzantine et en particulier de l'ouvrage pionnier en ce domaine, la *summa* du Damascène qui 'est pour les Byzantins une référence insurpassable de dogmatique systématique' (p. 4), non sans avoir distingué au préalable 'la dogmatique systématique' de 'la composition d'ouvrages systématisant le savoir théologique' (p. 3); il y a une 'voie médiane' qui fut, précisément, celle choisie par Jean Damascène. L'article de S. NEIRYNCK fait en quelque sorte pendant à celui de KONTOUMA-CONTICELLO, puisque l'auteur que celui-ci aborde, Nil Doxapatrès (XII<sup>e</sup> s.), s'inspire largement de Jean Damascène. Cette *summa* de Nil reste inédite; or M. NEIRYNCK en prépare une édition critique en collaboration avec Ilse De Vos, et publie ici d'importants extraits. La contribution de M. STAVROU s'occupe de Nicéphore Blemmydès (1197-1269), lui aussi très lié à la dogmatique damascénienne;

l'A. emploie la théologie comme fil conducteur pour montrer l'unité du projet épistémologique d'un érudit polyvalent tel que Blemmydès.

L'article d'A. RIGO porte sur la *Panoplie dogmatique* d'Euthyme Zigabène, et trois des contributions suivantes concernent des ouvrages étroitement apparentés : celle d'Alessandra BUCOSI étudie l'*Arsenal sacré* d'Andronic Kamatéros, qui ne bénéficie pas encore d'une édition, tandis que deux autres études – celles de L. BOSSINA et de P. ERMILOV – portent sur la *Panoplie* de Nicétas Choniates, célèbre plutôt comme historien que comme théologien.

Le troisième grand volet de ce volume – ou le deuxième, si on estime que les articles précédemment présentés forment une seule grande unité – concerne la réception byzantine de la théologie latine : M. S. PATEDAKIS s'occupe d'Athanasios I<sup>er</sup>, patriarche de Constantinople (en 1289-1293 et 1303-1309), M. TRIZIO aborde la réception du *De trinitate* d'Augustin spécialement à partir de la traduction de Maxime Planude († 1310), Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU se concentre sur Nicolas Cabasilas, et Marie-Hélène BLANCHET sur Georges Scholarios. Suivent un index des manuscrits et un autre des noms d'auteurs anciens et modernes. Il n'y a pas d'*index rerum* ni de bibliographie générale.

On pourrait regretter qu'une partie des articles s'occupe peu des questions proprement théologiques et philosophiques, et que parfois les soucis philologiques ne laissent pas de place pour une discussion approfondie de la thématique théologique. Néanmoins, le grand apport de ce recueil consiste en ce que, précisément, même si son sujet est explicitement théologique, les auteurs sont en grande partie des éditeurs de textes, qui ont une connaissance de première main; voilà pourquoi il n'est pas surprenant qu'une partie des présentations réunies ici éditent pour la première fois un texte, ou analysent des ouvrages qu'on ne peut consulter que sur manuscrit. L'intérêt et l'utilité de ces articles est donc indéniable. Mais aussi les synthèses, comme celle de KONTOUMA-CONTICELLO, font de cet ouvrage une référence nécessaire pour toute étude future sur les auteurs dont il s'occupe.

T. FERNÁNDEZ.

Matilde CASAS OLEA, Néstor Iskander, *Relato sobre la toma de Constantinopla. Estudio preliminar, traducción y notas (Fuentes y Documentos, 2)*, Grenade, Centro de Estudios Bizantinos, Neogriegos y Chipriotas, 2003, xxxvi + 123 pages. ISBN 849590505-1.

Rien n'est connu sur Nestor Iskander, auteur d'un récit sur la prise de Constantinople par les Ottomans en 1453, et d'une manière plus large des dernières années de l'empire byzantin. Il semble qu'il s'agit d'un orthodoxe d'origine russe, islamisé de force et ayant une fonction administrative dans l'empire turc. C'est un témoin direct des faits qu'il relate, d'où son importance historique particulière. La rédaction du texte ne semble pas être très éloignée des

événements relatés. Le texte, en vieux russe, est transmis par un manuscrit (le n° 773) de Laure de Sainte Trinité du monastère de S. Serge, et a fait l'objet de nombreuses études (cf. pp. XII-XIV). L'utilité de ce volume consiste dans la traduction du texte en espagnol, langue en général plus accessible que le vieux russe, et dans les notes. On peut toutefois regretter l'absence d'un *index rerum*.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

A. DEMOSTHENOUS, *Ιδεολογία και φαντασία στο Βυζάντιο. Μελέτες ανθρωπολογίας και ιστορίας των νοοτροπιών μέσα από τη βυζαντινή γραμματεία*, Nicosie, Power, s.d. [2006], 92 pages. ISBN 978-9963-673-08-7.

Dans ce petit volume, l'A. analyse les manières et les lieux communs usés par les écrivains byzantins afin de débarrasser leurs récits de conventions littéraires ou sociopolitiques et religieuses dans le but de tracer un portrait authentique de l'homme byzantin, durant les différents âges de l'empire. Il examine ainsi la Vita de S. Porphyre de Gaza pour juger le rôle de la langue dans le quotidien byzantin durant la Haute époque. Ensuite, il passe au crible le *Bréviaire historique* du patriarche Nicéphore dans lequel le surnaturel non seulement est omniprésent, mais en plus domine dans la vie des hommes constituant ainsi un paramètre du caractère byzantin des 'siècles obscurs'. Par contre la *Chronique* de Michel Psellos met beaucoup l'accent sur la beauté physique que l'A. retient comme un trait du caractère byzantin au moment de l'essor de l'empire. La *Chronique* de Georges Acropolite et ses méthodes en matière de critique historique constituent l'exemple typique de l'attitude des hommes devant la réalité durant la période de déclin de l'empire ; durant cette période la littérature byzantine développe des thèmes pleins de pessimisme.

Une tentative intéressante de voir autrement les sources byzantines, bien que la lecture des autres sources de l'une ou de l'autre période envisagée procure une image qui ne cadre pas toujours avec les conclusions du livre.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

*East and West. Essays on Byzantine and Arab Worlds in the Middle Ages*, éd. par J. P. MONFERRER-SALA, V. CHRISTIDES et Th. PAFADOPOULLOS (*Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies*, 15), Piscataway (NJ), Gorgias Press, 2009, 356 pages. ISBN 978-1-60724-056-3.

Ce volume contient les Actes du 10<sup>e</sup> et du 11<sup>e</sup> Colloques internationaux organisés respectivement au faubourg athénien Kryoneri en 2005 et à Nicosie en 2007 par l'*Institute for Graeco-Oriental and African Studies*. 24 articles sont réunis en cinq unités portant les titres ci-dessous : i) *Across the History*, ii) *Sea and Trade*, iii) *Texts and Documents*, iv) *Lands, Commerce and Travellers*, v) *Art in its Context*. La majorité des articles concernent le monde byzantin et ses relations avec le monde arabe ; ce sont notamment les articles qui seront mentionnés dans cette

notice. J. DESANGES, *L'Afrique dans les Ethnika de Stéphane de Byzance* (pp. 3-15), après une analyse détaillée des informations sur l'Afrique transmises par le texte actuel d'Étienne de Byzance et en tenant compte d'autres sources, constate que le texte des *Ethnika* dont nous disposons est beaucoup plus un résumé de l'original dû aux copistes. S. KORDOSES, *Arabs, Turks and Chinese in Central Asia during the First Third of the 8<sup>th</sup> Century, under the Light of the Turkic Orkhon Inscriptions: War and Diplomacy* (pp. 17-26), exploite les informations tirées des inscriptions turques de l'Asie centrale qui font état des relations entre les Turcs vivant à l'est de la mer Caspienne et l'empire byzantin, le khalifat et la Chine. Les peuplades turques étaient les alliées naturelles des Byzantins, car ils avaient des ennemis en commun : les Perses d'abord, les Arabes ensuite. En outre, ils constituaient l'interface pour les contacts entre l'empire byzantin et la Chine, car ils contrôlaient les routes qui reliaient les deux empires après l'occupation du Moyen-Orient par les Arabes. Nike KOUTRAKOU, *The Arabs through Byzantine Eyes (11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Centuries): A Change in Perception?* (pp. 27-54), compare l'image de l'Arabe donnée par les textes d'avant le IX<sup>e</sup> s. avec celle donnée par les textes des XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> s. De cette comparaison découle la conclusion que les deux empires, après de longs siècles d'hostilité, commencèrent à se comprendre et à s'accepter mutuellement, puisque ni l'un ni l'autre ne pouvait faire disparaître son voisin obligé. Maria LEONTSINI, *Regional Government and Social Strife in the Exarchate of Africa between the Persian Invasion and the Arab Conquest* (pp. 55-69), constate que malgré le manque de sources, une certaine paix sociale régna sur les territoires byzantins d'Afrique durant le demi-siècle qui sépare la retraite des Perses de l'Égypte et la conquête arabe. Cela a permis la floraison du commerce et l'enrichissement relatif de la région, source importante de revenus fiscaux pour la caisse impériale. T. M. MUHAMMAD, *Had the Arabs Military Skills of Tactics during their Early Conquests of Bilād al-Shām?* (pp. 71-84), met en doute les informations des sources byzantines, généralement acceptées par les historiens modernes, selon lesquelles les Arabes, durant la première phase de la conquête, n'avaient aucune tactique militaire. L'A. trouve que la prise de la Syrie et de l'Égypte était bien planifiée par les stratèges arabes, selon les indices tirés de Bilād al-Shām. P. A. YANNOPOULOS, *Byzantins et Arabes dans l'espace grec aux IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles selon les sources hagiographiques locales et contemporaines* (pp. 91-105), analyse les informations des sources hagiographiques et toponymiques pour constater que les îles grecques ainsi que les régions côtières grecques subissaient les assauts des pirates de l'émirat de Crète depuis le milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> s. et jusqu'à la reprise de Crète par les Byzantins à la fin du X<sup>e</sup> s. Toutefois, certains textes permettent de supposer que les Arabes pouvaient liquider leurs marchandises dans les marchés de villes byzantines. G. K. LIVADAS, *The Reconstruction of the Average Arab-Byzantine Warship Dromon-Shūnī* (pp. 127-131), a réuni les sources existantes permettant la reconstruction du *dromon* et du *shūnī*, qui est son équivalent arabe. Son exposé se rend tangible grâce à ses

illustrations et ses esquisses. D. LETSIOS, *Diabolus in figura Aethiopsis tetri. Ethiopians as Demons in Hagiographic Sources: Literary Stereotypes versus Social Reality and Historic Events* (pp. 185-200), passe en revue les textes hagiographiques pour constater que le diable acquit des traits physiques de nègre au cours du VI<sup>e</sup> s. C'est Nicéphore qui dans la biographie de S. André le Fou appelle le diable *Éthiopien*, terme qu'il utilise dans le sens de 'noir'. Cette appellation est adoptée par les hagiographes byzantins et cela malgré la christianisation des Éthiopiens. J. P. MONFERRER-SALA, *Egyptian Major Issues in Eutychius of Alexandria's Kitāb naẓm al-ġawāhir* (pp. 201-218), note qu'Eutychius, patriarche melchite d'Alexandrie (933-940), est un des plus remarquables représentants de la littérature chrétienne en langue arabe. Parmi ses écrits compte aussi une Chronique de laquelle l'A. examine les sources et les faits historiques mentionnés. A. TSAKOS, *Medieval Inscriptions from the Renovated Museum at Jebel Barkal (Sudan)* (pp. 219-245), publie et reproduit les photographies d'une série d'inscriptions en langue grecque provenant du nord du Soudan qu'on peut dater du VIII<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> s. et qui font preuve de la vivacité du christianisme dans la région durant la période précitée. Á. URBÁN, *The Index of Kephálaia in the Gospel of Luke in a Greek-Arabic MS from the 11<sup>th</sup> Century (BnF, Suppl. Gr. 911)* (pp. 247-266), présente la table des matières d'un évangélaire bilingue, en grec et en arabe, copié en 1043 et transmettant l'Évangile selon S. Luc. Le ms. provient de la Bibliothèque du S. Sépulcre de Jérusalem et permet une intéressante comparaison linguistique. J. DIMITROUKAS, *Andreas Libadēnos' Travel to Egypt and Palestine and its Description (1325 or 1326)* (pp. 277-284), étudie l'*Histoire de Pérégrination* d'André Libadēnos, ambassadeur d'Andronic II et d'Andronic III en Égypte. Sans doute, l'auteur transmet ses propres expédiences et ses observations, mais il semble aussi qu'il puise dans des sources plus anciennes des informations surtout pour les îles grecques. Sa description est en tout cas une source importante pour connaître les moyens de transport de l'époque, mais aussi les situations qui ont frappé un Byzantin du XIV<sup>e</sup> s. K. GIAKOURIS, *The Perception of the Crusader in Late Byzantine and Early Post-Byzantine Ecclesiastical Painting in Epiros* (pp. 299-321), après avoir examiné certaines églises du sud de l'Albanie et du nord-ouest grec, constate que des motifs iconographiques mineurs d'origine occidentale font leur apparition sur les icônes orthodoxes; ces motifs sont dus aux artistes locaux qui toutefois étaient inspirés par des détails vestimentaires ou d'armes des Croisés. K. KARAPLI, *The First Siege of Constantinople by the Arabs (674-678): Problems - Iconography* (pp. 325-356), analyse les données de certaines sources mineures qui font état du siège de la capitale byzantine par les Arabes durant les premières années du règne de Constantin IV et qui est très sommairement rapporté par les sources byzantines. En outre, il publie des photographies des témoins iconographiques qui sont en relation avec cet événement.

Ces articles mis à part, certains autres, dont le sujet n'est pas byzantin, se réfèrent de manière passagère à l'empire byzantin. Il s'agit notamment des

articles ci-après : G. TSOUTSOS, *East and West: From the Ottoman Empire to Turkey* (pp. 85-89), V. CHRISTIDES, *Mamluk Ships and Seamanship: A Reappraisal* (pp. 109-119), Y. Y. LEV, *The Fatimid State and Egypt's Mediterranean Trade 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (pp. 121-125), I. V. GUERASIMOV, *On Greeks and Greek Culture in Sudan According to Ibn Dayfallāh's Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt fī khuṣūṣ al-awliyā, wa-l-Ṣāliḥīn wa-l-'Ulamā' wa-l-shu'arā' fī l-Sūdān* (pp. 169-175), et L. YING, *Hellenic Elements in a Third Century Chinese Source on Roman Empire* (pp. 285-296).

P. YANNOPOULOS.

J. HOFSTRA, *Leontius von Neapolis und Symeon der heilige Narr. Ein Pastor als Hagiograph* (Thèse de doctorat), Drachten, Karmel, 2008, xvi + 376 pages. ISBN 978-90-805673-5-1.

Les ouvrages consacrés entièrement à Léonce de Néapolis (Limassol, en Chypre), actif au VII<sup>e</sup> s., ne sont pas nombreux : l'édition des recensions 'moyenne' et 'courte' de la *Vie de Jean l'Aumônier* par A. Gelzer (1893) ; celle de L. Rydén de la *Vie de Syméon le Fou* (1963), qui a eu une influence extraordinaire et a déclenché un regain d'intérêt sur cet auteur, manifesté par une foule d'articles durant les années qui suivirent sa publication, y compris celui, très célèbre, de C. Mango (1984) ; le commentaire de Rydén sur la *Vie de Syméon* (1970) ; l'édition de A. J. Festugière de la recension longue de la *Vie de Jean l'Aumônier*, dans un volume qui contient aussi une édition rajeunie, réalisée cette fois encore par Rydén, de la *Vie de Syméon*, ainsi que des traductions des deux Vies, avec notes et appendices ; les *Études sur Léontios de Néapolis* de V. Déroche (1995), et l'étude et traduction de la *Vie de Syméon* par D. Krueger (1996). À cette liste on peut ajouter des traductions de la *Vie de Syméon* : deux en espagnol (1999, 2009) et une en néerlandais (2006). Aucun de ces ouvrages ne présente une étude suivie de l'activité de Léonce ; ce mérite revient, par conséquent, à J. HOFSTRA, l'auteur de cette thèse doctorale basée sur des études commencées il y a plus de 30 ans.

Le volume commence par des observations sur l'hagiographie ; l'A. déclare, ici comme ailleurs, avoir l'intention de suivre la méthode des Bollandistes (p. 19). Suit une description de Chypre au VII<sup>e</sup> s. et une analyse de la *Vie de Jean*, que l'A. considère non seulement comme antérieure à la *Vie de Syméon*, mais comme un simple 'Übungsplatz'. Après cela on trouve des études détaillées sur différents aspects de la *Vie de Syméon*, à laquelle HOFSTRA essaie de redonner l'unité que d'après lui la plupart des érudits modernes, se concentrant sur la deuxième partie (les aventures de Léonce à Émèse), ont perdue de vue. On doit souligner que l'A. fait toujours de son mieux pour pénétrer dans le détail des textes, et les situer dans un contexte plus large. Néanmoins, l'approche semble souvent démodée. HOFSTRA explique le succès de la *Vie de Syméon*, et puis celui de l'hagiographie tout court (mais a-t-elle vraiment du succès aujourd'hui ?) par



le 'développement spirituel des derniers temps' (p. vi), et ajoute même : 'daher ist auch das zunehmende wissenschaftliche Interesse an der Hagiographie weniger eine Mode als eine Naturnotwendigkeit'. Quelle est la pertinence de ces considérations ? Elles risquent plutôt d'amener plus d'un lecteur à tourner le dos à un effort pourtant très méritoire. Il *lungo studio e grande amore* qu'on perçoit partout dans cet ouvrage est remarquable ; tout semble être consciencieusement réfléchi, surtout la bibliographie primaire, et il y a un effort constant de lier les parties à l'ensemble, sans perdre de vue ni les unes ni l'autre. On peut seulement souhaiter une nouvelle édition, qui ôte des sections sans doute importantes pour une thèse de doctorat, mais largement superflues dans un ouvrage érudit.

T. FERNÁNDEZ.

*La sculpture byzantine. VII<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Actes du Colloque international organisé par la 2<sup>e</sup> Éphorie des antiquités byzantines et l'École française d'Athènes (6-8 septembre 2000) (Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, suppl. 49), éd. par Ch. PENNAS et Catherine VANDERHEYDE, Paris, De Boccard Édition-Diffusion, 2008, ix + 612 pages. ISBN 978-2-86958-196-8.*

Ce volume contient les 30 communications faites lors d'un colloque international organisé à Athènes par la 2<sup>e</sup> Éphorie des antiquités byzantines et l'École française d'Athènes en 2000, ayant pour objet la sculpture byzantine du VII<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> s. ; un résumé en français et en grec de ces communications est ajouté à la fin (pp. 589-612). Il va de soi qu'un volume de telle nature est abondamment illustré ; les illustrations sont placées après chaque article. Par contre il n'y a pas d'index.

Les communications sont groupées en neuf parties, dont la première, intitulée *Introduction*, contient l'article de J.-P. SODINI, *La sculpture byzantine (VII<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles) : acquis, problèmes et perspectives* (pp. 5-35), qui est un état de la question et une énumération des domaines encore mal connus de la sculpture byzantine (production, thèmes, ateliers), art beaucoup moins étudié que l'architecture ou la peinture.

La deuxième partie du volume, consacrée à *Constantinople*, comporte deux articles : un de Roberta FLAMINIO, *La decorazione scultorea della chiesa di Cristo Pantepoptes (Eski Imaret Camii) a Costantinopoli* (pp. 39-53), suivant lequel le décor architectural sculpté de l'église de Christ Pantepoptès est du XI<sup>e</sup> s., et un de M. DENNERT, *'Übersiehene' Kapitelle. Anmerkungen zur mittelbyzantinischen Architekturplastik aus Konstantinopel* (pp. 55-67), qui étudie deux chapiteaux constantinopolitains encore inédits qui selon lui sont de la période mésobyzantine.

À l'Asie Mineure, qui fait l'objet de la troisième partie, sont consacrés les cinq articles suivants. M. BÜYÜKKOLANCI, *Quelques exemples de plaques de parapet des VII<sup>e</sup>-*

*XII<sup>e</sup> siècles* provenant de Saint-Jean à Éphèse (pp. 71-79), analyse 11 plaques de revêtement provenant des fouilles effectuées à S. Jean à Éphèse et qui datent du VII<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> s. Zeynep MERCANGÖZ, *Réflexions sur le décor sculpté byzantin d'Anatolie occidentale* (pp. 81-103), étudie le décor sculpté d'une plaque provenant de Smyrne et d'un chapiteau originaire de Manisa. Yıldız ÖTÜKEN, *Neue Aspekte zur Datierung der mittelbyzantinischen Bauplastik in Kleinasien* (pp. 105-121), a pour objet des fragments sculptés de l'église de S. Nicolas à Myra et essaie de les dater selon leur style. Sema ALPASLAN-DOĞAN, *La sculpture byzantine en Lycie et à Antalya : sa place dans l'évolution de l'art byzantin* (pp. 123-138), reconnaît deux zones stylistiques dans la sculpture lycienne : une propre à la région montagneuse et une portuaire, tandis qu'Asnu B. YALÇIN, *Le sculpture mediobizantine di Yalvaç* (pp. 139-159), signale que les restes byzantins d'Antioche en Pisidie se trouvent en partie au musée archéologique de la ville de Yalvaç et en partie incorporés dans la mosquée de cette ville.

La partie suivante du volume, intitulée *Les Balkans*, est sans doute la plus fournie, puisque sept articles en font partie. Pour Albena MILANOVA, *La production d'un atelier de sculpture en Bulgarie byzantine à la fin du X<sup>e</sup> ou au début du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (pp. 163-181), un groupe de six plaques et de quatre chapiteaux trouvés dans la région de Zagora, suggère l'existence d'un atelier, peut-être à Béroë, au XI<sup>e</sup> s. Snežana FIUROVA, *Sculptures médiévales des XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles dans l'ancienne République yougoslave de Macédoine* (pp. 183-197), étudie un certain nombre de pièces sculptées provenant de la région nord de Macédoine qui indiquent une production artistique locale. S. ΜΥΣΑΙ, *La sculpture décorative des IX<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles de l'église de la Vierge à Ballsh (Glavinitsa)* (pp. 199-213), examine huit pièces sculptées conservées au musée de Tirana pour conclure que les tendances artistiques observées dans le reste des Balkans sont aussi repérables en Albanie. A. MENTZOS, *Εργαστήριο γλυπτικής στη Θεσσαλονίκη στον 11ο αιώνα* (pp. 217-230), localise un atelier de sculpture à Thessalonique, dont la production est visible à l'église de S. Démétrius, mais aussi dans les églises des villes environnantes ; il est caractérisé par un certain archaïsme par rapport à l'art de l'Asie Mineure. G. VELENIS, *Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος της Παναγίας των Χαλκίων στη Θεσσαλονίκη* (pp. 231-247), constate que la sculpture décorative de l'église de la S. Vierge des Chaudronniers à Thessalonique est en parfaite harmonie avec l'architecture du bâtiment, ce qui prouve que les deux réalisations entrent dans le même plan de construction. Th. PAZARAS, *Τα βυζαντινά γλυπτά του καθολικού της μονής Βατοπεδίου στο Άγιον Όρος* (pp. 249-261), constate que la qualité de la sculpture décorative des deux chapelles de l'église abbatiale de Vatopedion est comparable à celle des grands monastères de la capitale. Toutefois, comme le signale P. ANDROUDIS, *Γύρω από κάποια μεσοβυζαντινά τέμπλα του Αγίου Όρους* (pp. 263-283), il ne s'agit pas du seul cas observé au Mont Athos, car les clôtures du cœur en marbre d'autres chapelles sont aussi d'une grande qualité.



Trois contributions forment la quatrième partie du volume concernant *La Grèce centrale*. M. SCLAVOU-MAVROUIDI, *Στοιχεία του γλυπτού διακόσμου ναών της Αθήνας το 10ο αιώνα* (pp. 287-301), note que plusieurs églises athéniennes, datant de la période mésobyzantine, sont disparues, mais certaines parties de leur décoration sculptée conservées montrent une certaine persistance des thèmes symboliques, mais aussi la récupération de l'écriture coufique dans un but décoratif. C'est à peu près aussi la conclusion de G. PALLIS, *Spolia γλυπτών από την περιοχή Αμαρουσίου Αττικής* (pp. 303-315), qui exploite le matériel photographique et les pièces éparses des monuments mésobyzantins de la région septentrionale d'Athènes. Eleni G. MANOLESSOU, *Γλυπτά από τη συλλογή της Τράπεζας του Οσίου Λουκά* (pp. 317-337), étudie les reliefs en marbre du monastère de Hosios Loukas en Béotie pour dire qu'ils sont exécutés par l'atelier qui a fait la porte du monastère.

La partie suivante, celle qui a pour objet *Le Péloponnèse*, est introduite par l'article de Catherine VANDERHEYDE, *Les sculptures découvertes lors des fouilles de trois églises byzantines à Corinthe : un témoignage en faveur d'une occupation continue de la ville du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle ?* (pp. 341-357), qui constate que les pièces sculptées découvertes lors des fouilles effectuées à Corinthe conduisent à deux conclusions : (i) que la ville basse était habitée sans interruption durant la période mésobyzantine, et (ii) qu'un atelier qui a produit des sculptures localisées aussi dans d'autres sites, fonctionnait au XII<sup>e</sup> s. au nord-est du Péloponnèse. I. VARALIS et G. TSEKES, *Μεσοβυζαντινά γλυπτά από την Αργολίδα* (pp. 359-373), chargés d'enregistrer les vestiges byzantins en Argolide, présentent cinq pièces sculptées de la période mésobyzantine provenant de localités environnantes d'Argos. Pour Vasso PENNA, ΑΙΝΙΑ LAMPROPOULOU et I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Γλυπτά μεταβατικών χρόνων από τη βασιλική του Θεάτρου της αρχαίας Μεσσήνης* (pp. 375-392), le site classique de Messine était occupé aussi durant la période byzantine. Les fouilles en cours ont fait apparaître des sculptures décoratives d'une basilique éventuellement du VIII<sup>e</sup> s. ; en outre ils constatent qu'il faut repérer les restes sculptés gardés dans différents musées afin de savoir s'il existait ou non un atelier péloponnésien. Rodoniki ETZEOGLOU, *Μεσοβυζαντινό τέμπλο στην Κάτω Πόλη της Μονεμβασίας* (pp. 393-407), est d'avis que la clôture du cœur en marbre trouvée lors des fouilles dans la ville basse de Monemvasie est de la même époque et du même atelier que les parties sculptées de Sainte-Sophie de la ville haute, d'où elle fut déplacée durant la seconde domination vénitienne. N. DRANDAKIS, *Χρονολογημένα βυζαντινά γλυπτά της Μάνης του 11ου και του 12ου αιώνα* (pp. 409-417), note que plusieurs pièces sculptées de Mani sont bien datées et parmi elles, celles du XI<sup>e</sup> s. sont même signées : elles portent la signature du sculpteur Nicéas.

Seulement deux contributions, celles d'Evangelia MILITSI, *Τμήματα μεσοβυζαντινών τέμπλων από την Κω* (pp. 421-445), et de Ch. PENNAS, *Νέα στοιχεία αποκατάστασης και ερμηνείας του τέμπλου της Παναγίας Κρήνας στη Χίο*

(pp. 447-465), sont consacrées aux *Îles de la Mer Égée et du Dodécanèse*. La première note que peu de restes byzantins sont conservés sur l'île de Cos, parmi eux un chapiteau, une plaque et quelques autres fragments illustrant la sculpture décorative mésobyzantine. Selon la seconde, les restes mésobyzantins sur l'île de Rhodes sont plus nombreux, mais mal datés. La datation de certaines nouvelles pièces provenant de l'église de Krinas, attestent la présence des sculpteurs sur l'île durant les X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> s.

L'étude de la sculpture mésobyzantine par région étant terminée, les deux dernières parties du volume sont thématiques : *Aspects techniques* (9<sup>e</sup> partie) et *Aspects iconographiques* (10<sup>e</sup> partie). Trois articles traitent les aspects techniques. Ch. BOURAS, *Διάτρητα μαρμάρινα μεσοβυζαντινά γλυπτά στην Ελλάδα* (pp. 469-485), note que la sculpture décorative connaît une floraison particulière au XIII<sup>e</sup> s. et recherche de nouvelles techniques, dont celle des dalles de marbre percées semble avoir fait son apparition dans le Péloponnèse. E. A. IVISON, *Middle Byzantine Sculptors at Work : Evidence from the Lower City Church at Amorium* (pp. 487-513), signale que les fouilles effectuées à Amorion ont fait découvrir une église reconstruite entre le milieu du IX<sup>e</sup> et le milieu du X<sup>e</sup> s. À peu près 200 pièces sculptées ont ainsi vu le jour ; elles étaient exécutées sur place par les artistes locaux. L'analyse de ces objets permet de déceler certaines techniques utilisées par leurs réalisateurs. Claudia BARSANTI, *Una nota sulla diffusione della scultura a incrostazione nelle Regioni adriatiche del meridione d'Italia tra XI e XIII secolo* (pp. 515-557), centre son intérêt sur les églises de l'Italie byzantine surtout dans les Pouilles où a vu le jour la technique des incrustations colorées. La région a développé sa propre esthétique et technique influencées par les courants byzantins, mais aussi arabes et slaves. Concernant l'iconographie, Andrea PARIBENI, *I rilievi in marmo rappresentanti la Vergine e altri personaggi religiosi : considerazioni sulla cronologia e sul loro ruolo nella liturgia* (pp. 561-575), souligne que la sculpture byzantine pouvait être aussi figurative. Les saints et la Vierge sont souvent représentés en relief, surtout dans les lieux de culte. Un des thèmes préférés était celui d'une source ayant la forme de la Vierge ; l'eau coulait de ses mains. Finalement Ludmilla G. KHROUSHKOVA, *Les dalles de chancel de Tsebelda en Abkhazie* (pp. 577-587), reprend la question des plaques sculptées découvertes il y a un siècle en Abkhazie et dont l'interprétation a fait couler beaucoup d'encre. Elle pense que ces œuvres doivent être datées de la période iconoclaste à cause de leur iconographie symbolique.

Ce colloque fera sans doute date dans le domaine des études de la sculpture byzantine, secteur généralement peu étudié, comme le remarque J.-P. SODINI dans l'introduction. Dans cette perspective, ce volume des Actes contribuera aussi à sa manière à donner un élan nouveau à la recherche.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

*Le patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople aux XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles : rupture et continuité. Actes du Colloque international, Rome, 5-6-7 décembre 2005 (Dossiers byzantins, 7)*, Paris, Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2007, 475 pages + 6 photos. ISBN 978-2-9518366-8-6.

This book presents nineteen papers on different issues related to the Byzantine and post-Byzantine patriarchate. As the topics vary significantly, let me briefly introduce each of them.

In his study *John XIV (Kalekas), Byzantine Theology-cum-Politics and the Early Hesychast Controversy* A. M. CASIDAY challenges some established interpretations of late Byzantine history. Undermining the prejudiced perception of Alexios Apokaukos and the part he played in instigating the civil war (1341-1346), the author proceeds to exonerate Patriarch John XIV Kalekas and his ally Gregory Akindynos from the traditional assumption of their animosity towards the Athos monks. Stressing that both men had high respect for the latter, the author claims that the negative view of Kalekas and Akindynos developed after their (early) deaths and in contrast to the successful careers of their opponents, Palamas and Kantakuzenos.

The article by Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU entitled *Deux patriarches palamites en rivalité : Kallistos et Philothée* compares the personal histories, characters and actions of two competing patriarchs. They had much in common : abbots in Athos monasteries, both followed similar policies promoting the Palamite doctrine, reformed the church and opposed the Union with the Catholics. Their differences comprised mainly the issue of relationship between the emperor and the patriarch and their personal animosities, which the author traced back to the opposing factions of the Lavra Monastery.

The study *At the Sunset of the Empire : The Formation of the Final 'Byzantine Liturgical Synthesis' in the Patriarchate of Constantinople* by R. F. TAFT discusses the reflection of the Palaiologan renaissance in liturgy, iconography and theology of the late Empire. As key terms, the author uses *taxis*, *historia* and *theoria*, showing how the imperial and ecclesiastic order mirrored that of heaven, depicting simultaneously the Byzantine predilection for continuity over creativity. Examining different rituals, he concludes that Byzantine culture was far from abstract and otherworldly.

In his article *Patriarchi ecumenici e peregrinazioni archivistiche di Georg Hofmann, SJ. (1885-1956)*, V. POGGI portrays the life and scholarly interests of Georg Hofmann, a German priest, scholar and missionary, who visited archives all over Europe. In his work, Hofmann focused mainly on ecumenical patriarchs and the interactions between the Catholic and Orthodox Church.

The study of Sophía SENYK inquires into the relationship of the Russian and the Byzantine Sees (*The Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Metropolitans of Rus,*

1300-1600), pointing out to the effort of the Byzantine patriarchs to maintain the vast territory (governed by a number of Russian or Baltic rulers) as a single church province. Providing an interesting insight into the political objectives of the different parties involved (such as Lithuania, Poland or Muscovite Russia), the author depicts the final fragmentation of the 'Russian' province into different autocephalous sees and their changing relationship to the patriarchs of Constantinople.

The next paper addresses the relationship between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the 'Great' or Byzantine Orthodox Church (*Il patriarcato di Costantinopoli e la chiesa ortodossa della Transilvania (XIV-XVII sec.)*), in which I.-A. POP examines the relationship between Valachia, Moldavia and Constantinople in this period.

In his study, *Geórgios Scholarios, 'secrétaire' du patriarche unioniste Grégorios III Mammás? Le mystère résolu*, Th. GANCHOU inquires into the questions posed by the certificate of authenticity of relicts issued by Gregory III Mammás to Philip III, Duke of Burgundy. Upon thorough investigation of various primary sources, the author focuses on the circumstances of writing, translation and transportation of the document producing a fascinating detective story. Tracing the fates of the various personalities somehow connected to the document, the analysis of the sources shows that it was Georgios Scholarios who wrote the document for his opponent in the imperial palace in November 1445. The study is complemented by an appendix regarding the participants of the religious disputations between the Latin and the anti-unionist theologians, which took place in the Xylalas Palace in July 1445 (*Précisions sur les protagonistes des 'entretiens religieux' de Xylalas*).

*L'ambiguïté du statut juridique de Gennadios Scholarios après la chute de Constantinople (1453)* by Marie-Hélène BLANCHET focuses on the life and position of the first patriarch in the new Ottoman capital. Upon his unsuccessful attempt to escape after the fall of the city, Scholarios became a slave in Edirne (Adrianople). His family being too poor to ransom him, he was bought out by the sultan on advice of Scholarios's friends. The scene established, BLANCHET asks her main question : what was Scholarios's situation upon becoming a patriarch ? Based on the examination of the primary sources, she shows how he was officially freed by the sultan, who nevertheless expected him to act as a manumitted slave, bound to oblige his master.

*De la fin des temps à la continuité impériale : constructions idéologiques post-byzantines au sein du patriarcat de Constantinople* is the title of an article by C. G. PITSAKIS, which follows the development of the Byzantine belief in eternal existence of the empire in the work of Cosmas Indicopleustes, the letter of Patriarch Anthony IV to Vasil I of Moscow, and in the work of Patriarch Gennadios Scholarios. Following the fall of Constantinople, the author traces the changing idea of the empire's continuity reflected in four subsequent beliefs : in re-

emergence of a new emperor, help from the Russians, through the continued existence of the church headed by an Orthodox patriarch in Constantinople and finally, in Jesus Christ as the king of kings and high priest (a perfect embodiment of the Byzantine imperial ideal). In the twentieth century, however, the belief in the eternal existence of the empire finally dissolved as the Greeks (and their Balkan neighbours) formed new nations with autonomous churches and gradually gave up the dream of reconquering Constantinople.

Looking at the situation of the patriarchate after the Ottoman conquest, D. G. APOSTOLOPOULOS points out the problems faced by the sultan upon taking over an empire built on different culture, mentality and religion. Titled *Du sultan au basileus? Dilemmes politiques du conquérant*, the author explores how Mehmed II dealt with this situation, maintaining the Islamic Ottoman way of life but appropriating some rituals of the Byzantine emperors (such as presenting the patriarch with a staff). The author also reflects on the sultan's Christian co-workers and their problematic intervention into the issues of the Orthodox church. The article closes with a note on a papal letter, which offered the sultan a religious solution promising, if the latter became a Christian, to legalize his possession of the conquered lands under the title of the Emperor of the Greeks and the Orient. Although the sultan chose to remain independent, the study reflects the quarry of ruling an empire without enforcing cultural and religious unity and the unavoidable pro's and con's of such a decision.

Returning to the issue of the first (Ottoman) patriarch's position, Despina TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI in her article *À propos des privilèges octroyés par Mehmed II au patriarche Gennadios Scholarios: mythes et réalités* asks whether Scholarios received from the sultan a written document guaranteeing him his rights. Examining a number of texts by Critoboulos, Scholarios himself, the letter of Theodore Vranas or the *Chronicon maius* by Pseudo-Sphrantzes, she concludes that the patriarch never received any such document beside perhaps a confirmation of his nomination (*berat*).

In *Les conditions de la prise de Constantinople en 1453: un sujet d'intérêt commun pour le patriarche et le grand mufti*, G. VEINSTEIN inquires into two primary sources, Manuel Malaxos and Demetrius Cantemir, pointing out and examining an interesting passage. The Turks did not wish to massacre or forcibly convert the whole Byzantine population of Constantinople but not doing so was an act of disobedience against their own laws, which could become a bone of contention within the Muslim community once the conquest was complete. The patriarch, on the other hand, sought to protect the Christians and their churches. According to the two sources, the two sides employed a diplomatic ruse. The patriarch claimed that after part of the walls fell, Constantine XI gave up the city, upon which its remaining population was spared. In this way, the Muslims could justify their granting life to the 'surrendered' Christian inhabitants of the city.

In her article entitled *Mythe et réalité sur les documents du xv<sup>e</sup>-xvi<sup>e</sup> s. conservés au patriarcat de Constantinople*, Machi PAIZI-APOSTOLOPOULOU inquires how the chancellery of the post-Byzantine patriarchate functioned and what was the content of the documents it issued. Accompanied by six photographs, the author briefly describes each manuscript and proceeds to expose two myths. The first involves the belief that the patriarchal registry is well covered after 1538, a year in fact exemplified by only one act of donation inserted into a group of later texts of the same kind (from 1564-1590). The second myth concerns the belief in the illiteracy of the patriarch and his clergy, pointing out that in some cases they possessed a very sophisticated knowledge of Greek. In her conclusion, the author mentions the dispersed character of the studied material and the importance of assembling it in order to fully comprehend the role of the patriarchate, which represented all Christian subjects of the sultan from Balkan to Asia Minor.

Focusing on the financial relations of the patriarchate and the Porte from mid-fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth century (*Relations financières entre le patriarcat orthodoxe de Constantinople et la Sublime Porte, 1453 - fin du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle*), P. KONORTAS studies the fiscal aspects of *berats* (documents issued by the sultan confirming the patriarch and his clergy in their office), their types drawing a list of preserved exemplars (7) from the chosen period. Based on these documents, he establishes fifteen pieces of information connected to financial matters. His analysis shows that in the period concerned, the patriarch had to make two types of payment, *peskes* (a one-time 'present' to the sultan) and *maktu* (an annual payment). The author devotes some attention to where the money came from, the question of relationship between the sultan and the patriarch and the place of the latter in the Ottoman administration. Finally, he depicts the growing importance of the patriarch who since the seventeenth century applied for the *berats* for his metropolitans suggesting the rise of the patriarchs from the difficult position after the conquest to their re-entry into politics.

Focusing on the patriarch's role on the international scene, P. Ş. NÄSTUREL and D. I. MUREŞAN present a detailed survey of life and work of Dionysios II (*Denys II de Constantinople (1546-1556) et les débuts de la politique européenne du patriarcat œcuménique*). Summarizing the development of the Ottoman patriarchate, early life and election of Dionysios, the authors proceed to depict his dealings with such politicians as Suleiman the Magnificent, Ivan IV the Terrible or Charles V, and Dionysios's connection to the Greek printing company in Venice, which mark the re-entrance of the eastern patriarchs into international politics.

Inquiring into external observations of the patriarch and his position within the Ottoman Empire, M. CAZACU studies the work of a western ambassador, Stephan Gerlach (*Le patriarcat de Constantinople dans la vision de Stephan Gerlach (1573-1578)*). Sent to the Ottoman capital along with a delegation coming to

renew the treaty with Selim II, Gerlach met Patriarch Jeremy II, to whom he delivered a copy of the Augsburg Confession. Upon five years in the Ottoman capital, Gerlach became a specialist on the situation of the Orthodox Church. He observed the patriarch during church ceremonies, as well as in course of private audiences, noting details about his court and palace and gaining access to his library. Gerlach's diary also reveals much about the political and financial situation of the patriarchate, a knowledge the diplomat acquired through conversations with the leading personalities of the church and the political scene.

The study of Ch. HANNICK (*La discipline monastique du patriarcat de Constantinople du XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*) focuses mainly on the difference between patriarchal monasteries and the *stauropigia* as apparent from the documents related to individual monasteries and the Athos houses. The article closes with inquiries into further issues such as spiritual direction, monasteries becoming convents and vice versa, and the problem of double monasteries in reference to the patriarchal see of Constantinople.

In his article titled *L'origine et la fonction théologico-politique de la couronne patriarcale*, P. GURAN follows the development and symbolism of the head covering of the patriarchs as described by the primary sources and discussed by modern researchers, investigating the issues of appearance of the *mitra* in the post-Byzantine period and its mentions in letters to Russian rulers. The author also inquires whether there could have been several head coverings used on different occasions, and whether the patriarch was sometimes obliged not to wear it in order not to provoke the sultan.

The last study by D. I. MUREŞAN (*De la place du Syntagma de Matthieu Blastarès dans le Méga nomimon du Patriarcat de Constantinople*) introduces the Syntagma and the manuscripts in which it is preserved. The author then surveys its development within the Byzantine context, impact on the law documents of the neighbouring, especially Slavic countries, and finally, its inclusion into the *Mega nomimon* and its use in the post-Byzantine period.

As the authors ask a number of novel questions and introduce new sources and vantage points regarding church history, Byzantine and Modern Greek studies, the volume will certainly be of much use (hopefully not only) to the scholars in these fields.

Petra MELICHAR.

M. MEISER, *Galater (Novum Testamentum Patristicum, 9)*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007, 373 pages. ISBN 978-3-525-53988-0.

This book is the long-awaited first volume of the *Novum Testamentum Patristicum* series, which aims to document the patristic exegesis of the New Testament. It consists of two main parts. The first and shorter part (pp. 13-42)

contains a general overview of the patristic reception of Paul's letter to the Galatians. The second and more extensive part (pp. 43-322) discusses the patristic interpretation of individual passages of *Galatians*.

Launching a new series is always a daunting task, and bringing out the first volume requires courage, as it often is the most difficult one. In that sense, M. MEISER's work is to be applauded for the very fact that it has resulted in the production of the first volume. But even more: the way in which he took this first hurdle is impressive. He authored a book that very clearly relies upon a daunting wealth of research: the list of consulted primary literature is impressive.

The single point of detraction is the double preface, to the NTP series in general (pp. 7-10, written by A. MERKT and T. NICKLAS) and to this specific volume (pp. 11-12). Both of them are very short. The reader would have benefited from a more extensive introduction to the series' goals and to the way in which individual authors deal with them (e.g. why has NTP decided to focus only on the patristic exegesis and not so much on the textual transmission of the NT by Christian scribes and scholars in the patristic period?). Hopefully the second volume will provide more information in this regard.

MEISER's well documented overview announces the NTP to be a series that many scholars will find at least as useful as, if not more than, other similar projects (such as that of the *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture* or the *Blackwell Bible Commentaries*, in which J. Riches' volume on *Galatians* came out in 2008). MEISER's volume sets high standards to the forthcoming books, the first of which will be that on 1 Peter.

R. CEULEMANS.

*Miscellanea Codicum Graecorum Vindobonensium. 1. Studien zu griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften, 380. Band = Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, Band 17)*, éd. par Ch. GASTGEBER, Vienne, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009, 136 pages. ISBN 978-3-7001-6491-3.

Parmi le millier des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale autrichienne, certains ont fait l'objet d'une étude particulière, chacun pour une raison différente. Ainsi, Jana GRUSKOVA étudie (pp. 9-22 + pp. 23-34 des planches) le *Vindobonensis Iur. Gr.* 18, du XI<sup>e</sup> s., dont les ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>v</sup> et 6<sup>r</sup>-8<sup>v</sup> sont des palimpsestes; la partie effacée est l'homélie sur *De sancta Pentecoste* de Jean Chrysostome en écriture majuscule ancienne. P. SCHREINER analyse (pp. 35-42 + pp. 43-49 des planches) le *Vindobonensis Hist. Gr.* 68 qui est formé de deux parties. La première transmet la Chronique de Jean Zonaras et la seconde la Chronique de Georges Acropolites. Le manuscrit est de 1402, tandis que cer-



taines notes marginales de caractère chronologique sont en relation avec les faits cités par les deux historiens. L'objet de Ch. GASTGEBER est (pp. 51-76 + pp. 77-84 des planches) le *Vindobonensis Suppl. Gr. 39*, un manuscrit du *xiv<sup>e</sup> s.* qui présente un intérêt prosopographique, puisqu'il y est question des personnages et des copistes mentionnés aussi par d'autres manuscrits, notamment le *Vaticanus Gr. 305*, mais qui ne sont que partiellement connus. Parmi ceux-ci un certain Manuel Meligagas, dont le manuscrit transmet six lettres, éditées et traduites par l'A. de l'article. Un cas analogue est étudié par Venetia CHATZOPOULOU (pp. 85-89 + pp. 90-98 des planches) ; il s'agit de Zacharie Calliergis, un copiste, philologue et éditeur d'origine crétoise qui durant les dernières décennies du *xv<sup>e</sup> s.* et les premières du *xvi<sup>e</sup> s.* a vécu à Venise, il a copié entièrement ou partiellement les manuscrits *Vindobonensis Hist. Gr. 96*, *Vindobonensis Philos. Philol. Gr. 34*, *Vindobonensis Philos. Philol. Gr. 58*, *Vindobonensis Philos. Philol. Gr. 164*. E. GAMILLSCHG compare (pp. 99-106 + pp. 107-114 des planches) entre eux le *Vindobonensis Suppl. Gr. 176*, le *Vindobonensis Suppl. Gr. 203* et le *Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 7* qui transmettent une *catena*. Le copiste du *xvi<sup>e</sup> s.*, Théodose Zygomalas, paraît être le réviseur de ce texte. Finalement L. CANFORA étudie (pp. 115-129 + pp. 130-134 des planches) les rares autographes de Constantin Simonidis contenus dans les *Vindobonensis Autogr. 113* et *Vindobonensis Autogr. 138*. En 1858, Simonidis prétendait avoir trouvé un manuscrit contenant l'*Histoire de l'Église d'Uranios* ; en réalité il s'agissait d'un faux créé par lui-même, l'actuel *Vindobonensis Cod. Suppl. Gr. 119*.

Ce très intéressant volume est muni des index qui permettent aux lecteurs de trouver facilement des informations qui peuvent les intéresser.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

J. MOSSAY, *Nazianze et les Grégoire. Réflexions d'un helléniste retraité (Langues et cultures anciennes, 15)*, Bruxelles, Éditions Safran, 2009, 192 pages, dont les pp. 163-169 planches. ISBN 978-2-87457-028-5.

Il est inhabituel ou au moins rare, d'avoir un livre comme celui-ci que J. MOSSAY, professeur émérite de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, met à disposition du public. C'est un lieu commun de dire que l'A. connaît Grégoire de Nazianze, à qui il a consacré toute sa vie scientifique. Il est donc bien placé pour présenter une étude selon les bonnes règles scientifiques, ces termes étant compris dans un sens académique. Or, comme il le signale dès la première page, intitulée 'Avertissement', il a opté pour un ton familier, car, comme il dit 'Ceci n'est pas un livre d'histoire ... De tels livres, il y en a déjà tant ! ... Ce recueil de réflexions d'un helléniste âgé est, si l'on peut dire, un ouvrage palliatif, reliquaire d'anciennes recherches, jamais publiées, d'articles oubliés dans des cahiers ou des classeurs ...'. Nous pouvons ajouter que la modestie de l'auteur ne lui permet pas de dire que c'est aussi un excellent travail qui n'a rien à

envier à n'importe quel livre scientifique 'en bonne forme'. De quoi s'agit-il ? C'est le produit d'une longue distillation de recherches, de notes prises lors de voyages, d'observations faites sur place, d'enseignements, de lectures, de discussions, de débats lors de colloques, de longues heures patiemment consommées en déchiffrant les manuscrits, et j'en passe. À notre avis, c'est un livre unique, écrit dans un français brillant qui se lit facilement en laissant après lui un goût de fraîcheur, en dépit de l'âge de son rédacteur.

L'idée principale consiste à présenter l'espace géographique cappadocien et le milieu familial et social dans lesquels a évolué Grégoire de Nazianze. L'A., pour satisfaire aussi bien la curiosité du lecteur non spécialisé que les exigences du lecteur initié, n'hésite pas à faire appel aux sources et références scientifiques, mais aussi à puiser dans son vécu et ses convictions. Cela donne au livre une vivacité particulière que le lecteur apprécie à tout moment. Le lecteur peut alors faire confiance à l'A., car la moindre affirmation est solidement assise sur une expérience scientifique, même si elle n'est pas évidente à première vue.

Le livre est divisé en trois parties, intitulées successivement : 'L'an 325 à Nazianze' (pp. 9-37) ; 'La famille' (pp. 39-125) ; 'Outre-tombe' (pp. 127-160). Une quatrième partie à la fin du livre (pp. 161-192) groupe des photographies, des annexes, la bibliographie et les œuvres de Grégoire de Nazianze utilisées dans le livre.

La première partie traite le temps et l'espace. Le temps est celui du début du *iv<sup>e</sup> s.*, quand Grégoire l'Ancien, père de Grégoire de Nazianze, se convertit au christianisme. Puisque l'occasion se présente, l'A. fait un exposé sur la période constantinienne et sur les grands changements sociopolitiques qui la caractérisent. L'espace est la partie centrale de la Cappadoce, les endroits où les faits se sont déroulés. Il s'agit de localités mentionnées dans les sources (Nazianze, Karvali, Arianze, Kanotala, Borissos, Momoasson, Sasimes, Ozizala), dont l'identification n'est pas évidente. Les vicissitudes historiques ont fait que les localités actuelles, sans doute sur les mêmes sites que celles du *iv<sup>e</sup> s.*, gardent encore certains souvenirs de leur passé, comme d'ailleurs des vestiges archéologiques, mais il est pratiquement impossible, voir même risqué de proposer une identification. Les multiples voyages de l'A. dans la région en combinaison avec sa connaissance des sources, lui permettent une vision globale de la situation actuelle et, de ce fait ses propositions au sujet de l'identification des localités a beaucoup de chances de correspondre à la réalité.

La deuxième partie est sans doute la plus riche en détails, mais aussi la plus dépendante des informations tirées des œuvres de Grégoire de Nazianze. La famille de Grégoire comptait cinq membres : le père Grégoire l'Ancien, la mère Nonna, leur fille aînée Gorgonie et leurs deux fils Grégoire et Césaire. Chacun a droit à un chapitre où sont exposées, jusqu'aux plus infimes détails, les informations biographiques et prosopographiques à leur propos. Ce qui intéresse



dans cette partie c'est l'analyse caractérolgique des personnages présentés dans leur quotidien, dans leurs relations avec les autres membres de la famille comme avec les membres de la communauté chrétienne de Nazianze, qui à l'époque vivaient comme une famille au sens plus large du terme. Les détails significatifs tirés des œuvres à caractère biographique de Grégoire, donnent à la fois une dimension affectueuse et patriarcale de cette famille pour qui la vertu chrétienne faisait partie de leurs habitudes, sans toutefois l'éloigner du monde. Ainsi, si Grégoire l'Ancien est présenté comme un évêque austère, il n'hésitait pas à se mêler aux élections du haut clergé cappadocien, mais aussi aux affaires mondaines en tant que chef d'une famille importante. La grande dame qu'était Nonna, qui n'a jamais raté une prière ou une manifestation religieuse, n'a jamais perdu son côté féminin et maternel quand il s'agissait de son époux ou de ses enfants. La très austère et sévère Gorgonie, chérie de son frère Grégoire, se présente comme un exemple d'affection envers son mari Alypius. Quant à Césaire, celui qui a préféré une carrière administrative, qui n'a jamais renoncé aux richesses et à la gloire, qui faisait la fierté de la famille, il est présenté dans ses traits les plus humains dans le vibrant adieu que son frère Grégoire lui adressa lors de sa mort. Une famille unie et soudée, un exemple de la vie familiale chrétienne dans la Cappadoce du IV<sup>e</sup> s., mais aussi une cellule sociale cohérente dont la puissance résidait dans l'entraide et les bonnes relations. Le tableau ainsi brossé laisse voir une famille influente, dont le rôle dirigeant dans la communauté ne fait aucun doute. Mais la personne la plus importante dans cette famille n'est autre que Grégoire de Nazianze, celui qui est élevé au poste ecclésiastique le plus enviable de l'empire, celui du patriarche de Constantinople. L'A. suit Grégoire dans toutes les phases de sa vie en tirant des informations de ses œuvres, mais aussi de celles de son ami Basile de Césarée et des historiens byzantins. La jeunesse studieuse et joyeuse d'Athènes a cédé sa place au sacerdoce austère en Cappadoce, peut-être imposé par son père Grégoire l'Ancien qui voyait en la personne de son fils son successeur. Finalement c'était à la capitale qu'il était appelé par les orthodoxes à desservir, la capitale envahie par l'arianisme, la capitale qui fut pour lui une source permanente de soucis, de luttes, d'affrontements. C'est sans doute son caractère tenace qui a poussé l'empereur Théodose I<sup>er</sup> à le proposer comme patriarche. Mais Grégoire n'était pas un homme attiré par la gloire et les honneurs. Il n'a pas hésité, afin de sauver les travaux conciliaires, à déposer sa démission et à se retirer dans sa Cappadoce bien-aimée. Revenu dans ce milieu qui lui était cher et familial, il a mené une retraite active jusqu'à son dernier jour en 390.

La troisième partie est consacrée notamment à ce qui a suivi ce dernier jour. C'est la partie la plus diversifiée, puisqu'elle a pour objet le culte de Grégoire et ses reliques, mais aussi la transmission de ses écrits et finalement ses souvenirs perpétués par les hagiographes et les historiens. Grégoire, enterré dans la sépulture familiale avec d'autres membres de sa famille, a très vite fait l'objet

d'un culte. En 946, sous Constantin VII, ses restes, ou au moins les supposés comme étant ses restes, ont été transférés vers Constantinople. Une tradition athonite parle d'un transfert d'une partie de ces reliques au Mont Athos, tandis qu'une autre, occidentale celle-ci, du transfert des reliques depuis Constantinople vers Rome après la prise de la capitale byzantine par les Croisés en 1204. Le 27 octobre 2004, le pape Jean-Paul II a remis au patriarche de Constantinople Bartholomée I<sup>er</sup> les reliques de Grégoire et celles de Jean Chrysostome gardées à Rome. Une partie des reliques est restée en Cappadoce ; elles avaient été transférées par les Grecs, lors de l'exode de 1924, à Nouvelle Karvali au nord de la Grèce. Comme cela est normal, une hagiographie importante se développa autour de Grégoire. Mais ce sont surtout les historiens qui depuis le V<sup>e</sup> s. jusqu'à nos jours ont choisi Grégoire et sa famille pour objet. L'A. y fait, sans tarder, référence, car cela n'entre pas dans la ligne directrice de Nazianze et de ses Grégoire. Par contre, les écrits de Grégoire et leur transmission préoccupent particulièrement l'A. qui depuis fort longtemps rassemble et étudie les microfilms des manuscrits grégoriens et qui a pour objectif de ses recherches l'édition critique majeure des textes grégoriens. Ainsi, il retrace l'histoire de ces textes depuis Grégoire jusqu'à nos jours en insistant sur les tentatives infructueuses pour les éditer.

Nous avons résumé dans la mesure du possible le livre. Nous le recommandons à toute personne intéressée par le IV<sup>e</sup> s. byzantin, ce temps de transition entre l'Antiquité et le Moyen Âge, le paganisme et le christianisme, Rome et Byzance, l'Orient et l'Occident. Cappadoce, terre de prédilection, assimila à ce moment les courants et les influences d'origines diverses pour les transformer en une civilisation et une culture locales ayant rayonné jusqu'à la capitale. Grégoire de Nazianze est le représentant par excellence de cet essor, une figure de proue qui a laissé derrière lui un souvenir impérissable en tant qu'homme d'Église, écrivain et théologien. Sa mémoire reste toujours vive aussi parmi les scientifiques qui ont fait de lui et de ses écrits un champ de recherche qui n'a jamais cessé de donner des ouvrages intéressants et importants. Le livre que nous avons l'honneur de présenter entre dans cette ligne, avec toutefois une particularité : une approche personnelle du sujet justifiée par le fait que son A. est un vrai connaisseur de Nazianze et des Grégoire.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

*Philosophie et sciences à Byzance de 1204 à 1453. Les textes, les doctrines et leur transmission. Actes de la Table ronde organisée au XX<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines (Paris, 2001) (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 146), éd. par M. CACOUROS et Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU, Leuven - Paris - Dudley (MA), Uitgeverij Peeters et Departement Oosterse Studies, 2006, xxii + 290 pages. ISBN 978-90-429-1671-5.*

C'est avec retard que je présente aux lecteurs de *Byzantion* ce beau volume (1), dont le titre et le sous-titre précisent déjà l'objet. Dans la Préface (pp. xi-xiv), les organisateurs de la Table ronde, M. CACOUCOS et Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU, expliquent le choix des limites chronologiques et de la thématique adoptées. Le thème réunit deux sujets, philosophie et sciences, étroitement liés à Byzance, comme le montre le *cursus* des études hérité de l'Antiquité tardive, celui du *Trivium* et du *Quadrivium*, qui fait l'objet de l'ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία. Or cet enseignement et les recherches qui en sont à la base ont connu, au cours des deux dernières périodes de l'histoire byzantine, sous l'empire de Nicée (1204-1261) et celui des Paléologues (1261-1453), un double processus de redécouverte ou 'réactivation' (selon l'heureuse formule employée par CACOUCOS) et de rénovation, fruit de l'activité d'une série d'érudits remarquables, qui, plus d'une fois, comme dans le cas de Jean Chortasménos, étaient à la fois compétents dans les domaines philosophique et scientifique.

Ce champ d'enquête une fois délimité, les organisateurs de la Table ronde ont fait appel à 11 autres spécialistes, qui, seuls ou en collaboration, ont rédigé les 9 contributions réunies dans le volume, auxquelles s'ajoutent l'ample rapport général de M. CACOUCOS et le bref état de la question de Mme CONGOURDEAU, dont je regrette qu'elle n'ait pu le développer davantage. Enfin, J. IRIGOIN, président de la Table ronde, a pu encore, avant son décès, rédiger une introduction (pp. xv-xvii), où il dégage, avec son intelligence coutumière, quelques-uns des apports les plus intéressants de la Table ronde.

Comme l'indique bien le sous-titre (*Les textes, les doctrines et leur transmission*), les contributions réunies dans ces Actes partent des textes, remontant au besoin à leurs sources manuscrites, mais c'est pour en dégager la portée doctrinale et pour étudier la manière dont ils ont été transmis et traduits, apportant de précieux matériaux à l'histoire culturelle de l'époque et de ses acteurs.

Analyser en détail chaque article et signaler ce qu'il apporte de neuf prendrait trop de place et, pour le second point, dépasserait les limites de mes compétences. Les titres suffisent en général à donner une idée des sujets traités, quitte à y ajouter un mot d'explication. Pour se faire assez rapidement une idée du contenu des articles, les résumés anglais ou français placés en tête de chaque contribution et répétés dans l'autre langue à la fin du volume (pp. 269-

(1) Il peut être utile de signaler que d'autres Tables rondes du Congrès parisien ont fait l'objet de publications. Mentionnons (d'autres peut-être m'ont échappé) : *Lire et écrire à Byzance*, éd. par B. MONDRAIN, Paris, 2006 (Collège de France - CNRS, Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies, 19) (Actes de la Table ronde *Lire et écrire à Byzance*) ; *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine. Acquis et nouvelles recherches*, dir. A. JACOB - J.-M. MARTIN - G. NOYE, Rome, 2006 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 363) (Actes de la Table ronde du même nom).

273) suffisent. Mais je m'étendrai un peu davantage sur le rapport de synthèse de M. CACOUCOS, placé en tête du volume (pp. 1-51). Le long titre ('La philosophie et les sciences du *trivium* et du *quadrivium* à Byzance de 1204 à 1453 entre tradition et innovation : les textes et l'enseignement. Le cas de l'école du Prodrome (Pétra)') en dégage déjà en partie la substance. Pour reprendre les termes mêmes de son résumé, 'le rapport vise à présenter à nouveaux frais un aperçu synthétique sur la façon dont l'innovation se combine à la tradition de 1204 à 1453 dans la philosophie et les Arts libéraux' (p. 269). L'exposé, très articulé, se divise en trois chapitres, eux-mêmes subdivisés en paragraphes. Un premier chapitre traite de 'L'enseignement de la philosophie et des sciences encyclopédiques de 1204 à 1453 entre tradition et innovation'. Au lendemain de la prise de Constantinople en 1204, les Byzantins, affrontés aux difficultés créées par le manque de livres et de maîtres, ont cependant ressuscité et renoué le *cursus* des études supérieures. Ce *cursus* ressuscité, l'A. l'illustre dans le premier paragraphe à travers trois cas, représentatifs chacun d'une génération : pour 'la génération de l'exil de 1204', le cas de Nicéphore Blemmyde ; pour 'la génération du retour à Constantinople en 1261', celui de Georges Pachymère ; pour 'la génération de la fin imminente', celui de Jean Chortasménos. Le paragraphe suivant traite des 'modifications concernant les matières enseignées' : le cas du philosophe néoplatonicien Proclus montre la façon dont certaines matières ont progressivement été introduites dans l'enseignement après 1204. Ces innovations dans les matières enseignées ont été accompagnées par des 'modifications survenues au niveau institutionnel', qui font l'objet du paragraphe suivant. Surtout à partir de 1261, l'École patriarcale voit son auditoire s'élargir et son enseignement, de théologie qu'il était, s'ouvrir à la philosophie et aux sciences séculières. L'A. envisage les problèmes que cette évolution a posés et évoque notamment la création de la charge du *katholikos didaskalos*. Le deuxième chapitre traite de 'la diffusion et transmission textuelle du savoir philosophique de 1204 à 1453 : les orientations majeures'. L'A. souligne, 'à l'époque paléologue, l'osmose entre les deux milieux (celui des professeurs et étudiants et celui des érudits) et, surtout, entre les deux types de textes, textes scolaires et textes destinés aux érudits' (p. 25, passage mis en italiques par l'A.) et affirme même que 'la quasi-totalité des érudits byzantins à partir de 1204 ont, entièrement ou partiellement, canalisé leurs intérêts littéraires vers la philosophie et les Arts libéraux' (*ibid.* ; également en italiques). L'A. développe ces considérations dans deux paragraphes consacrés aux épitomés et aux recueils de définitions ('Lire et écrire dans une forme abrégée'), et à 'la juxtaposition d'extraits (...) de scholies et de gloses réunis dans le cadre d'une exégèse consacrée à un texte de base' ('Le culte de l'exégèse compilative'). On assiste ainsi à la constitution de corpus exégétiques, nourris d'œuvres héritées de l'Antiquité ou contemporaines, et où la mise en page est soigneusement organisée. Cette production pose aux historiens des textes

d'épineux problèmes d'ecdotique (paragraphe consacré aux 'Aventures de textes, mésaventures de philologues'). Enfin, le troisième chapitre est consacré à 'L'école du Prodrôme à Pétra et son rôle dans la transmission du savoir philosophique et scientifique sous les Paléologues'. Le monastère de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme, situé au quartier de Pétra à Constantinople, a joué à l'époque un rôle religieux et politique important, mais ce qui intéresse ici est qu'il fut un centre de copie de manuscrits et qu'y fonctionna une école, soumise à la tutelle du Patriarcat. Son programme devait être le programme 'élargi' de l'époque, portant à la fois sur la théologie et les matières philosophiques et scientifiques. L'enseignement y était placé sous l'autorité d'un *didaskalos*, qui, à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, reçut le titre de *katholikos didaskalos*, mais en avait les fonctions bien avant. L'A. saisit l'occasion pour rappeler ce qu'on sait, notamment grâce à lui, du *katholikos didaskalos*, ce qui permet de rattacher à l'école du Prodrôme de Pétra divers érudits et professeurs. Il évoque en détail la carrière et l'œuvre de trois *katholikai didaskaloi* : Jean Chortasménos, Georges Scholarios et Jean Argyropoulos, et met en relief la nature de leur enseignement.

Pour les autres contributions, je me contenterai de donner le titre et de caractériser brièvement le contenu : B. ROOSEN - P. VAN DEUN, *Les collections de définitions philosophico-théologiques appartenant à la tradition de Maxime le Confesseur : le recueil centré sur omonymon, synonymon, paronymon, eteronymon* (pp. 53-76). L'article étudie en détail l'histoire du texte et publie un bref recueil de définitions qui, parmi d'autres, témoigne de la popularité de Maxime le Confesseur et de son influence sur l'enseignement de la période des Lascarides et des Paléologues. - C. STEEL - CAROLINE MACÉ, *Georges Pachymère philologue : le Commentaire de Proclus au Parménide dans le manuscrit Parisinus gr. 1810* (pp. 77-99) : le manuscrit, copié par Pachymère, est une véritable édition, importante pour la constitution du texte et l'histoire intellectuelle. - J. BRAMS (†), *Traductions et traducteurs latins dans l'empire de Nicée et sous les Paléologues* (pp. 101-112). L'article traite des manuscrits grecs disponibles pour les traducteurs latins, au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, de textes philosophiques et scientifiques, traducteurs parmi lesquels se distingue Guillaume de Moerbeke. L'A. souligne l'importance de l'Italie méridionale dans la diffusion des textes. - P. BULLENS, *L'étude de l'histoire des animaux durant l'occupation latine de Constantinople et sous les Paléologues* (pp. 113-125). L'article traite des interactions entre les traditions textuelles grecque et latine. - L. BRISSON, *Pléthon et les Oracles chaldaïques* (pp. 127-142) : 'Pléthon voit dans les Oracles une description, laïque en quelque sorte, du salut de l'âme' (p. 127). - L. COULOUBARITSIS, *Platonismes et aristotélismes à Byzance dans l'empire de Nicée et sous les Paléologues* (pp. 143-156) : les deux doctrines ont donné lieu à des débats philosophiques et théologiques, que l'A. résume, en présentant leurs protagonistes. - ANNE TIHON, *Sous la plume de Jean Chortasmenos : des scolies byzantines sur la trépidation des équinoxes* (pp. 157-184) : ces scolies sont contenues dans le Vaticanus Gr. 1059, grosse compilation composée par Jean

Chortasménos. L'A. les édite et les commente. Les calculs de Chortasménos ne sont pas de lui, mais d'un érudit à identifier. - MARIE-HÉLÈNE CONGOURDEAU, *La médecine à Nicée et sous les Paléologues : état de la question* (pp. 185-188) : bref état de la question sur les manuscrits et les œuvres, ainsi que sur la pratique médicale. - A. TOUWAIDE, *The Development of Palaeologan Renaissance : an Analysis based on Dioscorides' De materia medica* (pp. 189-224). L'article, basé sur les manuscrits, étudie 'à nouveaux frais la réintroduction du Traité (...) dans la littérature pharmaceutique byzantine du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle' (p. 189). - S. LAZARIS, *La production nouvelle en médecine vétérinaire sous les Paléologues et l'œuvre cynégétique de Dèmétrios Pépagôménos* (pp. 225-267) : Dèmétrios Pépagôménos, érudit du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, est le véritable auteur du *De podagra* et de deux traités cynégétiques (maladies des faucons ; maladies des chiens) sur les trois qu'on lui attribue depuis la Renaissance.

Le recueil est complété par 4 index : I. Auteurs et personnages historiques (ou mythologiques) antiques et médiévaux (jusqu'en 1453) ; II. Auteurs et personnages historiques modernes (à partir de 1453) ; III. Auteurs contemporains ; IV. Manuscrits cités (grecs et latins).

La présentation de ce volume relié est impeccable. Les très rares erreurs typographiques relevées ne valent pas la peine d'être mentionnées. L'ensemble de ces contributions, les unes de caractère général, les autres faites d'analyses particulières très poussées, apportent des matériaux précieux à l'histoire des sciences et de la médecine sous l'empire de Nicée et sous celui des Paléologues.

P. CANART.

*Rhetorical Exercises from Late Antiquity. A Translation of Choricus of Gaza's Preliminary Talks and Declamations, with an Epilogue on Choricus' Reception in Byzantium*, éd. par R. J. PENELLA avec E. AMATO, M. HEATH, G. A. KENNEDY, T. L. PAPPILLON, W. W. READER, D. A. RUSSELL et S. SWAIN, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009, xii + 323 pages. ISBN 978-0-521-84873-2.

This is a timely publication. The last decades have witnessed an increasing and fruitful interest in the Second Sophistic and in Late Antiquity. The School of Gaza (5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c.) may be regarded as the early Byzantine continuation of both, and Choricus' διαλέξεις (or λαλιαί) and μελέται especially bear close resemblance to the, by then, long tradition of atticizing rhetoric of display. R. PENELLA had already provided the anglophone academic world with translations of Themistius (2000) and Himerius (2007). He has now taken the initiative for this co-authored volume. He has written himself a perspicuous introduction (pp. 1-32) and translated the 23 short 'preliminary talks', most of which preceded Choricus' declamations and orations (the latter are not included in this volume). The twelve μελέται are much longer, and particularly interesting as they are preceded by a brief statement of the topic (labelled the 'theme' in this

edition) and by a (προ)θεωρία (an 'explanatory comment'), a kind of prooemium in which the rhetor comments on all participants in the rhetorical fiction that is to come: the speaking character, his argument, the imagined audience. The declamations bear familiar titles: 'Priam', 'Miltiades', 'The Young War-Hero', 'The Tyrannicide', 'A Spartan Citizen', 'Patroclus' and the like. They have been translated – with minimal annotations – by the flower of specialists in the field: D. RUSSELL (who has coined, in his important 1983 book 'Greek Declamation', the apt term 'Sophistopolis' for the cultural world of which Choricus is a late inhabitant), S. SWAIN, M. HEATH, G. KENNEDY, W. READER and T. PAPILLON. An epilogue (pp. 261-302) on the remarkably good fortune of Choricus in Byzantium and in the Renaissance is written by E. AMATO. The detailed treatment of the reception history is reflected in the disproportionate part of studies related to the epilogue within the general bibliography (pp. 303-319). A very useful book, as it offers the first modern translation and a good general presentation of an interesting author.

K. DEMOEN.

Katerina SERAIDARI, *Le culte des icônes en Grèce*, Toulouse, Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2005, 256 pages + 8 planches en couleurs hors texte. ISBN 978-2-85816-801-6.

Ce livre n'est pas une étude de l'art byzantin ; il n'est pas non plus directement attaché aux études byzantines. C'est un travail dans le domaine de l'anthropologie et de la sociologie des groupes humains. Mais rarement à mon avis un livre aide autant à comprendre les querelles autour des icônes qui ont agité le monde byzantin durant la période mésobyzantine. L'étude concerne surtout les îles grecques et elle explique comment un objet apparemment décoratif, tel que l'icône, devient un objet de culte dans la conscience populaire et comment un phénomène au départ local se transforme en une conviction plus large pour devenir finalement une conviction nationale. Les paramètres de ces élaborations, fondamentalement les mêmes au cours des siècles, ont aussi primé dans le cas du déclenchement de l'iconoclasme, dont les excès démesurés de l'adoration des objets sont sans doute une de ses causes. Un livre à lire par toute personne dont l'icône fait partie des intérêts.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

J. SIPLÁ, *The Reorganisation of Provincial Territories in Light of the Imperial Decision-making Process. Later Roman Arabia and Tres Palaestinae as Case Studies (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 126)*, Helsinki, Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2009, vi + 328 pages. ISBN 978-951-653-374-5 ; ISSN 0069-6587.

Cet excellent volume retrace l'évolution administrative des quatre provinces romaines, les trois Palestine et l'Arabie romaine. L'évolution admi-

nistrative de ces provinces est toutefois prolongée, de manière assez sommaire, jusqu'au règne de Phocas, au début du VII<sup>e</sup> s., et de ce fait l'étude concerne aussi le byzantinisme.

Après la présentation des sources, l'étude est portée sur les conditions qui primaient afin qu'une région conquise par les Romains puisse former une circonscription administrative : paramètres géographiques, historiques, mais aussi démographiques, économiques, financiers et militaires. L'administrateur d'une nouvelle province était choisi aussi en fonction de ses connaissances et ses compétences, afin de répondre non seulement aux exigences de l'administration centrale, mais aussi aux attentes des populations administrées. Dans la suite, l'A. examine dans quelle mesure ces données théoriques étaient tenues en considération lors du découpage administratif de la Palestine et de la Jordanie romaines. Dans ce contexte sont analysées les informations des sources au sujet des peuples qui occupaient la région, de leurs interrelations, de leur comportement envers l'autorité romaine. Ces provinces, comme toutes les provinces romaines, n'avaient pas de frontières stables, car l'autorité centrale redessinaït les limites des provinces en tenant chaque fois compte des nouvelles réalités géopolitiques, ethnologiques et économiques. Une première grande réorganisation eut lieu sous le règne de Dioclétien et ensuite sous Licinius, Constantin I<sup>er</sup>, Constantius II et Théodose I<sup>er</sup>. Toutefois, les facteurs qui primaient pour chacune de ces réorganisations étaient différents. Durant la première période byzantine, les provinces ont changé non seulement de frontières ; les remaniements administratifs étaient plus grands et plus profonds car le système administratif tenait dorénavant compte d'autres paramètres, notamment ecclésiastiques et religieux, d'où aussi le changement des dignitaires chargés de l'administration des provinces.

Le livre est enrichi d'un nombre d'appendices qui rendent plus évidentes les données des sources textuelles. En outre une série de cartes rend visible l'évolution administrative de ces quatre provinces et des changements territoriaux survenus lors des réformes successives.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Véronique SOMERS, B. KINDT et CENTAL, *Thesaurus Iosephi Genesisii aliarumque chronographiarum anonymarum (Corpus Christianorum. Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum)*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2009, xxxvi + 284 pages + 7 microfiches. ISBN 978-2-503-53126-7.

La collezione del *Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum* – sottoserie del *Corpus Christianorum (CCTPG)*, è il frutto più concreto della quasi ventennale attività di ricerca del *Projet de Recherche en Lexicologie grecque (PRLG)*, attivato presso l'*Institut orientaliste dell'Université catholique de Louvain*. L'obiettivo di tale progetto, perseguito attraverso l'analisi della lingua greca antica e lo studio del suo



lessico, è quello di fornire una descrizione esaustiva e coerente dei fatti lessicali osservati nelle fonti: il sistema di software deputato alla trattazione automatica del corpus si fonda su un adattamento di *Unitex*, un programma di analisi morfologica, lessicale e sintattica dei testi (vedi <http://www-igm.univ-mlv.fr/~unitex>). In questa ottica non si può prescindere dal sottolineare l'importanza del contributo dei tecnici e ricercatori del CENTAL. Il presente volume, il ventiduesimo della serie, prosegue coerentemente l'analisi già affrontata del lessico di numerose opere di Padri della Chiesa, ovviamente, ma anche storici di epoca tardoantica e bizantina, attivi fra il VI e il IX secolo d.C.; questo nuovo *Thesaurus* affronta una fonte importante per la storia bizantina – i *Regum Libri* attribuiti a Giuseppe Genesisio, cui affianca l'analisi di altri tre testi 'minori': la *Cronaca dell'anno 811* (che narra la breve spedizione dell'imperatore Niceforo I Logoteta contro la Bulgaria), lo *Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio* (narrazione in tre parti dei regni di Michele I Rangabé e di Leone V l'Armeno) e la cosiddetta *Cronaca di Bruxelles* (elenco di imperatori romani e bizantini – da Giulio Cesare a Romano III Argiro, morto nel 1034 – non privo di interessanti informazioni). L'opera attribuita a Genesisio copre un arco di tempo che va dall'813 all'886, narrando in successione i regni di Leone V l'Armeno (813-820), Michele II d'Amorio (820-829), Teofilo (829-842), Michele III (842-867) e infine, nel IV e ultimo libro, di Basilio I (867-886), fondatore della dinastia macedone; proprio a un illustre rappresentante di questa dinastia, Costantino VII Porfirogenito (912-959), fu dedicata l'opera, presumibilmente ispirata dallo stesso sovrano nel periodo 'indipendente' (945-959) del suo regno; non a caso la materia dell'opera è analoga a quella dei primi due libri del cosiddetto 'Teofane Continuato', serie di biografie imperiali – dall'813 al 961 – fortemente volute dallo stesso Costantino VII, allo scopo di continuare l'opera storiografica di Teofane Confessore nell'ottica di una esaltazione propagandistica della dinastia macedone (vedi A. Kaldellis, *Genesisios. On the Reigns of the Emperors*, trans. and comm., *Byzantina Australiensia*, 11, Canberra, 1998, p. x). Da un punto di vista sia storiografico che letterario, Genesisio si dimostra autore mediocre, acritico e poco accorto, di certo inferiore al già non eccelso 'Teofane Continuato' (Kaldellis, *op. cit.*, pp. xxiv-xxv); è stato addirittura ipotizzato che Costantino VII abbia commissionato il 'Teofane Continuato' perché scontento del testo prodotto da Genesisio (F. Barišič, *Génésios et le Continuateur de Théophane*, *Byzantion* 28 (1958), pp. 119-133 (part. 120-121). *Contra* J. Signes-Codoñer, *Constantino Porfirogéneto y la fuente común de Genesisios y Theophanes Continuatus I-IV*, *BZ* 86-87 (1993-1994), pp. 319-341): infatti egli, nel tentativo maldestro di riprodurre gli stilemi classici, risulta scrittore oscuro e disorganico.

Lo scarso valore storico-letterario di Genesisio non diminuisce però l'interesse lessicale per il suo testo, la cui associazione – apparentemente forzata – con le altre opere summenzionate riposa, come notato nella prefazione al volume (p. xi), sui numerosi punti in comune fra di esse riscontrati dalla critica moder-

na (notevole il fatto che tutte queste opere siano trasmesse ciascuna da un manoscritto soltanto). D'altra parte, solo tenendo conto del carattere omogeneo di questo corpus di testi è stato possibile far rientrare le tre opere minori nella serie del CCTPG, affiancandole al *Regum Libri*. Ciò ha permesso un ulteriore arricchimento del *Dictionnaire Automatique grecque* (DAG), parte integrante del PRLG e risultante ultima di esso, all'interno del quale sono raccolte e lemmatizzate – secondo le categorie morfo-sintattiche del greco antico – tutte le forme riscontrate nei diversi *Thesauri*.

Ovviamente sono state base imprescindibile per la realizzazione di questa concordanza le edizioni critiche delle opere prese in esame: I. Dujčev, *La chronique byzantine de l'an 811* (*Travaux et Mémoires* 1 (1965), Paris, pp. 205-254); A. Markopoulos, *Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio* (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*; in preparazione); A. Lesmüller-Werner e I. Thurn, *Iosephi Genesisii Regum Libri Quattuor* (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 14, Berlin et New York, 1978); F. Cumont, *Anecdota Bruxellensia, I. Chroniques byzantines du manuscrit 11376* (Gand, 1894). Il lavoro di concordanza, tuttavia, contribuisce a correggere anche eventuali refusi presenti nelle edizioni critiche di riferimento; è il caso, soprattutto ma non solo, dell'edizione della *Cronaca di Bruxelles* curata da Cumont, nella quale sono state riscontrate peraltro numerose inesattezze dovute a errori di lettura del manoscritto. Ma questo non è il solo strumento offerto dal presente *Thesaurus*, corredato come sempre da altri importanti repertori: *Indice degli antroponimi omonimi*, *Dati statistici*, *Enumeratio lemmatum et formarum*, *Tabula frequentiarum lemmatum*, *Index formarum et lemmatum*, *Indices a tergo*, *Concordantia lemmatum et formarum*.

Se a ciò si aggiunge che gli autori, SOMERS e KINDT, hanno predisposto un apparato bibliografico aggiornato ed esaustivo – discutendone con lucidità i problemi connessi – è palese come questo volume fornisca un contributo decisivo per una migliore conoscenza delle opere in oggetto, rivelandosi perciò assolutamente prezioso per gli storici che si occupino della storia bizantina del IX secolo.

A. A. DE SIENA.

*Transformations of Late Antiquity. Essays for Peter Brown*, éd. par Ph. ROUSSEAU et M. PAPAIOAKIS, Farnham et Burlington (VT), Ashgate Publishing, 2009, xx + 345 pages. ISBN 978-0-7546-6553-3.

This book is 'a token of gratitude, respect and affection' (editors' preface) towards one of the greatest contemporary scholars of Late Antiquity, whose name is inextricably linked with the notion of 'transformation'. Peter Brown has indeed revolutionized the approach of a period once seen as a mere decline, stressing instead continuity and change. The range and the reputation of the contributors to this volume, who all have been instructed by Brown in one way or another (some of them relate memories from almost fifty years ago), is



impressive. The overall quality of the articles is correspondingly high. Late Antiquity is, of course, a broad field that partly overlaps that of Byzantine Studies. For the readers of this journal, the most noteworthy contributions will probably be those by AVERIL CAMERON (*Old and New Rome : Roman Studies in Sixth-Century Constantinople*, pp. 15-36), G. BOWERSOCK (*Old and New Rome in the Late Antique Near East*, pp. 37-49), S. GRIFFITH (*Crosses, Icons and the Image of Christ in Edessa : The Place of Iconophobia in the Christian-Muslim Controversies of Early Islamic Times*, pp. 63-84), CLAUDIA RAPP (*Safe-Conducts to Heaven : Holy Men, Mediation and the Role of Writing*, pp. 187-203, on the metaphors of books and writing in Greek religious texts, mainly from the fourth to the eighth century), JUDITH HERRIN (*Book Burning as Purification*, pp. 205-222, starting in Roman times and focusing on the Council in Trullo), SUSANNA ELM (*Family Men : Masculinity and Philosophy in Late Antiquity*, pp. 279-301, on Gregory of Nazianzus), and P. GARNSEY (*Gemistus Plethon and Platonic Political Philosophy*, pp. 327-340). The fine volume has a useful index.

K. DEMOEN.

R. WINLING, *Grégoire de Nysse. Contre Eunome I 1-146. Texte grec de W. Jaeger (GNO I, 1). Introduction, traduction et notes (Sources Chrétiennes, 521)*, Paris, Les éditions du Cerf, 2008, 225 pages. ISBN 978-2-204-08716-2 ; ISSN 0750-1978.

Cette édition de la partie 'historique' du premier livre du *Contre Eunome* (paragraphe 1-146) comprend une longue introduction qui analyse non seulement cette première partie, mais l'ensemble du premier livre – dont la deuxième partie, 'dogmatique', sera l'objet d'un futur volume des *Sources Chrétiennes* – et qui passe en revue une partie importante de la littérature secondaire sur le *Contre Eunome*. La traduction est agréable et très lisible. Ceci est un exploit quand il s'agit d'une prose comme celle de Grégoire de Nysse, célèbre pour sa complexité. Par opposition à la version anglaise de H. Moore – bien qu'un peu vieillie, peut-être encore aujourd'hui la plus répandue –, celle de WINLING est très facile à suivre. Un avantage supplémentaire de la présente édition est le fait qu'elle est bilingue, même si un peu plus d'attention au texte grec eût été souhaitable : l'A. reproduit tel quel le texte de Jaeger, sans même expliquer les corrections parfois discutables de celui-ci (tout au plus, il y a de temps en temps une note concernant une variante). L'A. conserve aussi la ponctuation de Jaeger, mais il n'en tient guère compte dans sa traduction.

Les notes peuvent quelquefois sembler un peu scolaires. Par exemple à la p. 208 : 'Période comportant des effets de style, comme l'*homoioteleuton*, destinés à créer l'impression d'une avancée inexorable d'une force à laquelle on ne saurait résister'. Outre les explications superflues ('on ne saurait résister à ce qui est inexorable'), le lecteur sera probablement incapable de comprendre par lui-même pourquoi l'*homoioteleuton* créerait une telle impression d'inexora-

bilité. Il y a aussi de petites maladresses : WINLING dit en note au paragraphe 105 qu'une information donnée à cet endroit 'semble prouver qu'Eunome était originaire d'Oltisérés' (aux confins de la Cappadoce et de la Galatie), alors que déjà dans le paragraphe 34 on appelait Eunome 'l'homme d'Oltisérés'.

La traduction elle-même se rapproche parfois de la paraphrase. L'A. traduit souvent le même mot grec par plusieurs mots français, et inversement (quelquefois explicitement, souvent non) : dans le premier paragraphe, par exemple, 'euergetein' devient 'faire du bien', alors que dans le deuxième 'euergesian' est 'générosité' ; dans le troisième paragraphe, 'surabondance' est utilisé pour traduire 'periousia', et dans le quatrième pour traduire 'peritteuonti'. Mais cette liberté dans la traduction était peut-être nécessaire pour que le texte soit vraiment lisible, et la plupart du temps elle n'implique pas une véritable inexactitude. On ne peut qu'être reconnaissant à cette nouvelle traduction, qui rend ce texte difficile accessible à un public très large. Il nous reste à souhaiter que le deuxième volume du *Contre Eunome*, contenant les paragraphes 147-691 du premier livre, et déjà annoncé comme étant 'sous presse', paraisse bientôt.

T. FERNÁNDEZ.

Raphaëlle ZIADÉ, *Les martyrs Maccabées : de l'histoire juive au culte chrétien. Les homélies de Grégoire de Nazianze et de Jean Chrysostome (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 80)*, Leyde et Boston, Brill, 2007, x + 392 pages. ISBN 90-04-15384-5.

Cet ouvrage présente la synthèse et le résultat des recherches effectuées par l'auteur sous la direction du Professeur Dr Madame Monique Alexandre, en Sorbonne et à l'École biblique française de Jérusalem (*Mémoire de D.E.A.*, Jérusalem et Paris, 1992-1994, et *Dissertation doctorale*, Paris, 2002). Les homélies de Grégoire de Nazianze et de Jean Chrysostome sont les principales sources de connaissance du culte des Maccabées dans le monde byzantin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les deux écrivains glorifient les martyrs juifs par le biais de la fête chrétienne. Ils ont des approches différentes de cette fête et leurs positions sont nuancées (pp. 289-291), mais l'un et l'autre conçoivent le martyr 'comme une alliance des vertus morales et religieuses tributaires du double héritage de la Grèce et de la Bible' (p. 296), somme toute, comme une symbiose des racines païennes et judéo-chrétiennes de la culture européenne.

La première partie de l'ouvrage (pp. 25-103) analyse le développement d'un élément des traditions judaïques à travers la littérature et les cultes, notamment celui du tombeau des Maccabées vénéré à Antioche, jusqu'aux œuvres majeures que sont ici le *Discours 15 Sur les Maccabées* de Grégoire de Nazianze, les *Homélies 1 et 2 Sur les Maccabées* de Jean Chrysostome et son homélie *Sur Éléazar et les sept enfants*. Ces quatre textes sont traduits en français à la fin du livre (pp. 299-334) d'après l'édition de Grégoire de Nazianze par les Mauristes reproduite dans la *Patrologie* de Migne (tome 35), et d'après celle des homélies de

Chrysostome par Bernard de Montfaucon (tome 50), avec compléments par A. Wenger du texte *Sur Éléazar et les sept enfants* (tome 63). La deuxième partie analyse la panégyrie des martyrs Maccabées au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. À partir des matériaux critiques relevés dans la partie précédente, elle met en lumière l'épanouissement du culte des Maccabées à Antioche, d'après les *Homélies 1 et 2* de Chrysostome (pp. 111-135), en Cappadoce, d'après le *Discours 15* de Grégoire (pp. 136-154), et à Constantinople, d'après *Éléazar et les sept enfants* de Chrysostome (pp. 155-175). La troisième partie (pp. 177-296) analyse l'exploitation des ressources de la tradition judaïque par l'homilétique des deux évêques (ch. 1), l'icône du personnage d'Éléazar, père de famille, et celle de la sainteté collective des sept frères et de leur mère (ch. 2) ainsi que la signification religieuse et morale de la faiblesse triomphante dans le martyre et dans la vie quotidienne (ch. 3). Les annexes traditionnelles, bibliographie, index des références scripturaires et des sources anciennes juives, chrétiennes et païennes complètent cette étude.

Deux maîtres des études byzantines, H. Grégoire et P. Orgels, notaient dans *Byzantion*, en 1954 (*Byzantion* 24 (1954), p. 149), que l'étude des fêtes liturgiques peut aider les historiens à tirer au clair les points délicats de l'histoire byzantine à condition de traiter ces matières avec assez d'intransigeance critique. C'est ce que Mme ZIADÉ réalise dans cet ouvrage. Dans l'annexe qu'elle consacre aux traductions françaises des textes analysés, elle ajoute une notice relative à l'*Homélie n° 3 Sur les Maccabées*, attribuée à Chrysostome (pp. 345-350). Elle y voit un recueil anonyme d'éléments divers glanés dans la tradition hagiographique. Le problème posé par cet apocryphe est présenté ici avec limpidité et sa mise au point enrichit les données de la *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, III, p. 505, n° 4354, du regretté M. Geerard.

Pour rendre compte des richesses que ce maître-livre apporte au lecteur, il faut compléter l'analyse descriptive qui précède par deux observations. La première concerne le style des exposés. On y découvre, en effet, un accent d'actualité qui met en valeur les réalités byzantines, si lointaines et si proches, traitées ici. Les fonctions actuelles de l'auteur expliquent sans doute une manière de traiter des réalités historiques. Mme ZIADÉ est commissaire de la Mairie de Paris au Musée byzantin du Petit Palais et, à ce titre, dirigeant l'exposition des trésors du Mont Athos, qui eut lieu cette année au printemps, elle a publié le volume illustré destiné au public de cette prestigieuse manifestation (*Le Mont Athos et l'Empire byzantin. Trésors de la Sainte Montagne*, Paris, 2009). Au cours de l'inauguration de cette exposition, Sa Sainteté le Patriarche Œcuménique fit remarquer l'actualité des réalités byzantines. Comme Mme ZIADÉ lui présentait des manuscrits athonites de Grégoire de Nazianze et de Jean Chrysostome, dont elle-même avait étudié les textes dans son doctorat, l'archevêque de Constantinople lui murmura qu'il était là comme successeur direct de ces écrivains-là. Réalités byzantines si lointaines et si proches !

Une seconde observation utile concerne la rigueur avec laquelle Mme ZIADÉ s'en tient à l'essentiel, quand son sujet offre à son attention d'autres perspectives historiques et lorsque l'intérêt pour le martyre des Maccabées rejoint d'autres pratiques judaïques. Il faut louer cette discrétion de l'auteur. C'est notamment le cas lorsqu'elle évite les digressions en se limitant à effleurer (p. 192) des observations révélatrices d'une vaste pénétration des influences juives dans le milieu des Hyspistariens de Cappadoce, dont fit partie Grégoire l'Ancien, père de Grégoire de Nazianze. Les byzantinistes lui sauront gré de laisser à d'autres le soin de développer ces perspectives historiques complémentaires révélées par sa magistrale étude du culte des Maccabées.

J. MOSSAY.

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